

TOBACCO



NICOTIANA TABACUM
The parts are (1) flower with calyx; (2) calyx; (3) corolla;
(4) corolla laid open showing stamens; (5) stamens; (6) pistil;
(7, 8, 10) seed-pod in different stages; (9) seeds. [Reduced.]
From an unpublished manuscript (n. 842), executed in 1764.

TOBACCO

Its History Illustrated by
The Books, Manuscripts and Engravings

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TOGETHER WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

A GLOSSARY AND BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTES

By JEROME E. BROOKS

VOLUME ONE

1507-1615



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TO
LENA RICHARDSON ARENTS

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IN ACKNOWLEDGMENT

"Explicit feliciter. Laus Deo!" So, the work being happily concluded, the monkish scribe of old wrote *finis* to his labors and gave praise to God. And now that I come to write *finis* to mine I arrive at the pleasant place where I can give a share of praise to the many people who have helped me bring this work to completion.

My memory of the years spent in compiling the material for, and writing, *Tobacco* has been considerably brightened by the cooperation I received. I wish to set down, in order, the names of those who have been closely associated with me in this undertaking, as well as those who have helped in other ways. My formal acknowledgment may seem a little inadequate to some of the people concerned, but I have, I hope, not neglected on other occasions to make my thanks more personal.

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JEROME E. BROOKS

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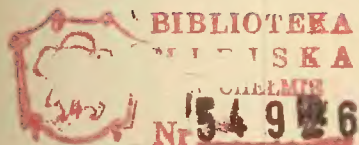
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INTRODUCTION

Earth ne're did breed
Such a Joviall weed,
Whereof to boast so proudly.
(Holyday, 1618; n. 137)

Here lieth he had lived longer, if
He had not choakt himfelfe with a Tabacco whif.
(Gardiner, 1610; n. 96)

INTRODUCTION

I have always endeavoured to draw from the fountain-head . . . my curiosity, as well as a sense of duty, has always urged me to study the originals; and . . . if they have sometimes eluded my search, I have carefully marked the secondary evidence, on whose faith a passage or a fact were reduced to depend. EDWARD GIBBON¹

IT IS related that when cunning Prometheus stole fire from the abode of the gods he carried it in a tobacco pipe. Being provident, his chroniclers continue, he supplied himself with sufficient store of the leaves and seeds of the "divine herb" to keep his pipe forever lit. Thus fully equipped to civilize man he descended upon those who were kindred to him—the Indians, who were children of the sun.

Fire has its terrors—but not in a tobacco pipe, and Prometheus taught his disciples that ultimate use of it and how to retrieve the seeds he sowed from the fecund earth and how to perfect the Elysian plant. Thus he doubly befriended man—with fire and with tobacco—and then rested himself contentedly from his labors. With the aid of his pipe he was able to meditate happily upon the results of his magnificent adventure, while the rich smoke that nourished his thoughts rose—a fragrant wraith of defiance—to the gods.

For these brave statements there is no other authority than the romantic poets. From the vantage of their whimsical vision they scoff at those who would provide a realistic nativity for a plant they call "sacred." They concern themselves not with those problems of beginnings which distract the scientific historians, but conceive of things as they might reasonably be in a poet's world. Not all of them, it is true, credit Prometheus as the tobacco bringer, but all agree that the rare herb was at first reserved for the gods.

But while the poets' mythological fancies have done much to enliven the literature of tobacco, its history is a practical matter depending upon the observations of exact and thoughtful men. The most universal of the social habits adopted by

The excerpts and summaries recorded in the main body of this work and the individual accompanying introductory (and occasional concluding) notes comprise an almost explicit chronicle of tobacco. But this combination could not invariably supply some highly essential collateral details, often obtained from works published long after the events recorded, nor could it always bridge, with facts or inferential comment, the lacunæ which inevitably occur in such a chronologic system as has been employed to record the contents of this library. This *Introduction* will,

therefore, present a general survey of the history of tobacco by correlating the mass of evidence provided by the Arents collection with the supplementary material derived from other sources.

The works catalogued are referred to as "(n. 1)," etc., and the position of passages in them is indicated by signatures within brackets. Explanation of abbreviations, names, and signs is given in the References, pp. 179 ff.

¹ *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Vol. IV (1788), p. iii.

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man, and the plant upon which it depends (together with its appendages and associations) have had innumerable commentators: chiefly the botanists who classify the living organism of root and stalk and leaves in its numerous varieties; the economists who record the vast commercial enterprises and the fiscal systems which developed from the satisfaction of this strange appetite of man; the sociologists who consider the various uses of tobacco in relation to man—an animal who smokes; and the archaeologist, the philologist, the scientist, the plain historian and others, each concerned with an especial aspect of the subject.

Many scholars have thus joined to document tobacco's complex history. The progressive record is unexpectedly vivid and entertaining, for the established uses of tobacco and the assurance with which its devotees indulge in it give no hint now of the evolution and trials through which the habit passed. Yet the complete recital of the plant so widely employed reveals a curious pattern in which are mingled tribal codes, religious rites, medical superstitions, cruel persecutions, economic exploitation, and an element in the humanization of society. Nicotian customs took on the semblance of religious systems, for the "divine herb" once had its old gods and its mythology, as it had its temples, its creeds and codes, its oppressors and its martyrs, its missionaries and its adherents. From the social uses of tobacco there was developed in time forgotten a gospel of peace and fellowship, and the ancient fraternal etiquette by which it was expressed is still practised among us.

Into every field of literary expression the subject of tobacco found its way, and there its friends and its antagonists contested its worth. In Europe and Asia priests fulminated against the use of the plant for pleasure; tyrannical monarchs sought to stamp the habit out; impassioned reformers cursed it with vehemence. Yet despite concerted opposition the habit progressed, for man had found in tobacco what its devotees proclaimed it: the anodyne of poverty, the great consoler, the democratic luxury. It was only for its value to mankind that it survived the extravagant enthusiasm of its partizans and the assaults of its enemies, evolving its own drama, its tragedies, its comedies. . .

TOBACCO has no literal history prior to the discovery of America. It has been customary, however, for scholars concerned with the subject to introduce it with notices of those practises indulged in by the ancients which bear resemblance to the nicotian habits of the American Indians.

Thus we are reminded¹ that a tribe of Scythians were accustomed to intoxicate themselves with the fumes which rose from an herb thrown upon glowing coals² and that this procedure served to perfume them,³ as they never bathed. Similar

¹ By Tiedemann (p. 206), Steinmetz (*Ath.*, p. 973), McGuire (pp. 361-363), Comes (pp. 1 ff.), Corti (p. 24), *et al.*, quoting Herodotus.

² Tylor (*Primitive Culture*, ed. 1889, ii, pp. 417-418) records (after Loskiel) a smoke-ritual of the Delaware Indians, in the XVIIIth century, which was "remarkable for its coincidence with the Scythian mode of purification after a funeral, described

by Herodotus." Both practises resulted in a form of narcosis induced by smoke. The Scythians probably employed hemp-seed; the Indians, tobacco.

³ In reporting the smoking of cigars by the West Indians the first observers thought it to be for the purpose of perfuming themselves. It may have been Luis de Torres (v. n. 14, note 3) who thus associated the novel habit with an ancient custom.

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indulgences were reported of the Thracians and Babylonians.¹ The Pythian priestess inhaled a vapor of narcotic quality before prophesying, and other sacerdotal uses of smoke are recorded.² Numerous commentators on the history of tobacco iterate the fact that Hippocrates, Dioscorides, Pliny, and Galen were among those who prescribed the inhalation of the smoke of coltsfoot,³ dried cow-dung, etc., for the cure of asthma and other afflictions of the chest. These remedies were applied through a funnel or tube,⁴ as is demonstrated by Pliny's recommendation of a reed, the *calamus odoratus*,⁵ following Dioscorides' advice of a similar apparatus.⁶ The therapeutic value of smoking certain plants continued to be advocated and is included in the prescription for the cure of asthma, etc., by the learned Arabian physician, Avicenna, in the XIth century.⁷ Such agents were again advised by Dodoens (n. 17-A) and by Paré in the XVIth century⁸ shortly before the period when tobacco smoke began to replace that of other simples for the cure of "windy griefs of the breaſte," etc.

In the Graeco-Roman *materia medica* powdered herbs were recommended as sternutatories,⁹ while chewing¹⁰—undoubtedly the most aboriginal form of using the leaves of a plant—was indulged in with the betel-nut, bhang, and other substances of narcotic quality, by the natives of Asia, Africa and South Europe prior to the discovery of America.

IT IS a matter of record, therefore, that the smoking, snuffing or chewing of various plants was practised from ancient times for several reasons. But there is no actual correspondence between those customs and the forms in which tobacco was employed by the American aborigines. The analogy lies less in the manifestations of habits than in the desires and purposes of both primitive and civilized man. The ancient customs reported, as well as those displayed by the Indians, serve but to indicate that when man found suitable plants he adopted them for ritual, sanative, therapeutic and, later, for recreative purposes, chiefly in the form

¹ Tiedemann (pp. 206-207), *Ath.* (p. 973), Comes, *et al.*, citing Pomponius Mela, Plutarch and others. Oviedo (n. 4) compared the supposed tobacco-narcosis of the Indians with the Thracian rites, and the state of delirium or trance induced in Haitian medicine-men who inhaled *cohoba* (long thought to be tobacco—v. n. 2) was often related to similar practises among the ancients.

² Fermond, *Monographie du Tabac* (†, 1857), p. 245.

As will be seen from a number of the works catalogued (*vide infra*, page 27) the smoke of tobacco had ritualistic uses among the tribes of Central and South America and probably in the West Indies as well.

³ Coltsfoot, yarrow and other simples (sometimes mixed with tobacco) were still smoked for medicinal purposes in provincial England in the late XIXth century.

⁴ These were later developed into pipes with a bowl.

⁵ *Nat. Hist.*, XXVI, c. VI; cf. Comes, p. 2, n. 6.

⁶ V. Wiener (vol. ii), who devotes an entire chapter to "Smoking in Antiquity."

⁷ *Ath.*, p. 974.

The practise of inhaling the smoke of aromatic herbs rolled within an outer leaf seems to have been anciently known in India. This is implied by a reference in the *Kādambarī* of Banā (VIIth cent. A.D.) which reads (trans.) "cigars of scents were made and smoked." (Dunhill, p. 35.)

⁸ Wi., ii, pp. 89, 96-98. The revival of interest among physicians in this form of medical treatment was undoubtedly due to the accounts then current of the therapeutic use of tobacco smoke by American Indians (*v. infra*, p. 32, notes 5 and 6; cf. p. 28, n. 8).

⁹ Wi., i, pp. 105 ff.

¹⁰ The peculiar American Indian methods of chewing tobacco or coca, mixed with lime (*cf.* reproduction of Wissler's map, *infra*, p. 18; *v. infra*, p. 191), are often compared by scholars with similar practises in the East Indies and contiguous countries where the betel-nut was chewed. V. Wissler, p. 25; Dunhill, p. 71; Mason, p. 12. Chewing was practised also by the Australian aborigines, the leaves of the indigenous *Nicotiana suaveolens* being employed for the purpose (*cf. infra*, p. 10, n. 6, ¶ 1).

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of smoke¹ and, less frequently, in the form of sternutatories or masticatories.

It was only in the Americas that a single plant—tobacco—served to meet the recreative needs of widespread and often unrelated peoples, and also provided them with an herb often employed in their religious ceremonies.²

The validity of the general belief that the characteristic nicotian practises of American Indians depended upon no alien traits, but were developed from an age-old use of an indigenous American plant, has often been challenged.³ There has risen, as well, a chorus of doubt that the original habitat of tobacco was in the Americas. Before proceeding with this historical outline, therefore, it may be well briefly to consider the opinions of those who deny the complete detachment from Asiatic or African influence of the Amerindian tobacco habits; to indicate the causes or conditions which have led these dissenters to assume that the plant was known in Asia, Europe or Africa prior to the discovery of America; and to submit the reasons for maintaining the general conviction that all but one or two species of tobacco are of American origin.⁴

Some casual references to the opinion that tobacco was a native of Europe occurred in print during the latter part of the XVIth and the early XVIIth centuries.⁵ Chardin's *Voyages*, 1711,⁶ however, seems to be the earliest work to record the fact that the primitive source of the plant was a subject for question. In commenting upon tobacco in Persia, Chardin stated that he had heard European savants discuss whether or not that plant (and sugar) were indigenous to the Old World or the New and he remarked that he had made careful inquiries in regard to the former during his stay in Persia.⁷ He quoted the opinion of an Ispahan scholar that tobacco was brought from Egypt into Persia and that it was not a natural growth of the latter country "till within these four Hundred Years."⁸ Savary des Bruslons,⁹ commenting on the same subject, made statements of such similar import as to indicate that the source of his information was the reference in Chardin.¹⁰ Ulloa, in 1772,¹¹ furthered the opinion that tobacco was very ancient

¹ The sacerdotal or ritual uses of smoke, chiefly among the Mediterranean people, probably spread from the incense ceremonies of ancient Egypt and are among the oldest rites of mankind. It may well be believed, too, that some plants were smoked for their narcotic quality or for medicinal purposes even in prehistoric times. V. Dunhill (pp. 35, 170) among others who refer to age-old smoking customs.

² The therapeutic uses of tobacco among the Indians were insignificant in relation to the adoption of the plant as a luxury or for ritualistic purposes (v. *infra*, pp. 23 ff.).

³ V., for instance, the opinion of Dr. Kruyt (in Dunhill, p. 25) who maintains that the inhabitants of the East Indies "made use of tobacco, probably in connection with their worship, more than two thousand years ago," and the theories presented in the pages following here.

⁴ V. Prof. Setchell's statement, *infra*, p. 10, n. 6.

⁵ Cleland (p. 7) states that "Liebault, in his 'Maison Rustique,' (published 1582 [actually 1570, 1574, etc.—v. nos. 12, 28]) asserts, that Tobacco exists naturally in Europe; and that before the dis-

covery of America, he had actually procured some in the wood of Ardennes,—a statement similar to that of Libavius, that it grows wild in the Hercynian forest." As Liebault was only born c. 1535, it is not surprising that this passage does not occur in the work mentioned. Magnenus (n. 234), disputing the opinion of Libavius, suggested that winds had carried the seeds of tobacco into the forest!

⁶ The first edition, *Journal du Voyage* . . . 1686, did not contain the account of tobacco and of the use of the Persian "callion" [*kalian*]. These notices appeared originally in the *Voyages* (n. 486).

⁷ This was on the occasion of his third visit, 1671–1677.

⁸ N. 486, II [B₃^a]. Chardin goes on to say that others credited the Portuguese with the first introduction of the plant into Persia, from India, less than two hundred years before, but he doubted the accuracy of this statement. (*Ibid.*)

⁹ *Dict. de Commerce*, 1723–1730, s.v. *Tabac en Perse*.

¹⁰ Des Bruslons is often referred to as the earliest writer who dealt with this subject (v. *Ath.*, p. 974).

¹¹ *Noticias Americanas*, Madrid.

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in the East, as did several others¹ who sought to justify their beliefs by botanical, archaeological, or historical evidence of a purely conjectural nature.

Among these the renowned botanist, Pallas, is invariably mentioned. He was convinced, he wrote, that the custom of smoking tobacco among the Chinese and the Mongol tribes long antedated the discovery of America and that the peculiar nicotian habits of these people were original with them.² In this opinion he was supported by several eminent botanical authorities, of whom Meyen³ is most often cited.⁴ This scholar agreed that tobacco-smoking was of great antiquity in China, asserted that he had observed "the same tobacco pipes which are still used . . . on very old sculptures,"⁵ that Chinese tobacco grew wild in the East Indies and that this Asiatic tobacco was "quite different from the American species."⁶

While this heretical school never assumed any considerable importance in the past their opinions continued to be recited in various later works which dealt with tobacco. The ideas persist and reappear in new forms. Apparently the latest challenge to the belief in the American origin of tobacco occurs in Prof. Wiener's *Africa and the Discovery of America*,⁷ a work of impressive erudition. In several chapters, he attempts to prove, almost entirely on linguistic grounds, that the source of "tobacco" was the Arabic "tubbāq" (or forms of it)—the name of a plant (or substance derived from it), "obviously the tobacco of our day," long known in Persia and Syria. He maintains, then, that this plant, together with its name and the practise of smoking, passed to the West Africans before 1500. Through them tobacco "found its way into America, half a century, possibly a century before the so-called discovery, chiefly in its sacerdotal significance,"⁸ and it was later brought into the West Indies, Brazil, etc., by the negro slaves carried from the West Coast of Africa early in the XVIth century. Thus, he affirms, it was reintroduced into Europe.⁹

THE silence of many of the early explorers to the Americas on the subject of tobacco; the ambiguity of the earliest references of apparent nicotian interest; the resemblance of characteristics of the American species to those inherent in

¹ V. those cited in Cleland, pp. 6 ff.; Tiedemann, pp. 208–209; *Ath.*, pp. 974 ff.; *NQ.*, No. 40, pp. 154 ff.; Comes, p. 189, *et passim*; and in the pages following here.

² V. the quotations in Steinmetz, pp. 66–67; Wilson, pp. 6–7; and the reference in Cleland, p. 7.

³ V. the trans. by M. Johnston, *Outlines of the Geography of Plants* (†, 1846), p. 361.

⁴ Steinmetz, p. 67; Wilson, pp. 8–9; Mac., p. 5.

⁵ In regard to this passage Wilson (among others) suggests that "such evidence . . . must not be too hastily accepted; for a profoundly scientific botanist, . . . may be very little qualified to pronounce an opinion on the value of such Chinese monumental evidence" as is here so loosely referred to (p. 9).

⁶ V. *infra*, p. 42, in regard to the introduction of *N. Tabacum* into China via the Philippines.

⁷ Philadelphia, †, 1920, 1922.

⁸ Prof. Wiener contends, too, that by the same agency, sweet potatoes, manioc, yams and peanuts

reached the Americas during the early XVIth century, if not before. The introduction of smoking and snuffing to the West Indies by negro slaves was an opinion tentatively submitted many years earlier by Prof. Lichtenstein (*Travels in Southern Africa*, 1803–1806, trans. by Anne Plumptre, 1812, p. 310).

⁹ Prof. Wiener's opinions on the migration of tobacco and the assumed African influences on American nicotian habits have not been accepted by those scholars best qualified to estimate their worth. There is not space here to refute his contentions, but in the concluding volume of this history will be found references to the criticisms of Prof. Wiener's work made by Prof. Dixon, Dr. Laufer and Prof. Setchell. V. the *Glossary*, n. 7.

G. Schweinfurth (*The Heart of Africa*, N. Y., 1874, p. 254) stated that "It is a great indication of the foreign origin of this [the tobacco] plant that there is not a tribe from the Niger to the Nile which has a native word of their own to denote it . . ." (cited

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plants familiar to the Old World, such as varieties of *Hyoscyamus*; the appearance of seemingly uncultivated specimens of the plant in remote parts of the East or in Africa; the rapid and wide dissemination of tobacco from Europe throughout the East, which gave an air of spontaneity to its appearances there; the supposedly ancient pipes discovered in Irish, English, Greek and Roman ruins, and the high degree of development displayed by the Turkish and Oriental smoking apparatus early in the XVIIth century, etc., etc., are among the conditions indicated and the reasons submitted by those favoring the extra-American origin of tobacco (and, consequently, the associated uses of the plant) which have combined to give a specious plausibility to their contentions.

But compared with the complete absence of any nicotian mention of tobacco in the writings of all early travellers to the East, the first recorders of the habits of smoking, snuffing and chewing in America seem explicit and voluble indeed. Nowhere in the works of Marco Polo, William de Rubruquis, Rabbi Benjamin, Vasco de Gama, Pigafetta, "Sir John Mandeville" and others who visited the Orient, etc. before 1500 will one find any reference to tobacco, although some of these authors were at particular pains to describe in careful detail all the habits and products of the people they saw.¹ Nor does any possible allusion to tobacco occur in the old books of the Hebrews² or Chaldeans, in Sanskrit works, in the *Arabian Nights*³ or in the *Koran*.⁴ The ancient monuments of Egypt, Ethiopia, Chaldea, etc., reveal no trace of tobacco.⁵ Had this prolific plant been a product of Africa or the Orient, it could hardly have escaped some notice, however slight, in this lengthy series of chronicles.⁶ The very ambiguity of the first references made by explorers to smoking, snuffing and chewing in America, on the other hand, and the wonder with which these habits were regarded by other travellers there,

by La., *Africa*, p. 13). Cf. also La., *Africa* (especially pp. 3-9), and n. 98-A of this history.

¹ For further details, see Tiedemann (pp. 209-211) who remarks (pp. 211-212) that even the XVIth century travellers, such as Postel, Belon, Gaspar Balby, Newberry, John Saunderson and Rauwolf (who was a good botanist), were silent on the subject of tobacco. See also the authors cited in Comes, pp. 187 ff. (Steinmetz, in *Ath.*, p. 975, has a passage containing similar information almost entirely derived from Tiedemann.)

² Yet some pious antitobacconists have not hesitated to weave it into Biblical history. In the tobacco controversy which raged in England during the middle XIXth century, it was seriously proclaimed from some pulpits that Adam had been tempted and had fallen from grace by the agency of tobacco. A tradition is said to exist in the Greek Church, recorded in the works of the early Fathers, that Noah was inebriated by the devil who made use of tobacco for that purpose. "Ever since that time," the fable continues, "God has laid a heavy curse upon tobacco." (C. Johnston, *Travels in Southern Abyssinia*, 1844, ii, p. 92. The author thought the existence of the tradition a proof that the plant was known in Africa prior to the discovery of America.) Such whimsical conceits have done much to enliven

the nicotian apocrypha, although they lack the merit of wit possessed by him who discovered the origin of "tobacco" in the Hebrew words, *Tob bonus*, *Ach fumus*, *A ejus*: "Good is the smoke thereof." (T. Search, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, London, 1788, lviii, p. 34.)

³ V. Hartwich (p. 87) in regard to an interpolation made to these tales, relating to tobacco, and La., *Africa*, p. 12.

⁴ V. *infra*, p. 10, conclusion of n. 8, and n. 704.

⁵ Cf. 4 *NQ.* II, July, 1868, p. 93. The blow-pipe has sometimes been mistaken for a tobacco pipe, just as certain carvings on Egyptian monoliths have been occasionally confused with sculptures of authentic pipes, etc., in Maya temples (v. *infra*, p. 27). Cf. Fairholt (pp. 43-44, n.) on some of the "archaeological evidence" presented on this subject.

⁶ Throughout Asia, the common names for tobacco were chiefly dependent upon the Hispano-Portuguese form *tabaco*, or were of such vernacular character as to indicate that the plant had been introduced by foreigners (cf. *infra*, p. 42, and n. 158 "e", n. 15). A few localisms for the plant exist in remote parts of Asia and Africa. The Chinese have no ancient character for the plant (v. *infra*, p. 77, n. 4). The linguistics of tobacco are dealt with in various places in this history—v. especially the *Glossary*.

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would indicate the complete unfamiliarity of Europeans with the plant and the customs associated with it. Of important inferential significance is the fact that among none of the tribes of Asia, Africa or Eastern Europe did tobacco enter into any rituals¹ such as those practised by the Indians of Brazil, Mexico, the West Indies, Virginia, etc.² The ceremonial use of tobacco in the Americas is almost sufficient evidence of its antiquity there.

Upon the appearance of tobacco in Western Europe the first botanical writers who described it, such as Dodoens (nos. 5-A, 17-A), Mattioli (nos. 9-A, 11),³ and others⁴ placed it in the familiar genus *Hyoscyamus* (of the family *Solanaceae*),⁵ chiefly because of its narcotic quality. Among the early synonyms for *N. Tabacum* or *N. rustica* were *Hyoscyamus Tertius*, *H. Peruvianus*, *H. luteus*, etc. The confusion of some of the botanists and herbalists was increased, and the consequent errors of classification multiplied, when new specimens of the two chief species (in several varieties) of the plant, indigenous to America, became known in the Old World.⁶ The seeds cultivated in Europe and Asia, too, naturally began to develop individual characteristics and to produce new forms because of changes in soil and climate.

While almost all the old herbalists hailed tobacco as a stranger from the "new Indies," there were a few who thought it a product of Europe. James I (n. 68), among others, remarked that it was a "common herbe, which (though under divers names) grows almost every where." Later, the fact that no apparent historic evidence and sometimes even no tradition of its importation existed in far Eastern countries where tobacco was then being widely cultivated induced some explorers to assume that it was native to Africa, Persia, Java, Korea or some parts of China and the East Indies. (The tobacco plant easily escapes from cultivation and spreads rapidly in favorable climates. This fact must be borne in mind in considering the occasional testimony of travellers that they found it growing wild, and therefore seemingly indigenous, in remote parts of Africa⁷ and Asia.) But for the most part

¹ Certain tribes of Eastern Europe and Asia hold superstitious beliefs concerning tobacco, which are of late origin. In Little Russia the Raskolniks called the plant "the devil's herb" and offered it to the demons of the forest. In the Ukraine the plant was regarded by some natives as the personification of the devil (A. de Gubernatis, *La Mythologie des Plantes*, Vol. II, 1882, p. 357), and other similar conceits exist elsewhere in the hinterlands.

The Palaungs (a Burmese hill-tribe) have woven tobacco into their social and religious life, for the plant is sometimes left as an offering to Buddha and the coffins of the chiefs are lined with it, etc., etc. (L. Milne, *Home of an Eastern Clan*, 1924.)

Elsewhere in Asia the plant and the tobacco pipe have become objects of veneration (v. La., *Asia*, pp. 17-18). The ceremonies associated with tobacco in these places, however, are fairly modern and were only instituted after tobacco became a highly prized part of the social life of the tribe. V. *infra*, p. 154, for references to the extra-recreative uses of tobacco among the Africans and the esteem in which it was held.

² V. nos. 26, 35, 36, etc., and *infra*, pp. 23 ff.

³ V. the cut in n. 9-A.

⁴ Pena and De l'Obel (n. 13) remark that the first observers of the plant in Europe were convinced that it was *Hyoscyamus*.

⁵ This embraces seventy-five genera and nearly eighteen hundred species, many of them narcotic or poisonous plants. The tobacco plant belongs in this mixed company, as botanists include it in the nightshade (*Solanaceae*) family, in which occur, too, such innocent and familiar vegetables as the Irish potato, the tomato, the egg plant, etc.

⁶ V. *infra*, p. 38.

⁷ V. *infra*, p. 151, n. 5. According to G. Schweinfurth (*Festschrift Eduard Seler*, 1922, cited by La., *Africa*, p. 5) about eighty other plants besides tobacco, indigenous to America, were transmitted to Africa during the period of European colonization there.

The smoking of tobacco, too, spread swiftly throughout the Continent, sometimes in the interior long in advance of European traders or explorers (v. *infra*, p. 149 and n. 10 there).

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these recorders offered opinions admittedly conjectural,¹ while others ignored or overlooked the fact that the tobacco plants reported in the Far East, etc., were but varieties of *N. Tabacum* or *N. rustica* (both definitely of American origin and most common of all the species), with distinct features developed by years of culture. Lehmann, in 1818, for instance, unhesitatingly gave the name *N. chinensis* to a tobacco plant grown from seeds brought back from China, unaware that it was but a cultivated form of *N. Tabacum* var. *fruticosa*.² It is known that tobacco (undoubtedly *N. Tabacum* from Mexico or the West Indies) had been introduced into the Philippines by the Spaniards after the third quarter of the XVIth century;³ that varieties indigenous to Brazil reached the Portuguese colony at Macao (established 1557) probably before 1600; and that tobacco was brought into Japan and Korea about the same time.⁴ Thereafter its spread about China, from the south and north, was a matter of brief course, and its appearance elsewhere in the Far East and in Persia, India, etc., was due to the extensive commercial activities of the Portuguese, English and Dutch early in the XVIIth century.⁵ No reliable botanist of our own day has placed the original habitat of the tobacco plant (excepting two species)⁶ elsewhere than in the Americas.

The claim to antiquity of the pseudo-Roman, Celtic and Danish pipes, discovered in ancient Irish or English ruins, has been rejected by competent archaeologists with such finality as to require no further consideration here.⁷ Similarly no satisfactory evidence has ever been adduced that old pipes found in Greece, Rome, Turkey,⁸ etc., were used for smoking tobacco. It is only in American

¹ V. the authors cited in *NQ.*, No. 40, Aug. 1850, pp. 154 ff.

² Comes, pp. 190-191. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 201, 248, 274, and his *Razze*, p. 30.

³ Comes, p. 289, citing Careri, *Voyage; La., Asia*, pp. 2, 4, 17, 18. Comes (*Razze*, p. 23) considers that it was the *N. Tabacum*, var. *havanensis* which was introduced into the Philippines. The first cultivation of the plant there is believed to have been at Luzon. V. *infra*, p. 42, notes, for the dates of its first importation into China, Japan and Korea, etc.

⁴ There is an almost complete unanimity among the native historians of China, Japan and other Eastern countries that tobacco was brought in by foreign traders. Cf. *infra*, p. 42, notes; Dunhill, p. 102; and Satow, pp. 73-74.

⁵ Cf. nos. 158 "e" and "1", and the Index: Far East, Dissemination in.

⁶ Setchell (p. 398) states that only two of the seventy or so species of *Nicotiana* generally recognized are undoubtedly extra-American: *N. suaveolens* and *N. fragrans*, both natives of the Australian region, "closely related to certain Chilean species, and never used for smoking or similar purposes before the advent of the white man to the countries where they are known to occur."

Some ethnobotanists have assumed that the aborigines of New Guinea smoked a native species of tobacco allied to the *N. suaveolens* and that the practise long antedated the period of European contact, and of colonization there. (Cf. Lewis, *Use of Tobacco in New Guinea* . . . †, 1924.) Dr. E. D.

Merrill, however, presents evidence which indicates that the "native" tobacco of New Guinea is but a form of *N. Tabacum*. This was most probably introduced by the Portuguese who settled at Amboina. ("Tobacco in New Guinea," *Amer. Anthropologist*, Vol. 32, No. 1, †, 1930.)

⁷ V. Wilson, *passim*; Fairholt, pp. 152 ff.; Barber, "Antiquity of Tobacco Pipes in Europe," in *The Amer. Antiquarian*, Vol. II, 1879-1880, pp. 3-8, 117-122; McGuire, *passim*; Comes, p. 3; Dunhill, p. 208.

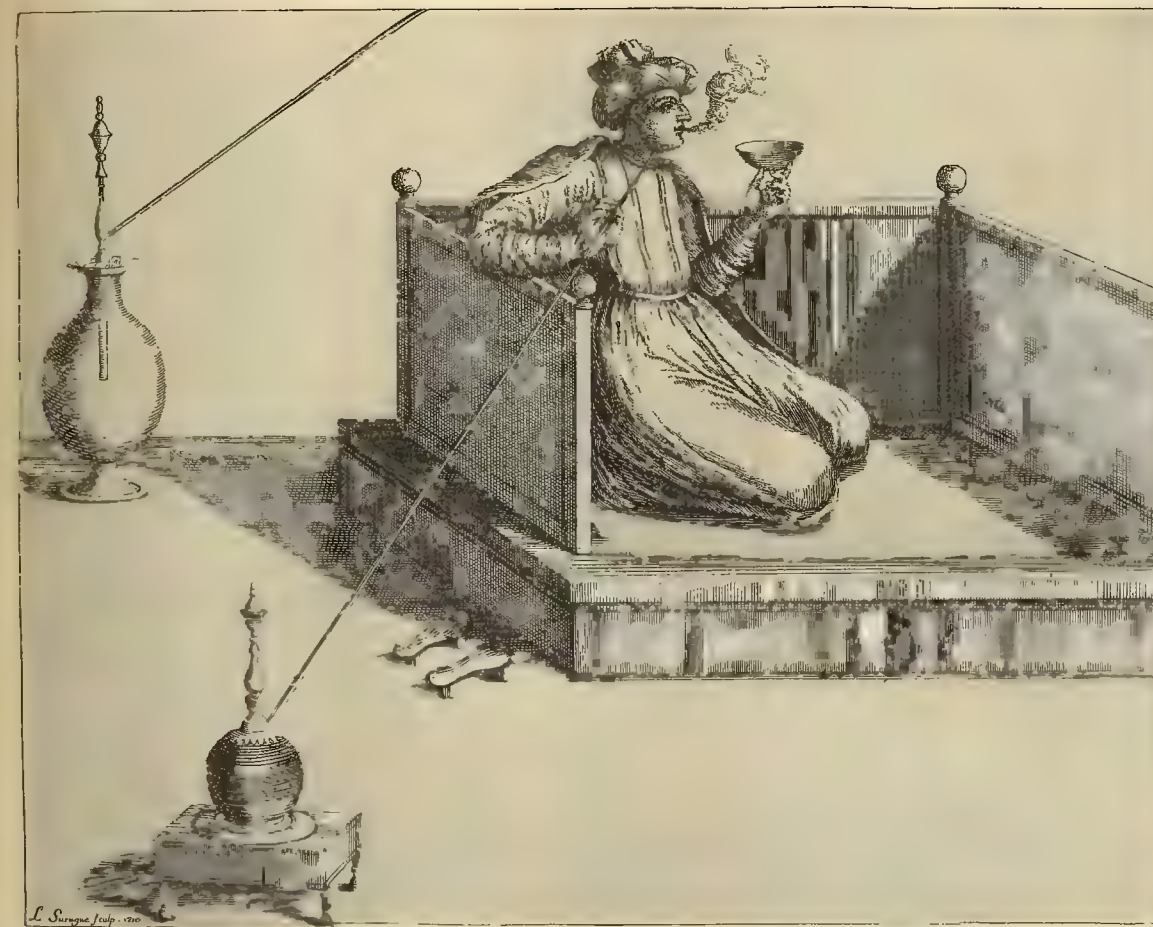
⁸ The type of evidence submitted by several commentators on this phase of the subject may be demonstrated by the opinion, frequently quoted, of Ewliya Effendi (in Cleland, p. 7; *Ath.*, p. 975; *et al.*). In his curious book of travels he reported that a tobacco pipe was unearthed in a Grecian building in Constantinople, which was of pre-Mohammedan construction. It still, said the Effendi, retained a nicotian odor, and this was, apparently, sufficient reason for him to proclaim that the practise of smoking tobacco was undoubtedly ancient in the Old World.

In reference to the unsupported opinion of this author, his translator, in the *Quarterly Review* (No. lxxv, p. 203), remarked that "smoking, having at first been prohibited by the Mahomedans as an innovation, and contrary to the principle of their law, the pipe had probably been inserted in the wall by some lover of tobacco, in order to furnish an argument for the antiquity of the custom, and, therefore, of its lawfulness." (Quoted in *A Paper:—Of Tobacco* [W. A. Chatto], †, 1839, p. 11.)

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mounds and village sites that undoubted tobacco pipes have been unearthed which provide for most scholars ample assurance of the antiquity of smoking in America.¹

The perfection displayed by Turkish and Oriental water-pipes early in the XVIIth century furnishes no acceptable proof that the custom of tobacco-smoking was practised in these regions before 1600 or thereabouts. It was the almost immediate popularity of the novel recreation throughout the Mohammedan world, India, and Persia which promoted the rapid development of the *nargilehs*, *kalian*s, etc., for the use of the sedentary, indolent, leisure classes. These were evolved independently of the simpler pipes² modelled upon the specimens introduced by



PERSIAN SMOKING THE "CALLION."

From *Voyages de M. Le Chevalier Chardin en Perse*, 1711 (n. 486). Plate XIX, Vol. II. [Reduced]

the Portuguese and the English.³ But the prototypes of the complex mechanisms employed chiefly at first by the Arabians, Persians and Asiatic Indians, to filter and cool the vapor they inhaled, were undoubtedly the crude *dakka* (hemp) water-pipes of the South African aborigines.⁴ It is very probable that the Arab⁵ slave-

¹ Wilson, McGuire, Linton (p. 1), *et al.*

² Such as the Turkish *chibouque* described by Lithgow, n. 179 (and cf. Dunhill, pp. 152 ff.).

³ V. *infra*, pp. 41-42.

⁴ V. Dunhill, p. 135, *et passim*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 143-144.

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traders first adapted these primitive pipes to tobacco and that they disseminated this novel method of inhaling the new narcotic throughout Asia Minor and the East.¹ The ingenious artisans of the Levant and of the Orient quickly improved upon the primitive African water-pipes, so that soon after tobacco became generally known in Asia, European travellers were able to comment upon the elaborate perfection of the Eastern smoking apparatus.²

The evidence of history, literature, botany, archaeology, etc., briefly presented in the foregoing pages confirms, therefore, the general conviction that the original habitat of tobacco was in the Americas³ and that the customs of chewing, snuffing and smoking tobacco were plainly derived from the aborigines there.

THE two species of *Nicotiana* most widely used socially are *N. Tabacum* and *N. rustica*.⁴ While the exact original habitats of these plants are uncertain the evidence points strongly to the interior of Brazil⁵ for the former and to Mexico for the latter. Long before the discovery of America both species had spread to distant regions, so that when the first Europeans came they found *N. Tabacum* prevalent throughout most of Brazil and north (excluding Peru, etc.) through the larger part of Mexico, while *N. rustica* occurred also in parts of Brazil, Mexico and the West Indies,⁶ and was cultivated and smoked by the Indian tribes of North America east (and immediately west) of the Mississippi River and in the lower part of eastern Canada.⁷

The leaves of plants other than tobacco were smoked in some regions in North America, chiefly in the West, Southwest and in parts of Canada. Hartwich⁸ provides a list, derived mainly from Tiedemann, McGuire, and others, of sixteen such plants, the uses of which were largely abandoned as tobacco became plentiful and was found to provide a more agreeable smoke. But in some places these substances continued to be used in pipes even when good tobacco was obtainable.⁹

¹ The opinion has occasionally been advanced that the water-pipe was in existence in Persia before the introduction of tobacco, being employed to smoke hemp. But, as Dr. Laufer (*Asia*, p. 27) indicates, this hypothesis is not substantiated by any direct historical evidence, for all the accounts we possess which relate to hemp-smoking in Persia are subsequent to the period when tobacco first became known there.

In the East it was sometimes customary to blend tobacco with the extracts of hemp-resin, while, later, a mixture of tobacco and opium was to appeal to Chinese taste.

² *V.* the account of the Persian *kalian* by Terry (n. 158 "o") who was in India 1616-1619, the illustration in n. 148, and *infra*, pp. 69 ff.

³ Except for the two species noticed *ante*, p. 10, n. 6, ¶1.

⁴ It is these two species with which this history most largely deals. *V. infra*, pp. 39-41, for botanical descriptions, etc., of these plants, and the Index: Botanies, and Herbals.

⁵ Setchell (p. 401) adds "and possibly somewhere on the lower eastern slopes of the Andes."

Not all of the tribes of Brazil smoked *N. Tabacum*, however (v. n. 26, n. 4). Hartwich (p. 48) suggests that narcotic plants (usually of the family *Solanaceae*) were often employed by the Brazilians. Cf., too, Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants* (1902), p. 140.

The Tropic of Capricorn may be taken as a convenient line to mark the southern limit of aboriginal tobaccos in South America (cf. n. 147).

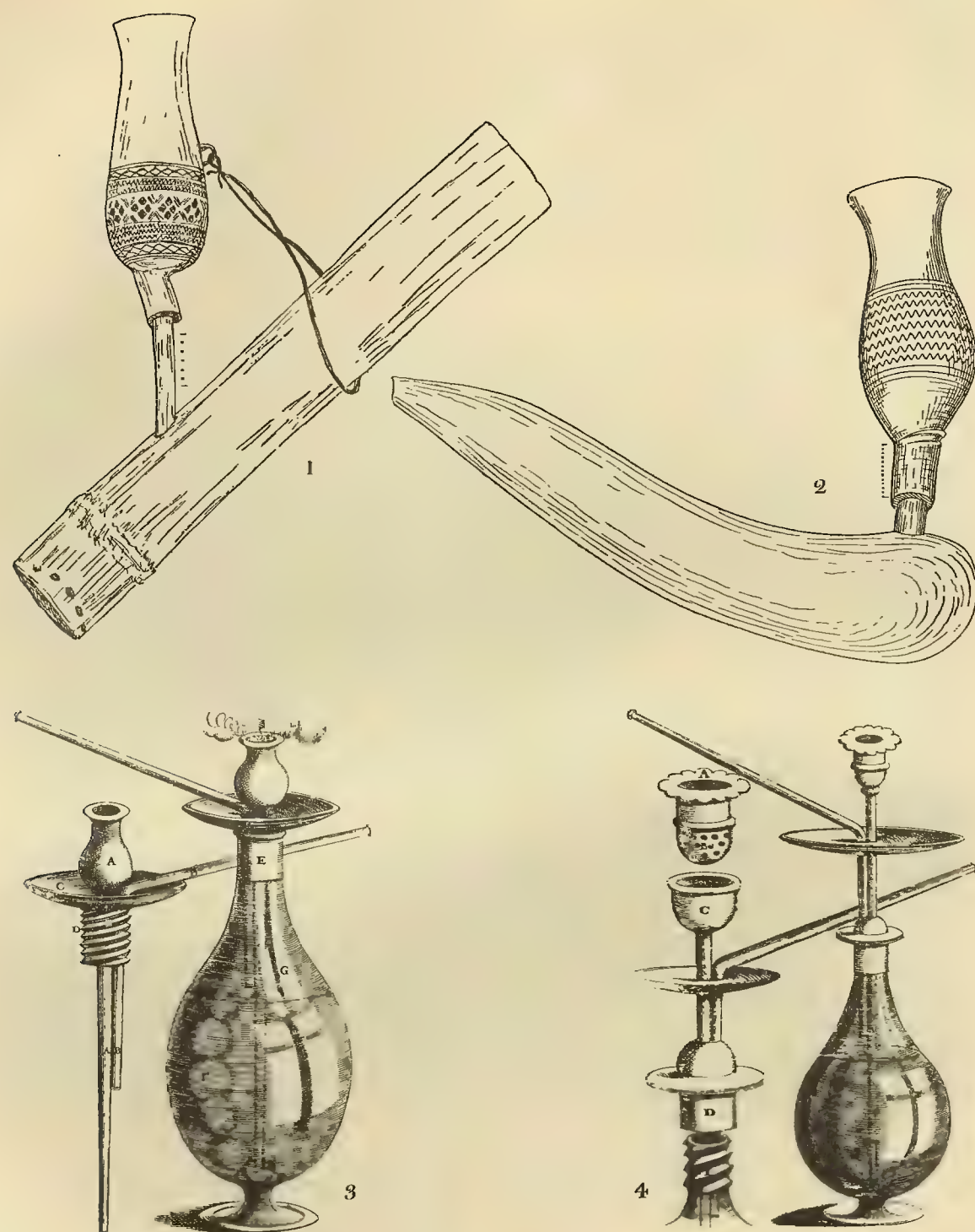
⁶ Cf. *infra*, p. 19, notes 9 and 10, and v. pp. 38, 39 and n. 4 there.

⁷ Cf. the account of Cartier (n. 5), and the Index: Canada.

⁸ Pp. 32-33.

⁹ Cf. Squier and Davis, *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley* (†, 1848), p. 229; v. Cooke, *The Seven Sisters of Sleep* (†, 1860), pp. 107-108, and *cp.* his Table, p. 369.

Species of *Nicotiana* other than *N. rustica* grew wild, or were cultivated in the vast region west of the Mississippi, and some of these, too, were smoked or chewed. *V.* Setchell, pp. 403 ff., and the map (reproduced *infra*, p. 37) showing the distribution of aboriginal tobaccos in North America.



DAKKA AND PERSIAN WATER-PIPES

Figures 1 and 2 illustrate the more developed forms of *dakka* pipes: (1) with bamboo stem, (2) with gourd stem. The scale near the base of the bowls represents one inch. These are from Dunhill, *The Pipe Book* (London: A. & C. Black, †, 1924), Figures 127 and 128.

Figures 3 and 4 are reproductions of the earliest published illustrations known of the Persian water-pipe (: *kalian*; Indian, *hooka*). They are from Neander, *Tabacologia*, 1622 (n. 148). [Reduced] The principle of these early Oriental pipes (cf. n. 158 "o") is the same as that of the present-day *hooka*, but there are differences in form and materials. The tubes of the old pipes, according to Neander, were of gold, silver or tin-plate (*vide* n. 148, note 10). See the illustration facing page 71 for a modern example.



Figs. 1 and 2. Ancient Mexican pipe of clay. "a" marks the bowl; "b," the mouthpiece. (From Tiedemann, *Geschichte des Tabaks*, I, 1854, Plate L.) Fig. 3. "Handle disk," pipe, discovered in a mound in Hart Co., Kentucky. (Probably of Siouan origin—cf. West, I, pp. 207-210.) Length: $4\frac{7}{8}$ ". Fig. 4. Indian pipe of fossil (ammonite), found in Pottawatomie, Kansas. Height: 4". Figs. 3 and 4 are from original drawings by Frank Calvert in the Arents collection, of specimens in the U. S. National Museum.

ANCIENT AMERICAN PIPES

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For the most part, however, the natives of upper North America blended tobacco with other herbs. In those sections where tobacco was scarce, and for "winter smoking," economy dictated this practise, but the usage among these Indians seems to have grown chiefly from a desire for a milder smoke than their imperfectly cured tobacco alone provided and to improve the flavor.¹ In the northeastern parts of what is now the United States and in eastern Canada this smoking preparation was called "kinnikinnick," from the Algonkian word meaning "that which is mixed,"² and each tribe had its individual formula for preparing it. It usually consisted of tobacco, sumac leaves, the inner bark of a species of dogwood, the roots of various pungent herbs, or whatever similar substance appealed to individual taste. Oil was added to bind the dust.³

It was of course in the regions of the greatest abundance of tobacco that nicotian habits most fully prevailed, and from which they spread to other tribes. The origins and evolution of these habits may be only conjectured.⁴ Perhaps, where the wild ancestors of cultivated tobaccos grew, chewing the leaves of the plant—a natural procedure with aborigines⁵—was first indulged in and continued by those tribes not readily susceptible to cultural influences.⁶ Smoking—from its widespread use among American Indians obviously an immemorial custom—might very probably have been derived from the incense ceremonies of medicine-men and priests.⁷ The means by which smoke was inhaled for recreative purposes were dictated by several factors, among which were the wild or cultivated state of the plant, the cultural development of tribes which smoked tobacco, the kinds of material most readily available for taking smoke, etc., etc. Thus in one area (the West Indies, Brazil and Central America)⁸ it was customary to roll the small leaves of tobacco and to wrap them in a larger leaf of the same, maize, etc., resulting in the prototype of the cigar;⁹ in Mexico, where a high degree of civilization existed, a tube pipe of tortoise-shell, silver, wood, reed,¹⁰ or clay (in many shapes), and a reed-cigarette¹¹ were in evidence; while in North America the pipe (in various forms:

¹ This preference is still in widespread evidence among cigarette smokers today (*v. infra*, p. 172, n. 4).

² McGuire (in Hodge, ii, p. 769) translates the word as "(what is) mixed by hand." Cf. *ibid.*, i, p. 692.

³ *V.* n. 890; Linton, pp. 7-8; West, I, pp. 109-114.

⁴ Hartwich (p. 49) presents the opinion that smoking originated in North and Central America and then spread south. He bases his belief on the use of many plants for smoking in North America (*v. supra*); on the pipes discovered in ancient mounds; and on the almost universal prevalence of the pipe, in contrast to the absence of smoking in many parts of South America at the time of the Discovery. Smoking may, however, he continues, have sprung up independently in one or two places in South America. But cf. Radin, *The Story of the American Indian* [1927], *passim*.

⁵ *V. ante*, p. 5, n. 10, for reference to the Australian natives who chewed the leaves of *N. suaveolens* and who were unfamiliar with smoking.

⁶ Cf. n. 1. Snuffing was also practised chiefly in the West Indies and in some parts of South America, usually with the pulverized leaves of narcotic plants

(*v. n. 2*, and note 11 there), and, more rarely, with tobacco. The uses of the latter were almost entirely restricted at first to ritual and medicinal purposes (*v. nos. 2, 95, etc.*).

⁷ *V. infra*, p. 28.

⁸ *V.* numbers 14, 8, 10, etc., and *cp. n. 4, n. 7*.

⁹ Dunhill (p. 29) suggests the probability that the pipe was a development of the primitive cigar. In Brazil the pipe, although rarely referred to by the early explorers, was in use there, as well as the cigar (*cf. n. 8*, note 5). It was in Brazil that the Portuguese learned the use of the tobacco pipe, which they carried with them to the Far East (*v. infra*, pp. 41-42, and Dunhill, p. 103).

¹⁰ Dunhill, p. 30.

¹¹ *V.* numbers 4, 73, and 177. Perhaps the reed-cigarette was also in use in Haiti (*v. n. 114*). While these "cigarettes" are regarded by some commentators as an intermediate form between the crude cigar and the pipe, it is more likely that they were an individual development, peculiar to the cultured people of Mexico, who also employed a straight or tube pipe. Cf. Mason, pp. 1-2, 6; and West, II, plate 228.



VARIOUS TYPES OF PIPES FROM INDIAN MOUNDS IN NORTH AMERICA

Figure 1 illustrates the general form called the "monitor" type. From Squier and Davis, *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley* (t, 1848) Figure 126, p. 227. (Cf. West, I, pp. 156 ff.) Figures 2, 3, and 4 are illustrations of casts of mound pipes (effigy pipes of stone; "monitor" or "platform" type) discovered in Mound City, Ohio. Lengths: 3 3/8", 3 1/2", and 3 5/8", respectively. Figure 5. Mound pipe from Chillicothe, Ohio. Length: 5". From original drawings by Frank Calvert in the Arenas collection, of specimens in the U. S. National Museum. (Cf. Squier and Davis—*op. cit. supra*, pp. 242-272; McGuire, pp. 510 ff.; Dunhill, Chap. IV; and West, *passim*.)

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"mound," tubular, elbow, etc.) composed of clay, wood, lobster claws,¹ metals, marbles and reed, sandstone or steatite, basalt, porphyry and several other hard stones,² was the common apparatus for smoking.³

We cannot here hope to trace the ancient migrations of American tribes and the consequent transference of nicotian habits. The subject is vast⁴ and much of it still conjectural. At the time of the Discovery the tobacco customs of most South and North American tribes had been long established, but the white man was to play an important part in spreading the habit of smoking among Indians unaccustomed to it and in introducing cultivated tobaccos into the regions where he settled.⁵

THE recorded history of tobacco begins, appropriately enough, with the discovery of America. The natives Columbus met were in the habit of establishing friendly relations with strangers by the medium of tobacco. While he was at San Salvador, the admiral had some dried brown leaves for smoking offered to him by the Arawaks, as a fraternal token. That ancient gesture, thus first observed by Europeans, was a common sign of amity with all Americans wherever tobacco was known. The white strangers soon adopted it and it was the only manifestation of Indian etiquette which became, in various forms, a part of the social rites of civilized man, developing into an almost universal sign of fellowship.

Columbus could have had no prescience, of course, that in the uninteresting leaves he saw (and which he was to see again before he reached Cuba or Haiti)⁶ lay a greater share of the wealth he sought among the fabled Indies than all the gold Spain was to derive from its new possessions.

Early in November, 1492, two of Columbus' crew had witnessed the use of crude cigars by the Indians⁷ of Cuba (or Haiti)—a circumstance later verified by Las Casas (*v. n.* 14). The mystifying habit thus reported—smoking, most popular of all the means whereby tobacco was employed—was of evident antiquity in the Americas. Surely no other native custom could have awakened greater interest⁸ among the adventurers than one whereby men apparently "drank" smoke for

¹ *V. n.* 158 "h".

² *V. the Index* to this history, under Pipes; and *cf.* Squier and Davis (t, 1848), Dunhill, *passim*, McGuire, *passim*, and West.

³ An exception to the otherwise exclusive use of the pipe in North America (outside of Mexico and Central America) occurred in the Southwest, among the Pueblo Indians. Prehistoric ruins in this section have disclosed numerous charred butts of reed-cigarettes, but as these do not occur in the lower archaeological levels, it has been assumed that the most ancient instrument for smoking was here, as elsewhere in North America, the pipe. The reed-cigarette undoubtedly came in from contiguous Mexico. It was succeeded by a cigarette with a corn-husk wrapper. (Linton, p. 9.) *V. West*, I, p. 314, and II, Plate 25.

⁴ *V. Wissler, passim*; Radin (*op. cit. ante*, p. 15, n. 4); Dunhill, p. 25 *et passim*.

⁵ *V. infra*, pp. 82, 86. *Cf.*, too, McGuire, *passim*,

Hartwich, *passim*, Wissler, *passim*, *et al.*

⁶ "Under date of October 15 [1492] the Admiral found a man in a canoe, between the island of *Santa Maria de la Concepcion* and the island of *Fernandina*, who bore dry leaves of great estimation among the natives and samples of which the Admiral says were offered him as a present while yet he was at San Salvador or Guanahani. These undoubtedly were tobacco leaves." Thacher, i, p. 560, n. 4. *V.*, too, the introduction and first excerpt in n. 14.

⁷ *V. ante*, p. 4, n. 3.

⁸ All of the early observers who commented upon the Indian practise of smoking tobacco were impressed by its novelty, and apparently knew no existing processes with which to associate it. If, therefore, the inhalation of smoke as a therapeutic agent was practised at all by Europeans at this period (*cf. ante*, p. 5 and n. 8 there) it was so infrequent, or employed in such a form, as to bear no resemblance to the Indian habit of smoking.

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This map shows the approximate extent of smoking and chewing in 1492.
From Wissler, *The American Indian* (Oxford University Press, 1922)

pleasure. It is because of the wonder this performance must have occasioned that there is some color to the theory that Columbus first imported the leaves or seeds of tobacco into Europe before 1500.¹

¹ So able a scholar as Henry Stevens, for instance, remarked that "Columbus brought home to Spain in 1493, nine or ten Indians, a few parrots . . . a hammock, tobacco, etc. The tobacco (first noticed Oct. 17, 1492, as 'some dried leaves' among the scanty stores in the canoe of a Guanahani Indian) . . . was the greatest of all his novelties, and destined to become the grand source of individual consolation and national revenue throughout the world." *The New Laws of the Indies* [etc.], 1542-1543 (London, 1893), pp. xiii-xiv. Columbus had observed tobacco before Oct. 17—*v. ante*, p. 17 and n. 6 there.)

Other writers have not hesitated to state as a fact that this importation occurred, but we have no specific proof to this effect. Among those also credited with early introductions into Europe of the seeds of tobacco are Ramon Pane (*v. n. 2*), Peter Martyr (*ibid.*); Cortez in 1519, Oviedo (*n. 4*), and Cartier (*v. infra*, p. 20, n. 7). (*V. Comes*, pp. 62-63, citing several writers who indulged in these conjectures.) But the earliest deliberate importations of tobacco seeds or plants into Europe of which records occur were those of Thevet (*v. nos. 8, 21*), Hernández (*n. 114*), and an anonymous mariner (*v. n. 12, n. 7*).

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Chiefly because tobacco was so completely unknown in Europe the earliest allusions made to its use were confused or of an obscure nature. Indeed, that these observations related to tobacco at all may be determined only by careful analysis, or by the help of collateral evidence.

In the first published¹ ethnological study of American natives, for instance, written by Ramon Pane,² is an account of the ritualistic uses made of a narcotic snuff called *cohoba*. Early commentators identified this powdered preparation with pulverized tobacco and for more than four centuries the belief persisted that *cohoba* was the aboriginal name for tobacco in part of the West Indies. We know now that a plant of narcotic power supplied the Indians with the chief ingredients of this composition.³ It seems reasonable to assume, however, that tobacco was mixed with, and later wholly substituted for, this drug.⁴

The next notice of interest in this history, while not so inexplicit as the account of the cigar (*supra*) nor so indefinite as the original relation of tobacco to *cohoba*, is tantalizingly vague. This was Vespucci's account (*n. 1*) of a custom which is now understood to have been tobacco-chewing, witnessed by him in 1499 on the island of Margarita off Venezuela.⁵ That this masticatory was composed of tobacco seems to have been confirmed by an observation on the same habit made by Ferdinand Columbus (*n. 14*) in Central America, in 1502.

Thus, before the close of the XVth century, Europeans had witnessed the only forms of employing tobacco for recreative purposes—smoking, snuffing, and chewing. Within the next few decades they were to have many occasions to see the use of the prototype of the cigarette in Mexico⁶ and of the pipe in North America,⁷ thus completing their knowledge of all the usual modes by which tobacco was employed as a luxury in its original home.⁸

In the West Indies the tobacco plant (undoubtedly *N. rustica*)⁹ grew wild and during the early years of the Spanish conquest was not cultivated by the natives.¹⁰ In Mexico, however, in the provinces of Yucatan and Tabasco, the Spaniards who

¹ This account was preceded by the observations recorded by Columbus in the "Journal" of his second voyage (*v. infra*, p. 244).

² First published in an abridged form by Martyr (*n. 2*), in full by F. Columbus (*n. 14*).

³ *V. infra*, p. 195.

⁴ In any event, *cohoba* and what relates to it is not to be ignored by the historian, for the native method of inhaling it (originally associated with Indian rituals) is the undoubted source of the snuffing habit introduced into France in the middle of the XVIth century. Indeed, it was this form of tobacco-taking which, in the XVIIIth century, was the only one approved by the arbiters of fashion in Europe (*v. infra*, pp. 157 ff.).

⁵ *V. n. 1* and concluding notes there. The habit became widely adopted by European sailors later, chiefly because it provided tobacco in a form which eliminated fire hazards at sea.

⁶ *V. ante*, p. 15, n. 11.

⁷ *V. n. 5* and Sparke's account, *infra*, pp. 240-241.

⁸ Tobacco was licked (when not chewed) by some tribes contiguous to the coca-chewing areas of the

Andean highlands (Mason, p. 11). Wissler (p. 27) states that the chewing of tobacco was accompanied by various forms of eating and drinking it, etc. *V. n. 287* for Biet's report of a tobacco-drinking ritual.

In various parts of Europe and elsewhere some members of peasant communities later adopted nicotine habits as barbarous and noxious as those recorded here. Thus it has been reported that in the hinterlands of Scandinavia the natives found pleasure in stuffing their nostrils with tobacco. Joubert reported that the inhabitants of Greenland delighted in drinking the offensive empyreumatic oil of tobacco which they sucked from the pipe. (*Nouveau Manuel Complet . . . de Tabac*, t, 1844, pp. 14-15, citing Murray.)

⁹ *V. n. 4, n. 4*.

¹⁰ *N. Tabacum* (now almost entirely the tobacco of commerce—*v. infra*, p. 39) was introduced by the Spaniards before 1535 into St. Domingo from Yucatan, and elsewhere in the West Indies later. *V. infra*, p. 82 and notes 1-3 there for an account of these transplantations.

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accompanied Grijalva in 1518¹ and Cortez in 1519 found that the cultivation of tobacco was an old agricultural art.² It was in these regions (and the West Indies) that the plant made its first triumphant conquest of those who were strangers to it. Chiefly in the form of cigars it rapidly became a part of the daily habits of Spaniards and their negro slaves,³ thus indicating how, apparently, nature had intended it to satisfy the most diversified tastes of mankind. So popular was this recreative use of the plant among the white settlers in the West Indies that the clergy reproved it as vicious and unhealthy, just as others were later to proclaim (or imply) that by this "heathen fume" the devil sought to wean Christians from their faith.⁴ But, as Las Casas reported (*v. n.* 14), their protests were unavailing.⁵

In the meantime, explorers were actively traversing the great reaches of land that lay north and south of Mexico. Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (*n.* 158 "a"), about 1527-1528, remarked upon the eagerness with which the Indians above the gulf of Mexico made themselves "drunk with a certain smoke," and in other works there are similar obscure allusions to tobacco habits.⁶ But no reference to the tobacco plant in North America occurs before that published by Cartier, 1545 (*n.* 5), in the relation of his visit to Montreal, etc., in 1535-1536.⁷ It is his account which first describes the use of the tobacco pipe.

It should be observed in passing that the adventurers who recorded their expeditions were able to comment upon tobacco only when they had had the experience of meeting friendly natives, or of exploring the interior where the daily life of the Indians could come under observation. These conditions explain, in part, the silence on the subject of tobacco by some early travellers in America.

As the Europeans established relations with the natives, and increased the range of their explorations, they must have had numerous opportunities for observing this strange mode of using a plant for pleasure, and for indulging in it themselves. Thus the habit spread among the adventurers and mariners who sailed to and from the New World.

It is a subtle condition of the practise of smoking that, once fully adopted, it should be generously shared, so that each addict of the "divine herb" becomes its patron and genial propagandist. If this be true now, how much more evident it

¹ *V. infra*, pp. 205-206.

² The native methods were so satisfactory that their principles were retained by the Spaniards for almost three and a half centuries.

³ *V. infra*, p. 204.

⁴ *V. infra*, p. 56, *n.* 1.

⁵ It was the rapid growth of the tobacco habit among their own people in the West Indies and Mexico which first indicated to the Spaniards its economic value, and which instituted one of the most profitable trades carried on by them with any product of the New World. *V. infra*, p. 82.

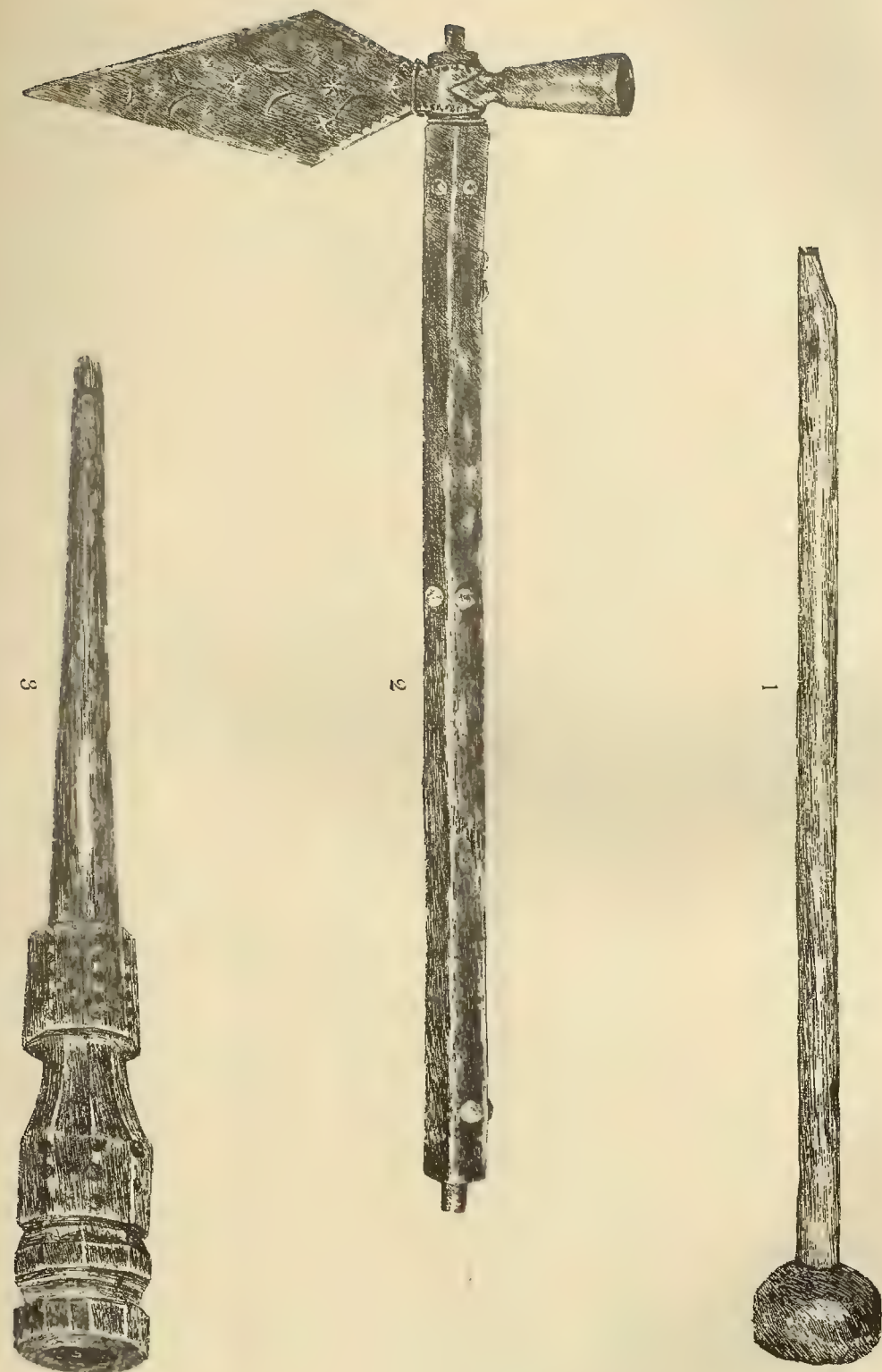
⁶ *V. n.* 158 "b" and notes. Ponce de León in 1512 and Verrazano in 1523 are said to have observed the use of tobacco in Florida (*v. Comes*, p. 45; Corti, p. 57; *et al.*), but the historical bases for these opinions are obscure. (Indeed, in "Verrazano the Navigator," a paper read before the Amer. Geographical Soc., N. Y., Nov. 28, 1871, the author,

J. C. Brevoort, specifically stated that Verrazano fails to mention the use of tobacco.)

The Portuguese explorer Cabral, who was on the coast of Brazil in 1500, witnessed what was apparently a pipe-smoking ritual. But the violent effects of the vapor inhaled by the medicine-men suggest that some powerful narcotic plant was employed in these ceremonies—not tobacco. Cf. the account in J. Osorio, *De rebus Emmanuelis Regis Lusitaniae*, Lisbon, 1571 (on E₂^b).

⁷ Gondolff (*Le Tabac dans le Nord de la France*, †, 1910, p. 3) suggests the probability that Cartier introduced tobacco seeds into France at this time. This patriotic assumption is of very doubtful validity. Not all of the early explorers had so scientific an interest in an apparently worthless plant—commercially valueless for many years after the Discovery—as their biographers would have one believe (*v. ante*, p. 18, conclusion to note there).

Figure 1. All-wood pipe of the Hupa Indians. Length: 15". (*Cf.* McGuire, Figure 27, page 392.) Figure 2. Tomahawk pipe, Dakota Sioux. From Devil's Lake, North Dakota. Length: bowl, 10 3/8"; handle, 20 7/8". This pipe is known as the Minnewaukan type. (*Cf.* West, II, Plate 244, Figure 6; and on tomahawk pipes, *v.* the same, I, pages 317-325.) Figure 3. Carved wood pipe, McCloud River Indians, Shasta Co., California. Length: 12 5/8". From original drawings by Frank Calvert in the Arenas collection, of specimens in the United States National Museum.



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must have been in a day when all the associations of tobacco were novel and inviting. Added to their frank pleasure in the acquisition of this Indian custom there would have been a very natural desire on the part of returned adventurers to astonish their less restless friends and families at home with a display of the newly acquired habit.¹

Thus, no one may say with certainty just when the tobacco plant and the smoking of it originally reached Europe. It seems only reasonable to infer, in relation to the conditions then existing, that both became known first in Spain and Portugal quite early in the XVIth century,² and a little later in Belgium, France and England.³ Smoking must have been restricted at first to sailors and perhaps some initiates in seaport towns. It was only when the habit had become fairly fixed among civilians that there was any necessity for importing the plant in quantity.⁴ Perhaps some enterprising mariners had attempted, quite early, to convey the leaves home, but until the proper means of curing and transporting tobacco were understood, the first efforts would have resulted in spoiled cargoes. It seems highly probable that, during this period, some sailors would have thought to bring back with them the seeds of tobacco, to insure a supply of the coveted leaf for themselves at home.⁵

In Spain the use of the cigar learned in the West Indies was most prevalent and continued in greatest popularity until the general acceptance of the cigarette.⁶ The Portuguese and English adventurers early habituated themselves chiefly to the pipe,⁷ although some of them appear to have accepted the cigar,⁸ while the French may, too, at a fairly early date have adopted the pipe for recreation.⁹ The form in which tobacco was smoked by members of these four Western European nations, therefore, was largely determined by their colonists in the Americas, and by the localities explored by their seamen.

It was with the commencement of the second half of the XVIth century that the history of tobacco really began to assume shape and interest. From that time on tobacco was much in evidence in Europe as is attested by many chroniclers. At first, as will be shown, its annals relate chiefly to the growth of a medical superstition, just as, a little later, they were to record almost entirely the progress of a social habit.

As the practise of smoking tobacco began to grow among seafarers and others, and to attract popular interest, the botanists and scientific men required specimens of the plant which nourished the habit. It was for this reason chiefly that individual introductions of tobacco (in seeds or whole plant) occurred in Belgium, France, Portugal, and Spain before 1560.

¹ See the account in Pennant (n. 893) of the three sea captains who are said to have first smoked *segars* publicly in London—a demonstration which startled civilians flocked to see. In the work of Pena and De l'Obel (n. 13) it is particularly remarked that all sailors who returned from the Americas smoked.

² As the kingdom of Naples was under Spanish control then it is thought likely that foreign soldiers smoked there early in the XVIth century (*v.* the introd. to n. 11).

³ *V.* nos. 5-A, 12 (21), and 13.

⁴ *V. infra*, p. 82.

⁵ *V.* the concluding notes to the excerpts in nos. 31 and 36 for later XVIth century importations into England.

⁶ *V. infra*, pp. 168 ff.

⁷ Acquired from the contact of the first with Brazilian natives (*v. ante*, p. 15, n. 9) and, of the latter with the Indians of Virginia, etc. (*v.* n. 36).

⁸ *Cf.* n. 13 and Dunhill, p. 102.

⁹ *Cf.* nos. 5 and 36 (last ¶ of concluding note), and *v. infra*, p. 45, n. 9.

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The exact date and place of the first appearance of the tobacco plant in Europe cannot now be definitely ascertained but what is apparently the earliest record of its growth in the Old World is that provided by Dodoens (n. 5-A). It is very likely that a variety of *N. rustica* was cultivated in some physic garden in Belgium by 1554,¹ as Dodoens implies, although the old herbalist does not classify it as a new plant from America or differentiate it from horticultural specimens familiar to European botanists.

André Thevet (*v.* nos. 8, 21) stated that, upon his return from Brazil, 1556, he had brought with him the seeds of *petun* (*N. Tabacum*) and planted them in his garden in Angoulême. Within a year or two, a Flemish mariner, on his way from Florida, conveyed the seeds of *N. rustica* into Portugal, where they were cultivated in the royal garden at Lisbon, probably under the care of the historian, Damião de Goes.² Hernández, who had gone to Mexico to collect its natural curiosities, included among them either the seeds of tobacco or specimens of the plant upon his return to Spain, 1558–1559 (n. 114). Of the accuracy of these latter dates and introductions we are assured by many contemporary and later vouchers and they represent the first certain importations of tobacco seeds (or plants) into Europe.

The plants tended by Thevet in Angoulême flourished quietly and were to remain secluded until challenged by a new arrival;³ those brought back by Hernández adorned the royal gardens of Spain and spread into private grounds without much comment except upon their beauty;⁴ but the Floridan tobacco cultivated in Lisbon was destined for great fame and a strange career.

BEFORE entering into this special phase of tobacco's history, it is necessary to consider the extra-recreative uses of the plant by American Indians. Almost all of the early historians who commented upon it noticed the religious esteem in which it was held by the aborigines. Tobacco was eminently fitted for primitive rituals: it contained within itself forces which could induce a form of narcotism or trance⁵ (and, thus, to the aborigines, it was one of the plants endowed with supernatural powers); it was aromatic and therefore suitable as incense; it was beautiful, and sometimes majestic, in bloom; and, as it was consumed by fire—the cleanser—it mysteriously disappeared into the great void, the abode of gods and departed spirits, to whom the breath of the pipe was sweet. There were solemn tobacco ceremonies that none dared neglect: the powder of the precious herb cast upon stormy waters would mollify the angry gods (n. 36) or bring good fortune to fishermen (*ibid.*); the smoke blown over warriors would endow them with fortitude (n. 26); while the same element or its dust would drive away evil spirits or cure a sick child. Before one destroyed a rattlesnake it was needful that tobacco be sprinkled upon its head so that its spirit would be placated, and if one killed a bear the pipe of peace must be placed in its mouth and the fumes blown down its throat

¹ Schwab (*Der Tabakbau*, 1852, p. x; cited by Comes, p. 75) affirms that tobacco was cultivated in Holland from 1561.

² *V.* nos. 12, n. 7 and 28, n. 3.

³ *V.* nos. 12 and 21.

⁴ *V. infra*, p. 247.

⁵ *Cf.* nos. 4, 10, etc. Several authorities have re-

marked upon the fact that the Indian was more readily susceptible to the effects of narcotics than the average European. The full inhalation of tobacco smoke as then practised by medicine-men, chiefly in South America, and by some lay members, would quickly produce a state of stupefaction in those who indulged in the practise.

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as an offering to its ghost.¹ As an essential preliminary to any important undertaking the Osages would smoke a pipe with an invocation such as "Great Spirit, come down to smoke with me as a friend! Fire and Earth, smoke with me and help me to overthrow my foes!"² The Sioux lifted their calumets³ and cried "Smoke, sun!"; and the gods of rain and thunder received like tributes.⁴ There were shrines where an offering of tobacco was left to insure the success of prayers; among some tribes the culture of the sacred plant became the charge of those especially selected by supernatural revelation⁵ and all members joined in religious festivals when it was sown;⁶ there were proud tribes to each of which a pipe had been presented by the Great Spirit Himself⁷ and to which no evil could come whilst they cherished it.

A considerable portion of the folklore of North American Indians is concerned with tobacco and with pipes, while their chants and fireside tales, which praised the plant as a balm for unhappiness, a comfort to the body, an aid to wise counsel, etc., are suffused with gratitude to the Spirit who so beneficently bestowed the venerated herb upon man.⁸ Tobacco was intimately woven into the social and religious life of these aborigines and its ritualistic values were preserved in numerous forms and by various sacred pipes.⁹ There were pipes for special uses and occasions: to declare war or to make peace; to celebrate a confederacy or to elect a chief; to commence a hunt or to gather a harvest, etc., etc.; but the instrument most popularly associated with Indian ceremonials in North America was that referred to simply as the calumet,¹⁰ or pipe of peace, etc. This object had great

¹ V. John Hawkins, "The Ceremonial Use of Tobacco" (in *The Pop. Science Monthly*, June, 1893, pp. 173 ff.), from whose valuable paper (partly based on Wilson's sketch—v. References, *infra*, p. 185) some of these references have been derived. For further notices of this subject see Linton (p. 23), Mason (p. 2), Dunhill (pp. 5, 23, 47), and the works cited in the Index of this history: Ritualistic uses.

² Tylor (*op. cit. ante*, p. 4, n. 2), Vol. II, p. 383, and *cf. ibid.*, p. 417.

³ Cf. Marquette in Hennepin, n. 433, and n. 730 [Vol. V, M₁^b ref.].

⁴ The purpose of most of these ceremonial uses of tobacco was to propitiate the "presiding genius of" the four "terrible natural elements": air, water, fire and the sun, with the most precious of plants (v. Bruce, i, p. 161).

⁵ Linton, p. 7.

⁶ Tobacco is still grown for ceremonial purposes in North America—v. Setchell (pp. 398–399) who collected evidence of the use of nine species or varieties, either growing wild or in aboriginal cultivation, by different tribes of American Indians.

⁷ V. n. 92 and *cf.* n. 730 [Vol. V, N₁₂^a ref.]. V. *Hist. MSS. Comm., Report of the MSS. of Lord Middleton* (preserved at Wollaston Hall), p. 195, quoted by Mac, pp. 14–15.

⁸ Bruce (i, p. 160) observed that it was especially remarkable that the Indians should have regarded tobacco in the nature of a divine gift "when it is recalled that the plant could be produced by the proper expenditure of labor in unlimited quantities, differing in this respect from copper, pearl, and puc-

coon, by which the aborigines set the same extravagant store."

⁹ For ceremonial uses of tobacco among modern Indians, together with some valuable data on tobacco rituals among the aborigines, consult the *Annual Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, 1879–1880 to date, Index vol. (48th Report) 1933, under Calumet, Pipes, Tobacco, etc., and West, I, *passim*, and II, plates 182, 189, etc.

¹⁰ This word (the Norman-French form of the literary French *chalumet*) is a parallel of *chalumeau* (for *chalemeau*) or Old French *chalemel*, from the low Latin *calamellus*, a diminutive of Latin *calamus*: reed. It was applied by the French in Canada to those plants of which the stems served as pipe-tubes and to the pipe itself.

It was actually the stem or shaft alone which was the object of veneration. "From the meager descriptions of the calumet and its uses it would seem that it has a ceremonially symbolic history independent of that of the pipe; and that when the pipe became an altar, by its employment for burning sacrificial tobacco to the gods, convenience and convention united the already highly symbolic calumet shafts and the sacrificial tobacco altar, the pipe bowl; hence it became one of the most profoundly sacred objects known to the Indians of northern America." (J. N. B. Hewitt, in Hodge, i, p. 192.) See the legend to the illustration facing. There are numerous accounts of the calumet in this history: v. nos. 181, 425, 433, 453, 730, 785, 813, 890, etc., and v. also McGuire, pp. 504 ff., Hewitt, in Hodge, i, pp. 191–194, and West, I, pp. 231–278.

The stem, which is forty inches long, is made of green ash sprout; tufts of red horsehair are attached to it with sinew thongs. On the upper part are the beaks of six northern piliated woodpeckers, turned back upon the red crests. "This symbolizes the suppression of anger, for the red crest of this woodpecker always rises when the bird is angry, and therefore is here held down. When the tribe was at war the sinew was cut and the crests allowed to rise." The head and neck of a loon covers the pipe-bowl end of the stem. "The loon's head symbolizes land, water, and sky, where the loon is said to be at home. Near the base of the loon neck are little bunches of downy snow-owl feathers tied to the stem with sinew; these impart to the stem the power of the owl, which sees and hunts at night. Beneath the owl-feathers and likewise attached to the stem are eight eagle-plumes, threaded to form a fan, to which are attached small sticks upon which are woven porcupine-quills colored red, blue, and yellow, with native dyes. At both ends of each of the sticks is a tuft of green-dyed horsehair, symbolizing the color of the earth." A striped and a blue ribbon (probably trade-goods) are attached near the loon's head.

The pipe illustrated is in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. It is described in "Peace-Pipe of the Prairie Cree," by Donald A. Cadzow, in the Museum's publication, *Indian Notes*, Vol. III, No. 2 (April, 1926), from which the above quotations are derived.

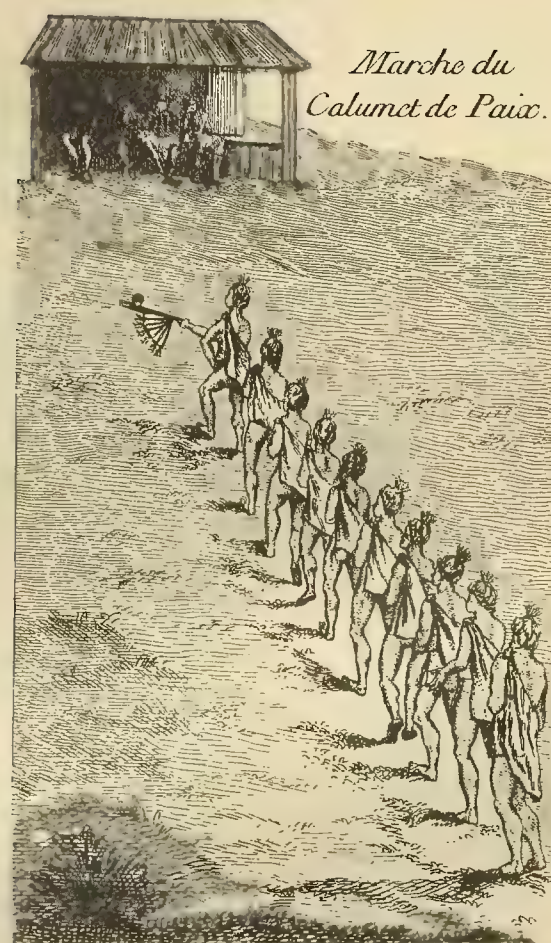
From an original water-color by Margaret Sorensen in the Arens collection.

A CALUMET OF PEACE OF THE PRAIRIE CREE



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symbolic significance: it could bind a vow, insure friendships, guarantee hospitality, serve as a flag of truce, etc., etc., and the acts it sealed were inviolable. It was entrusted to a specially selected guardian and was employed on the most solemn occasions. Its offices in effecting amity were celebrated in the widely diffused calumet dance,¹ and the traditions of many tribes are still expressed by its various uses.



THE CALUMET OF PEACE DANCE

Part of a ceremony performed by the Chitimacha Indians (So. Louisiana). From Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, 1758 (n. 812), Vol. I, p. 105.

While the evidences of ritual uses of tobacco in South and Central America and in Mexico are scanty they are nevertheless convincing. The plant was probably held in religious esteem to a far greater extent than can now be accurately ascertained.² Records of its sacerdotal significance in Mexico and in Central America³ fortunately still exist. The representation of a priest smoking, carved in a sculpture of the ancient "Temple of the Cross" at Palenque,⁴ and figures engaged

¹ V. nos. 433 and 890.

² Juan de Torquemada stated that in Mexico tobacco was regarded as the incarnation of the goddess Cihuacohuatl (Comes, p. 19, n. 5, who cites

the 1723 edition of *De la monarquía indiana*).

³ Cf. Hawkins (†, 1893), pp. 180-181.

⁴ See the reproduction on the page facing (Fig. 2), from Brasseur de Bourbourg's work.

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FIGURE 1.

FIGURE 2.

Figure 1. The representation of a smoker (middle section, right) is one of several similar figures in the Troano MS. which display the use of the tube pipe in ancient Mexico. (Cf. McGuire, page 371, and Cyrus Thomas reference there; Dunhill, pages 24, 30.) From Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Manuscrit Troano. Etudes sur le Système Graphique et la Langue des Mayas* (Paris, 1869-1870). Vol. I, Plate XXV*. [Reduced]

Figure 2. A bas-relief carved on a slab originally part of the "Temple of the Cross" at Palenque (Chiapas, Mexico). This is the oldest American sculpture known which displays a smoking function. It illustrates a primitive form of the pipe, a tube probably 8-9" long. The figure probably represents a priest engaged in the ancient ceremony of blowing smoke to the four corners of the earth. (Cf. McGuire, pp. 363-364; Dunhill, pp. 23-24.) From Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Recherches sur les Ruines de Palenque* (Paris, 1866). Plate 24. [Reduced]

in similar action in the Maya picture-writings¹ are often cited as part of the evidence which indicates that tobacco rituals were established among the Mayas. Some modern tribes of Mexico, continuing an ancient custom, blow smoke to the four cardinal points on religious occasions.² De Léry (n. 26) and others³ reported ceremonies depending upon tobacco, practised by South and Central American tribes. The testimony presented makes it clear, therefore, that wherever it was

¹ In the Troano MS.—v. the illustration (Fig. 1) reproduced here.

² Mason, p. 8. Many tobacco rites still exist, as well, among the primitive tribes of South and Central America, as remarked upon by several investigators.

Darwin observed that the Indians of Patagonia worshipped a sacred tree with tobacco and its smoke (v. De Gubernatis—*op. cit. sup.* p. 9, n. 1—pp. 336-337).

³ V. nos. 269, 287, 315, etc.

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readily available, tobacco had an age-old sacerdotal use and symbolic significance in South¹ and Central as well as in North America.

It may well be believed that the pipe was at first an esoteric implement and that the smoking of tobacco was originally confined to sorcerers, priests and medicine-men. The pipe served as the medium whereby the inspired members of the tribe could communicate with the spirits who were thought to control every object and action of daily life. Through migrations, the interchange of tribal customs, the abundance of tobacco in some places, the ease by which the practise of smoking was acquired, etc., etc., the plant gradually passed from its sacerdotal exclusiveness to a general indulgence in its use, although its essential sacrosanct character was preserved even where smoking was most common. Indeed, tobacco satisfied the simple requirements of primitive psychology as being preeminent among plants as a religious offering, for it had come from the priests to the people, was communally shared, and was highly prized for the private satisfaction it afforded each smoker.

As diseases were, to the primitive mind, the work of evil spirits, it was necessary to appease these malignant forces with the incense of the best of herbs. Medicine and religion, it has been remarked, are not separable in the reasoning of aborigines and pipe-smoking, as a species of magic, thus acquired a sacred character among the Indians.² But despite the esteem in which the American natives held tobacco, their belief in its divine origin and the rituals by which they expressed their regard for it, the therapeutic uses of the tobacco plant were inconsiderable among them. The medicine-men of some tribes employed the smoke as a remedial agent and probably partly as a disinfectant,³ though it may also have been that the acrid smoke served as a screen which concealed their actions.⁴ Elsewhere it was used by lay members of the tribe as a relief for asthmatic and catarrhal complaints,⁵ etc., especially when mixed with other herbs, in themselves sanatory. While in some localities in South America natives indulged in the practise (probably originally confined to their witch-doctors) of swallowing smoke fully in order to produce intoxication or trance,⁶ cigarettes, pipes or cigars were usually employed only for sensual gratification or as a digestive aid. The chewing of tobacco mixed with lime or powdered shells, to relieve thirst when on fatiguing journeys, was customary among several Central and South American tribes.⁷ Except for these few simple forms, there appear to have been practically no other aboriginal therapeutic uses of tobacco.⁸

¹ This opinion is confirmed by the researches of Ehrenreich, Koch-Grünberg and Von den Steinen who are the chief authorities given by Günther Stahl in his chapter on the significance of tobacco in the legends and myths of South American aborigines. V. Stahl's paper "Der Tabak im Leben südamerikanischer Völker" (in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 57 Jahrgang, 1925 Heft 1/2). Cf. Lovén, *Über die Wurzeln der Tainischen Kultur*, I, 1924, pp. 369-370.

² Dunhill, pp. 47-48.

³ V. an illustration in n. 8 and text in n. 10; cf. Hawkins (†, 1893), p. 181.

⁴ For a reference to the survival of these practises in South America v. n. 8, note 7.

⁵ Cf. nos. 8, 21, 36, 39, etc.

⁶ V. ante, p. 23, n. 5, and Tylor (*op. cit. ante*, p. 4, n. 2), p. 417. Some European tribes practised this violent form of smoking, too—v. nos. 307, 461.

⁷ V. nos. 1, 15, 158 "c", etc.

⁸ V. the article "Tobacco as a Cure for Ailments," by H. F. Schwarz, in *Natural History, The Journal of the American Museum*, Vol. XXI, No. 3, 1921, pp. 317 ff. This deals partly with the sacred formulas set down by the shamans of the Cherokee, among which are several prescribing the use of tobacco. For "pains moving about the teeth," the shaman blew smoke upon the ailing tooth; in cases of snake-bite, tobacco juice was rubbed upon the affected

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CERTAINLY no testimony exists in the published observations of Europeans who traversed the regions from Canada to Brazil, that the Indians, before 1580, or thereabouts, employed tobacco as a vulnerary or antiseptic.¹ Nor was the plant heralded in Europe, upon its first appearance there, as a sanatory herb.²

While there were, therefore, no native American traditions to support the opinion, a belief suddenly swept over Western Europe that tobacco was a God-given panacea, employed from remote times by the Indians in the cure of numerous diseases. How this popular and widely disseminated conviction came into existence may only be conjectured. Tobacco may have been mistaken by white adventurers for some similar valuable simple which was employed by the Indians or substituted for it in an emergency, as indicated by Monardes (n. 15). The astringent quality of its leaves might very likely have prevented poisoning in some slight cases and the cures thus effected would have been reported and probably exaggerated. Perhaps the healing herb, *perebecenuc*, described by Oviedo (n. 4) had become identified with tobacco in Spain or Portugal, because of its supposed resemblance to the latter plant. The Spanish author, it is true, did not relate the two plants to each other; indeed, he described tobacco in a separate chapter of his work, 1535. But in 1574, one of his commentators, De l'Escluse (n. 18), stated that Oviedo had called tobacco *perebecenuc*,³ and this error suggests that a tradition may have grown up in Portugal or Spain that the two were identical.⁴ Perhaps the discovery of the unexpected remedial virtues of tobacco came about quite naturally as a result of the attempts of Spanish and Portuguese herbalists to put the botanical products of America to some medicinal use. But whatever the circumstances, fortuitous or otherwise, which first invested tobacco with its new rôle of sovereign panacea, they are less important than the fact that such a doctrine did originate in Lisbon before 1560, and that it developed into a therapeutic dogma.

It was its reputation as the perfect specific which first spread tobacco about Europe, entirely apart from, and often well in advance of, its progress as a recreative habit. It may thus be readily believed that the sailors and adventurers who returned to America, particularly the Portuguese, Spanish and French, carried back with them the doctrine that tobacco was a catholicon and that they thus instituted its medicinal uses among their colonists there as something originally derived from the American natives.

The first recorded medical experiment with tobacco was conducted by some-

part, etc.; but there are no prescriptions for tobacco leaves as vulneraries, etc. The majority of the therapeutic ceremonies depended upon the use of tobacco smoke. (Cf., in this connection, text and note to first illustration in n. 8.)

¹ The original propagandists of the doctrine that tobacco was a cure for wounds—a panacea, indeed—such as Liébault (n. 12), Monardes (n. 15), *et al.*, had never been to America, while Thevet (n. 8), who had visited Brazil, specifically denied the statements that the Indians employed tobacco in surgical dressings, etc. (n. 21). Cartier (n. 5), Benzoni (n. 10), De Léry (n. 26), Hariot (n. 36), and others who had

opportunities to observe the customs of American natives and who described their uses of tobacco, nowhere refer to its use as a vulnerary, etc. (cf. *infra*, pp. 206-207). For Hernández' account of the therapeutic uses of tobacco, v. n. 114, n. 9.

² Cf. nos. 12 (first excerpt) and 15 (n. 2).

³ But De l'Escluse thought that its description fitted henbane.

⁴ The method of employing tobacco in surgical applications, etc., by Europeans, was at first influenced by the same routine applied by the Indians to *perebecenuc*, as described by Oviedo.

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one unknown (v. n. 12, n. 7), a relative of a page employed by Jean Nicot, then French Ambassador to the court of Portugal. He credited to the use of a tobacco poultice the complete cure of an eroding ulcer which had long troubled him. In various succeeding cases the plant was similarly and successfully applied in other ailments, awakening the interest of Nicot, of the king's physician, and associates of the court. The local herbalists began to apply tobacco leaves or powder as antiseptics, vulneraries, etc., while physicians and lay members came forward to declare that its use in snuff cured headaches, or that the smoke from its leaves proved of great benefit in asthmatic and like common complaints. As its thera-



JEAN NICOT

After Henry Goltzius. From Walmsley, *Physiognomical Portraits* (1824), Vol. II. [Reduced]

peutic uses increased, its reputation spread with such rapidity as to indicate not only the imperfections of reputable medical science then, but, as always, the pathetic eagerness of afflicted people of all classes and conditions to accept with innocent high hopes any new medicament advertised as a panacea. The reports of its successful operation upon others, often oppressed with serious diseases, readily induced among the laity that form of self-hypnosis known as faith.

All physic gardens where this wonder-plant bloomed, but Nicot's garden especially, became shrines for those who sought the "ambassador's herb." As tobacco continued its triumphant progress Lisbon, at first, stood as a mecca for sufferers, who flocked to it as the faithful do to witness miracles. It was during the height of excitement over tobacco that Nicot sent to the Queen Mother, the

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king and court, what are thought to be the first seeds of *N. rustica* received in France.¹

In 1560 he wrote to the Cardinal of Lorraine, *inter alia*, "I have acquired an Indian herb, of marvellous and proved worth against the *Noli me tangere*² and fistulas, given up as incurable by the physicians, and of prompt and remarkable remedy among the Moors (*Maures*). As soon as it gives its seed I will send some of it to your gardener, at Marmoustier, and the plant itself in a barrel with the instruction for replanting and cultivating it . . ."³

The seeds sent in by Nicot were sowed, and the plants cultivated therefrom applied medicinally according to his advice. The first cures thus effected awakened the widest enthusiasm at the French court.⁴ It was then proposed that this panacea be named *Nicotiane* (v. n. 12), in honor of the ambassador who had thus made it known;⁵ and others, prompted by the courtiers, appealed to the vanity of Catherine de Medici and called it the *Herbe de la Royne* [*Reine*], or *Medicée*, etc.⁶

The French herbalists and medical men,⁷ followed by those of Belgium, Germany, Switzerland and Spain,⁸ became as eagerly interested in the new "catholicon" from America as their Portuguese brethren, and in their physic gardens tobacco usurped the place of their old, familiar simples. Together with some enthusiastic laymen they joined earnestly in the propagation of nicotian therapeutics. In the diffusion of this gospel its advocates, for the most part, displayed extreme credulity, for they proclaimed that no disease could withstand the healing powers of tobacco. By 1570 the plant was widely hailed as a panacea, "the holy herb,"⁹ in Western Europe, and within the next few years it was to become a familiar remedy in England (n. 31; cf. n. 24), Italy (cf. n. 11) and other parts of Europe. A new era in medical science had opened. Few physicians or herbalists neglected to include nicotian ingredients in their prescriptions or failed to advise tobacco in the form of powders, gargles, unguents, etc.; as antiseptics, vulneraries, disinfectants, cathartics, emetics, collyriums, inhalations, expectorants, clysters, styptics, dentifrices, etc.¹⁰ Indeed, before the more cautious or experienced of the scientific men began to sound a note of warning (v. n. 30), tobacco was employed for almost every ailment to which the flesh is heir (as shown below), and it may well be inferred, from occasional references in XVIIth century literature, that its medical applications had often resulted in fatalities.¹¹ The recklessness with which it was employed displayed a vast ignorance of that basic element in tobacco which, incautiously applied, was so dangerous to the human body. It is difficult to accept now the triumphant testimony of the old herbalists and others that tobacco was effective

¹ Cf. *infra*, p. 36.

² *I.e.*, "touch me not"—an eroding ulcer, usually cancerous.

³ Translated from E. Falgairolle, *Jean Nicot* . . . Paris, 1897, pp. 50 and XC. The letter is misdated 1896 on p. 50, and the word misspelled "Naures."

⁴ V. nos. 12, 17, etc.

⁵ His name is preserved in the modern form nicotine, by which the poisonous oily liquid alkaloid contained in tobacco leaves is known (cf. *infra*, p. 65, n. 11).

⁶ V. nos. 12, 17, and 165.

⁷ V. n. 17; cf. n. 12.

⁸ V. nos. 17-A (cf. with n. 88), 22, and 15.

⁹ So called (in various languages and forms) because of its medicinal virtues.

¹⁰ These were not all advised at first, but each physician who concerned himself with the plant was bent upon extending its uses. Later some of the fraternity were to condemn these generous recommendations but it was usually because they regarded tobacco as a drug which should be administered only by them, or from an apprehension (not too openly expressed) that its popular use might render their own professional services unnecessary. V. nos. 46 (at n. 4), 109 (at n. 7), and 146.

¹¹ V. n. 30, concluding note to excerpts, and cf. Cleland, pp. 50 ff., and Steinmetz, pp. 130 ff.

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in the treatment of diseases, sometimes malignant or often incurable. In many of the cases where it was apparently successful, tobacco was not the sole agent employed, but was blended with powerful medicaments, in themselves suitable remedies for the illnesses treated.¹

As the materia medica was thus expanded tobacco became a household remedy. Within a decade or so of the earliest datable introduction of the plant into Europe, Liébault (in 1570) published the original catalogue of the diseases it would certainly cure,² together with the first detailed account of the plant. In 1571, Monardes (n. 15) preached an expansive nicotian doctrine, which became the most widely known of all the medical advices concerning the new herb. No nostrum by which belabored mankind has been deluded was ever more generously advertised, more readily accepted and less willingly relinquished than tobacco. Although it has now practically disappeared as a therapeutic agent, because its internal use as well as external application was too often destructive to health or life,³ it was, until the early part of the XIXth century, employed in various forms for all of the following ailments and diseases:

asthma,⁴ etc.; dropsy; ringworm; scabs; scrofula; old sores; ulcers, cankered or new; all wounds; contusions, bruises; excessive phlegm.

This was but the vanguard in this therapeutic battalion, presented by Liébault (n. 12). To all these Monardes (n. 15) assented, and added the following, with the correct *modus operandi*:

venomous bites; breast afflictions of all kinds; venomous carbuncles; chilblains; flatulence; labor pains and the gestation period;⁵ halitosis;⁶ headache; helminthiasis; rheumatism; tumefactions; toothache; poisoning from

¹ *V.*, among others, nos. 15, 17, 96, 123, 146. In Everard's work (n. 32) there is a recipe, provided by Fioravanti, which clearly demonstrates the kind of treatment to which patients then had to submit from a nicotian practitioner. The famous balsam of Don Quixote was undoubtedly presented by Cervantes as a satiric commentary on similar recipes.

² N. 12. His list was considerably extended after the publication of Monardes' work, 1571 (n. 15). *V.* n. 28.

³ *V.* Waring, *Manual of Practical Therapeutics* (1854, pp. 329 ff.); Wood, *Therapeutics* (1891, p. 326), who refers to Stillé, *Therapeutics* (ii, 374), for the reports of a number of cases; *The Dispensatory of the U. S. of America* (21st ed., 1926, Part II, p. 1510); and *infra*, p. 34, n. 1.

A popular belief in the efficacy of tobacco in cases of snake-bite, infectious wounds, etc., still persists in some parts of America. *V.*, in this connection, the article by Hotten (2*NQ.*, No. 87, 1857) in which he remarks upon the occasional uses of tobacco by negroes and backwoodsmen as a crude vulnerary, disinfectant and antiseptic; and the account of Gen. Clingman's rediscovery of tobacco as an unfailing remedy for many diseases, wounds, etc., part of which will seem strikingly familiar to readers of Monardes, *et al.* (*The Tobacco Remedy*, †, 1885).

Various medicinal uses of tobacco are reported among natives of Africa (*cf.* W. D. Hambly, in La.,

Africa, pp. 26, 30-31).

⁴ Preparations of tobacco are still occasionally employed to relieve cases of chronic asthma, when the patient is unaccustomed to smoking.

⁵ A leaf of tobacco, "verie hotte," was recommended to be placed upon the navel after that part had been first treated with various sweet-smelling oils, etc. Cleland (p. 62) in reference to the treatment (based upon a supposed procedure of Indian women) remarks that "as deliquium frequently follows as a consequent, Monardes recommends a homœopathic remedy, viz. the blowing of smoke up the nostrils." There is no reference in Monardes, however, to this secondary treatment; Cleland undoubtedly meant to refer to Liébault who advised that "the fume [of tobacco] be put into the nose of a woman grieved with the suffocation of the mother." (N. 58, sig. T₈^a.)

⁶ Monardes also recorded the fact that the Indians made use of tobacco in the form of smoke "to take away wearineffe" and as a masticatory to withstand the pangs of hunger and thirst. (These uses of tobacco had been observed before by others.) As his account of the practises, like his comment on the value of tobacco to eliminate halitosis, is included in his list of the "vertues" of the herb, it may be assumed that Monardes approved of these forms of using tobacco for any European suffering from the same physiologic conditions.

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venomous herbs; scurf; excessive bleeding; abscesses; wounds from poisoned arrows, etc.; colds; internal congestion; stomachache; constipation; kidney-stones; ozena; and, indeed, "any maner of grieve that is in the bodie . . . beyng of a cold caufe."

New remedial uses to which tobacco could be put continued to be discovered. These were sometimes advocated without preliminary experiment, being based upon the assumption that as tobacco was of a "hot and drying temperament" (usually in the "second," but sometimes in the "third" or "fourth degree") it must be effective for "moist humours." When, in 1574, Liébault again published his account of *Nicotiane* (v. n. 28), the following ailments and diseases which tobacco could cure had been added to his modest catalogue of maladies:

insect stings; cancer; colic; gout; indigestion; rabies; sciatica; spleen affections; surfeit; syncope; cataracts; dysentery; womb maladies; facial inflammations; itchings; tumors of various kinds; old coughs; "falling of the nailes of the finger."¹

In the meantime Pena and De l'Obel (n. 13) had remarked upon the efficacy of tobacco in treating the fever of the plague and affections of the throat. Durante, in 1585 (v. n. 66), proclaimed the value of the "divine herb" in ailments of the gums, diseases of the thorax, insomnia, and in "covering bare bones with flesh" (underweight). When Everard, in 1587, published his treatise, *De Herba Panacea* (n. 32), he was able to make further additions to this division of the materia medica by recommending the use of tobacco in such disorders as

tonsillitis; convulsions; epilepsy; burns; catarrh; deafness;² dim eyesight (after De l'Escluse, n. 18);³ ileus; consumption;⁴ liver complaints; ague (after Dodoens, v. n. 88); corns; warts; hemorrhoids; tetters; fevers (after Fioravanti); and nasal hemorrhages.

There was little which could be added after the combined efforts of these three chief early propagandists but later enthusiasts observed that the smoking of tobacco cured "a gentleman that long languished of a Consumption,"⁵ that the same form of employing it was the best possible prophylactic in times of plague (n. 46);⁶ and Buttes (n. 53) advised that "4. ounces of the juyce drunk, purgeth up and downe. . . ." The megrim was healed, according to Vaughan (n. 60), when tobacco was smoked in a silver pipe; and Philaretus (n. 61) recorded the use of this panacea in the treatment of gonorrhea.⁸ Purchas (n. 158 "d") reported the opinion

¹ By means of distilled tobacco juice.

² In the form of a drop of warm oil of tobacco.

³ The eyes were to be bathed in warm distilled water of tobacco.

⁴ In this passage the disease is not specifically mentioned. Everard says, "It wonderfully helps Diseases of the brest, and thofe that spit bloody matter." [Sig. I₃^a.]

⁵ *V.* the printer's note, n. 46. This is apparently the first record in print that tobacco cured a case of consumption. Everard's statement (v. preceding note) in this regard was of a more general nature.

⁶ During the Great Plague which ravaged London (1664-1666) and some parts of Europe, the chewing of tobacco was widely indulged in as a preventive. When it had been remarked that the dread pestilence

apparently never visited a tobacconist's shop, the populace generally took to smoking or chewing, and at Eton and elsewhere school children were required to take a "medicinal whiff" through a pipe each morning (*v. infra*, p. 160, n. 4, and *cf.* nos. 231, 293). But several later authorities (cited by Cleland, p. 61) denied that tobacco was of prophylactic value during the plague, or proved that it was completely inefficacious.

⁷ Burton (n. 145, last excerpt) particularly recommended tobacco for its value as an emetic.

⁸ It was long believed that tobacco, especially when smoked, alleviated, if it did not cure, the ravages of syphilis. *V.* nos. 4, 8 (text to illustration on M₆^b), 39 (n. 3).

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of a Portuguese friar that tobacco was effective in cases of whooping-cough, and Gardiner (n. 96, n. 8), in 1610, first recommended that it be employed in cases of tetanus.¹ Even that fanatical antitobacconist, Deacon (n. 122), admitted that "the broath of *Tobacco*, or a sirupe made of the infusion thereof, doth somewhat helpe the stopping of the lungs"—but he would not say anything so favorable about its smoke.

As an expectorant, tobacco was highly commended during the reign of James I by that genial advocate of the plant, Dr. William Barclay (n. 109), who avowed it to be "one of the best and surest remedies in the world" for apoplexy, maladies of the brain, dizziness, and paralysis. The smoke or prepared leaves was certain to cure diseases of the ears and teeth, as he had himself proved. To obtain and preserve teeth of pearly whiteness, one was advised to rub them with tobacco ashes (n. 123). The doctrine which proclaimed tobacco a panpharmakon was broad enough to comprehend other fields beside pure medicine for it invaded the realm of psychophysics as well. Thus one finds that Dr. Venner (n. 146), among others, announced that tobacco smoke helped to expel "melancholie," while Neander (n. 148), a panegyrist of nicotian therapeutics, pronounced that the same medium would improve a bad memory, as smoke rose to the brain, the seat of recollection. Several similar dicta were advanced by early writers who dealt with this phase of the subject.²

Thus the European pharmacology³ was amplified by the advocates of the "holy herb," and for a time tobacco practically superseded all other simples in the materia medica. Most of the ailments it was guaranteed to cure had been reported by 1625 or thereabouts, but new uses for it and new forms of its application were made known in the XVIIth century and later.⁴ To most of the old nicotian specialists tobacco had no place outside of the realm of physic and they bitterly opposed its recreative uses. The plant, they insisted, had been intended by nature as a medicine and drug only and it could not, therefore, be indulged in for sensual gratification without causing untold harm. As will be shown,⁵ the advocates of the new therapeutics leagued themselves in a concerted attack upon those who smoked for pleasure, attempting to restrain them and terrifying them with tales of horror.

To us, fairly secure among the evidences of a highly developed medical science, the faith then expressed in the remedial value of tobacco seems painfully naive.

¹ In 1849, Dr. Todd—in Waring (*op. cit. sup.*, p. 32, n. 3), p. 331—observed that he had seen more than one patient die cured of *Tetanus*, under the use of this remedy.

² *V.* nos. 159, 161, etc.

³ The medicinal uses of tobacco were confined almost entirely to Europe. *V. infra*, p. 71, and notes 3 and 4 there.

⁴ *V. infra*, p. 155. Experimentations with tobacco as a remedial agent persisted until the middle of the XIXth century. In *Osservazioni sull' Uso ed Abuso del Tabacco*, by Dr. Chiazzari (†, 1819), occurs a list of fully fifty ailments for which tobacco was medicinally employed. Cleland (pp. 57 ff.) gives an excellent survey of the nicotian therapeutics practised in Europe, derived from the works of numerous

medical authorities. He records the maladies treated by tobacco, in the tabular form adopted by Cullen. These are divided into four groups: 1, Pyrexia; 2, Neuroses; 3, Cachexiæ; and 4, Locales—subdivided into orders comprehending forty-six separate diseases. Almost all of the complaints recorded in the foregoing pages are included in Cleland's list, but a few, derived from works later than those referred to above, may be mentioned here: polysarcia, or excessive corpulence, satyriasis, dysuria, amaurosis and dyspepsia (both from Short, n. 769), scarlatina, hernia, pneumonia, mania, tympanitis, scurvy, catalepsy and amenorrhœa, the last being cured, according to Cullen, by the injection of smoke into the vagina. On this last treatment, cf. n. 28, at n. 5.

⁵ *Infra*, pp. 55–57; 60–61.

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But the conditions of that age must be remembered: alchemy, astrology and other pseudo-sciences still warped man's intelligent comprehension of himself and of nature; there were supposed to be great curative possibilities in all the novel botanical products of America—a belief based upon the need for new and better medicines; and there were an infinite number of common diseases daily acquired from the prevailing unsanitary conditions which made any truly antidotal herb a pathetic necessity. At a time when learned physicians still believed in the signatures of plants, when profound philosophers could write seriously of witches¹ and demiurges, when the "vegetable lamb"² still browsed in the fields of Europe, and when charlatans and exorcists practised as "doctors," it was but natural that most of the medical fraternity and the laity should readily accept tobacco as the long-sought-for catholicon.

But even in the days when tobacco had its securest place in the materia medica, there were those who scorned its therapeutic uses and questioned its ultimate value. It may be assumed that there were some wise or cautious physicians who refrained from prescribing the plant, though they did not risk disapproval by attacking its medicinal uses publicly. As the therapeutic codes developed for tobacco began to become more involved,³ and its advertised virtues more patently false and absurd, criticism of them became pointed. Doubters arose early in the XVIIth century (and were later succeeded by more vehement antagonists) who expressed a healthy skepticism toward the sanatory advice concerning tobacco.

In England, where the nicotian doctrines of Liébault, Monardes, *et al.* had been widely disseminated by the latter part of the XVIth century,⁴ the extravagant claims of tobacco enthusiasts aroused a spirit of satirical disparagement among the literati, among whom Ben Jonson was one of the earliest to present these criticisms in print.⁵ Thus, in that admirable comedy of manners, *Every Man in His Humour*, 1601 (n. 125 "a"), he has the redoubtable boaster, Capt. Bobadill, descant upon the virtues of the plant in a manner becoming the most convinced panaceist:

"Sir, beleeve mee (upon my relation) for what I tell you, the world shal not reprove. I have been in the *Indies* [America] (where this herb growes) where neither my felfe, nor a dozen gentlemen more (of my knowledge) have received the taft of any other nutriment, in the world, for the space of one and twentie weekes, but the fume of this fimple onely.⁶ Therefore, it cannot be, but 'tis most divine! Further, take it in the nature, in the true kind fo, it makes an *antidote*, that (had you taken the most deadly poysonous plant in all *Italy*, it should expell it, and clarifie you, with as much ease, as I speake. And, for your greene wound, your *Balsamum*, and your St. IOHN's *woort* are all mere gulleries, and trath to it, especially your *Trinidado*: your *Nicotian* is good too. I could say what I know of the vertue of it, for the expulsion of rhewmes, raw humours, crudities, obstructions, with a thousand of this kind; but I professe my felfe no *quack-salver*. Only, thus much, by HERCULES, I doe hold it, and will affirme it (before any Prince in *Europe*)

¹ *V.* n. 159.

² *V.* title page and comment in n. 169.

³ There was occasional disagreement among physicians as to the correct mode of employing tobacco.

⁴ *V.* nos. 24, 46, 50, 53, 58.

⁵ There were Continental writers, too, who satirized the exceptional medical virtues attributed to tobacco, but they did not appear, generally, before the middle of the XVIIth century. *V. infra*, p. 155.

⁶ *V.* a similar passage in n. 82-A.

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to be the most soveraigne, and precious weede, that ever the earth tendred to the use of man."¹

James I's skepticism of the medical virtues claimed for tobacco would, in any event, have been induced by his prejudice against smokers. But there was an appealing logic in his satiric notice of nicotian therapeutics which appeared in his *Counterblaste* (n. 68):

"It cures the Gowt in the feet, and (which is miraculous) in that very instant when the fmoke thereof, as light, flies up into the head, the vertue thereof, as heavie, runs downe to the little toe. It helps all forts of Agues. It makes a man fober that was drunke. It refreshes a weary man, and yet makes a man hungry. Being taken when they goe to bed, it makes one sleepe foundly, and yet being taken when a man is sleepeie and drowfie, it will, as they say, awake his braine, and quicken his understanding. As for curing of the Pockes, it ferves for that use but among the pockie Indian flaves. Here in *England* it is refined, and will not deigne to cure heere any other then cleanly and gentlemanly diseases. O omnipotent power of *Tobacco!*"

One other contemporaneous excerpt will serve to indicate the tendency of enlightened writers to ridicule the claim that tobacco was a panacea. In 1606, Barnaby Rich (n. 78), "servant to the King's most excellent Majestie," echoed his royal master in a blithe passage:

"O soveraigne *Tobacco!* that art a medicine for every malady, a folve for every fore: twill cure the *Dropsie*, the *Gowt*, the *Rhume*, the *Cold*, the *Ache of the heade*, a *Pin* and *Webbe in the heele*, it will make a woman that is barren to beare fixe children in one night; it is wonderfull in operation, and they say it will make a leane man fatte, and a fatte man leane. But I know it hath made many wife men to become fooles . . ."

THE plant so eagerly accepted in Europe as the "holy herb" rapidly became a familiar product of private gardens. By 1560 tobacco had been grown in Belgium, Portugal, Spain and France, and by 1565 in Italy and Switzerland, as an essential simple and also as a garden ornament or botanical curiosity. Within the next few years it was being cultivated by herbalists in England, by Huguenot exiles in Germany and by amateurs of botany in Austria and Hungary.²

In France the honor accorded Nicot caused Thevet (n. 21) to advance the claim that he had first introduced the seeds of tobacco, from Brazil, and at the same time to deny that the Indians used the plant for the cure of wounds, etc. His insistence that he be credited as the original importer and cultivator of tobacco in his own country gave rise to a minor controversy³ among those who did not understand that Thevet and Nicot had introduced the seeds of different species—the former, those of *N. Tabacum*, the latter, those of *N. rustica*. There was justification in Thevet's claim, for he had returned from Brazil in 1556;⁴ but it was the species of tobacco developed from the seeds sent in by Nicot, c. 1560, which, at first, was almost entirely grown in and about Paris⁵ and which was almost ex-

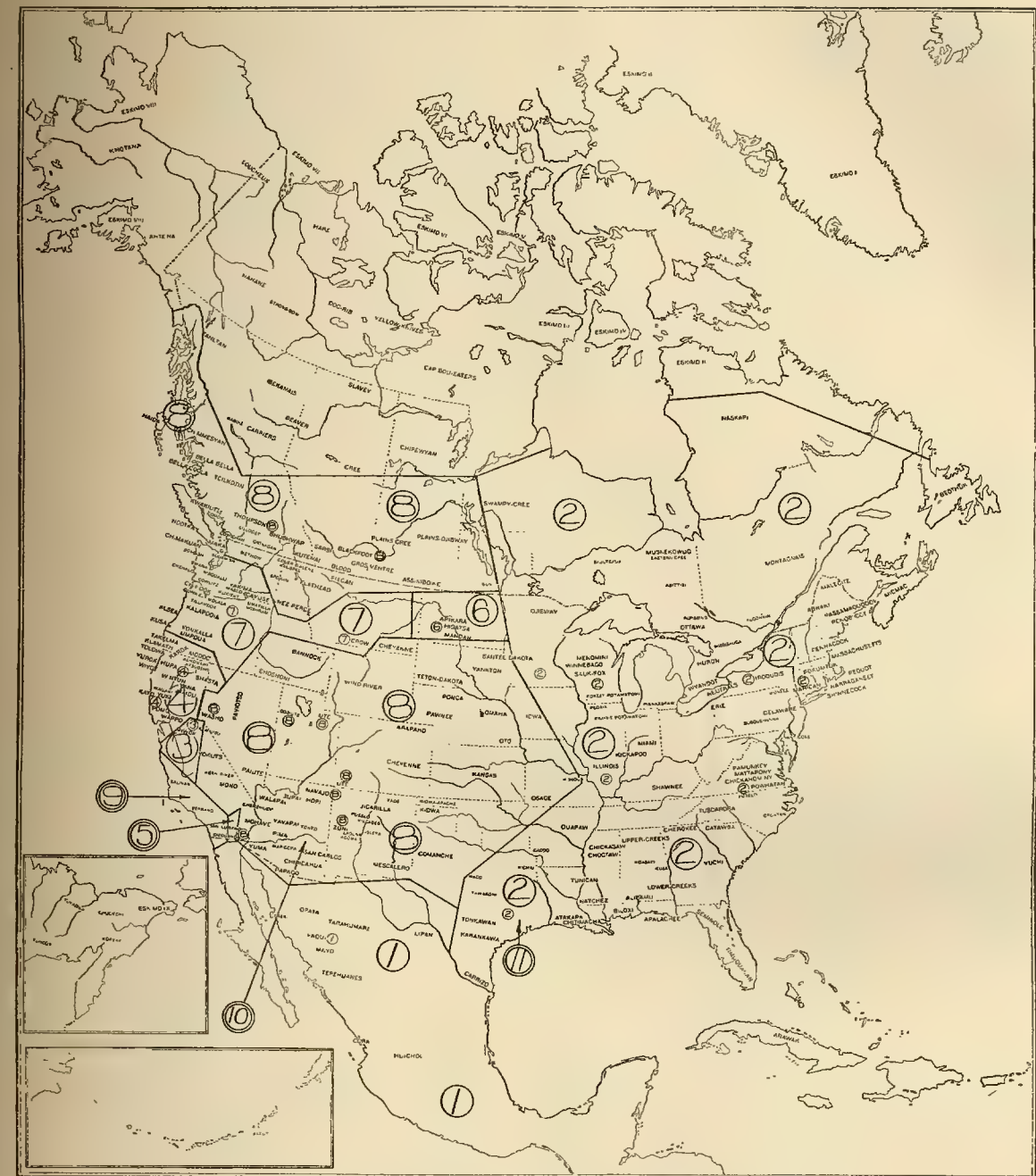
¹ V. n. 125 "a", footnotes, for explanations of the archaic phrases, etc. in this passage.

² V. Corti (p. 65) on the two last-named countries.

³ V. nos. 21, 26, and 28, at n. 6.

⁴ V. n. 8.

⁵ Cf. n. 26.



DISTRIBUTION OF NORTH AMERICAN ABORIGINAL TOBACCOS

The larger number within a single circle indicates the general species used within the different Nicotiana areas, presumably throughout the area; the numbers in double circles (with arrows) placed without the borders of the land indicate (with the exception of number 10) species not as yet known to have been in aboriginal use. The map is based on that given in Wissler, *The American Indian* (N. Y., 1917, Figure 103). [Reduced]

The following is a list of the species:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Nicotiana Tabacum</i> L. | 6. <i>Nicotiana quadrivalvis</i> Pursh. |
| 2. " <i>rustica</i> L. | 7. " <i>multivalvis</i> Lindley. |
| 3. " <i>Bigelovii</i> (Torrey) Watson (typical form). | 8. " <i>attenuata</i> Torrey. |
| 4. " " (tall form). | 9. " <i>Clevelandii</i> Gray. |
| 5. " " (var. <i>Wallacei</i> Gray). | 10. " <i>trigonophylla</i> Dunal. |
| 11. <i>Nicotiana repanda</i> Willdenow. | |

Prepared by Charles E. Davis. From "Aboriginal Tobaccos," by W. A. Setchell, in the *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Oct.-Dec., 1921). (By permission of the American Anthropological Association.)

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clusively employed medicinally then. *N. Tabacum* was apparently not cultivated in France, to any extent, until after the first quarter of the XVIIth century, when the commercial value of this species was beginning to be recognized.

The interest of contemporary European botanists in tobacco is sufficiently attested by the numerous accounts published by them of the examples produced from its seeds. In their attempts to classify these, as well as such specimens of the plant imported in its natural state¹ as came within their notice, many of these savants added a new element of confusion to the uncertain knowledge then disseminated about tobacco.² One of the earliest misnomers attached to tobacco for, instance (by a botanist, Dodoens), was *Hyoscyamus Peruvianus* (Henbane of Peru), based on an inaccurate opinion relating to the habitat of the plant.³ As is indicated in the *Glossary*, a puzzling nomenclature was originated by them to apply to probably only the two main species of tobacco in several varieties.⁴ The height of the specimens referred to, the width and shape of the leaves, the colors of the flowers, etc., were then, as now, the chief physical characteristics noticed by these older writers who usually compared the plants with the familiar comfrey (also employed as an expectorant and as a vulnerary), the bugloss, the wallwort, etc., and more often with varieties of the *Hyoscyamus*. It is from these descriptions and comparisons, often obscure, that we are able sometimes to determine just what species was being considered, and thus trace it to its original habitat.

It was the two principal species of the tobacco plant, *Nicotiana Tabacum*⁵ (in two varieties) and *Nicotiana rustica* (var. *texana*), which first came into Europe—the former from Brazil, the West Indies⁶ and Mexico, and the latter from Florida, Mexico and Virginia. Consequently, only they are described in the earliest works relating to tobacco. *N. Tabacum* (var. *brasiliensis*)⁷ was generally referred to by the botanists as the “male,” being the taller and more vigorous tobacco. That which developed from its seeds displayed the natural variations induced by new soil and climate and was usually designated the “female.”⁸ This distinction was superficial, of course, depending upon the growth reaction of different varieties of *N. Tabacum*.⁹ The most common of the tobacco plants in this second classification was the *N. Tabacum* var. *fruticosa*.¹⁰

Nicotiana rustica was awarded an extensive nomenclature, of which *Hyoscyamus luteus* (in relation to its yellow flowers) was most often employed by the early botanists, while popular writers referred to it as the “third sort,” as “English tobacco” (from its early appearance and wide cultivation in England), etc.,¹¹ though it, too, was occasionally classified as “female.”

¹ *V.* introductory note to n. 114.

² *V.* ante, pp. 9–10.

³ *V.* n. 17-A, and cf. n. 120, last excerpt.

⁴ Cf. nos. 120 (*ibid.*), 131, 148, and 434.

⁵ This species was unknown north of Mexico at the time of the Discovery.

⁶ *V.* ante, p. 19, notes 9 and 10.

⁷ *Petun* and *petum*, *Indorum Sana Sancta*, *Erba Tornabuona*, were some of its contemporaneous names. *V.* the *Glossary*.

⁸ *V.* n. 32, n. 3. It has often been remarked that no plant is so readily modified by soil, habitat

and methods of cultivation as is tobacco.

⁹ I am indebted to Prof. T. H. Goodspeed for part of this information. *V.*, too, Comes, *Razze* (Introduction).

¹⁰ Among its contemporaneous names were *Kleyne taback*, *Petite Nicotiane*, *Petum angustifolium*, *Tabacum minus*, etc. *V.* the *Glossary*.

¹¹ Also *Picietl*, *Herbe de la Roine mere*, etc., *Herbe de l'Ambassadeur*, etc. The var. *texana* was named *Hyoscyamus luteus*, *Hyoscyamus tertius*, etc. *V.* the *Glossary*.

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Of “the two species of *Nicotiana*^[1] most commonly used for smoking, viz., *Nicotiana Tabacum* and *N. rustica*,” Prof. Setchell states that the former, “which is best and most widely known . . . is the only species belonging to its section of the genus. The variation within the species, however, is so very considerable that at least five subspecies may be segregated, and, superficially at least, these seem distinct enough to be considered as species. The subspecies may each be divided and subdivided again and again into a very large number of varieties and sub-varieties,^[2] so that, in general, *Nicotiana Tabacum* has all the ear-marks of an old and widely cultivated plant. The cultivation of this species, in its various forms, is almost exclusive at present for the tobacco trade of all nations. It was the aboriginal tobacco of the West Indies,^[3] of the greater part of Mexico, of the states of Central America, of the United States of Colombia, of Venezuela, of the Guianas, and of Brazil.” (Pp. 398, 400.)

“The yellow-flowered tobacco, *Nicotiana rustica* L.,^[4] was the second species of tobacco to attract the notice of Europeans and for some time almost monopolized attention. . . . [It] is still the home-grown species of the peasants of Central Europe and still furnishes the Syrian ‘Tombac’ for the water-pipes of western Asia. It is a much more hardy species than is *Nicotiana Tabacum* and has been credited with being a native of the Old World. There seems to be no exact evidence, however, that this is so, and, although it has not been found in undoubted wild condition, the general supposition is that it probably originated in Mexico.” (P. 401.)⁵

Many competent botanical descriptions exist⁶ of the tobacco most widely used in commerce, *N. Tabacum*, but the account provided by Killebrew and Myrick,⁷ which describes the chief physical characteristics of the plant,⁸ will best serve us here. They write that it “grows from two to nine feet high, with wide-spreading leaves, ovate, oblong or lanceolate in form. The leaves are alternately attached to the stalk spirally, so that the ninth leaf overhangs the first, and the tenth leaf the second. The distance between the leaves, on the stalk, is about two inches, in ordinary varieties. The flowers are in large clusters, with corollas of rose color,⁹ or white tinged with pink, and about two inches long, funnel-shaped, with inflated throats. Tobacco is a rank, acrid narcotic, viscidly pubescent, leaves and stalk covered with soft, downy hair. The seed pods have two valves.”¹⁰

¹ *V.* ante, p. 10, n. 6, ¶1.

² *V.* “A Genetic Analysis of the Changes Produced by Selection in Experiments with Tobacco,” by Prof. E. M. East and H. K. Hayes (in *The American Naturalist*, Jan. 1914, Vol. XLVIII, No. 565).

³ But *v.* ante, p. 19, n. 10, and n. 4, n. 4.

⁴ This species was found in both South and North America, from the Amazon to Canada. Cf. Comes, *Monographie*, p. 6.

⁵ *V.* Setchell reference, ante, p. 24, n. 6, Linton, *passim*, and G. L. Wilson, *Agriculture of the Hidatsa Indians* (Univ. of Minn. Studies in Social Science, No. 9, 1917, pp. 121–127), on aboriginal cultivations of tobacco in North America.

⁶ *V.* among others, Steinmetz, pp. 27 ff.; Fairholt, pp. 2 ff.; Comes, *Razze*; Capus, Leulliot and Foëx, *Le Tabac* (†, 1929), Vol. I, pp. 42 ff.; *Encycl. Britan-*

nica, 11th ed., p. 1036; etc. Comes' *Monographie* contains full botanical descriptions of the varieties of *N. Tabacum* and *N. rustica*.

⁷ *Tobacco Leaf* (†, 1906), p. 27.

⁸ Comes (*Razze*, pp. 5–6) recognizes six distinct forms of the species *N. Tabacum*, with typical kinds of leaves. These are *fruticosa*, *lanceifolia*, *brasiliensis*, *virginica*, *havanensis* and *macrophylla*.

⁹ The corolla of the var. *macrophylla* varies in color, being sometimes rose, sanguine or purple, and sometimes white (Comes, *Razze*, p. 25).

¹⁰ The seed is so fine that Linnaeus counted 40,320 in one pod. He remarked that “if all these were to be matured at the same time, the whole surface of the earth would not be sufficient to contain the plants!” (Cited by Cleland, p. 48, n.) As many as a million seeds may be produced by a single plant.

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The *N. rustica*¹ differs from the former in many particulars, of which the essentials are: it never attains the size of fully developed *N. Tabacum*; the leaves are ovate in form and do not clasp the stalk, being attached to it by long, fern-like stems; the flowers are a dull greenish-yellow color, etc. Both these species of *Nicotiana* are annuals. The many varieties of tobacco² cultivated for commercial purposes are derived chiefly from *N. Tabacum* and to a considerably lesser degree from *N. rustica*.³

WHILE the academic botanists were engaged in classifying the most notable plant of the "New Indies," their more practical brethren, the herbalists, were generally employed in cultivating and nourishing the "divine herb," supplying the local pharmacies and their patients with the green (or dried) leaves,⁴ and furthering its therapeutic uses by private and published recommendations.⁵

But tobacco was having a concomitant career entirely apart from, and fundamentally at variance with, its swift progress about Western and Central Europe as a catholicon. For there were other missionaries abroad, who preached a genial and persuasive nicotian philosophy between the puffs of an aromatic cigar or fortified with a companionable pipe. They spoke not of tobacco as a medicament—they had no nostrum to trade; theirs was but a creed of simple hedonism. It was these devotees, indeed, and not the panaceists, who were to extend the boundaries of tobacco to the furthest reaches, and to knit mankind in a communion of smoking. The recreative uses of the plant taught by them were to be bitterly opposed by the herbalists and others at home, and savagely repressed by some monarchs abroad,⁶ but these antagonistic efforts were to be as evanescent as the smoke they sought to smother.

Italian sailors (in contact with the Spanish at Naples and Sicily) seem to have been the first to spread the use of tobacco to the Mediterranean ports east of Italy. The ambitious Portuguese traders, English merchantmen, and some Dutch mariners, during the last quarter of the XVIth century, carried the novel habit to the South Balkans, to Persia, India, Java, China, Japan, etc., and to Africa.⁷ The Portuguese, aided by their energetic missionaries, were most active in the diffusion of the custom; and wherever they acquired trading-posts, they introduced the use of pipes, learned from the Indians of Brazil or Florida. All along the routes of commerce in Arabia⁸

¹ Comes (*Razze*, p. 6) distinguishes six varieties of this species: *texana*, *jamaicensis*, *brasilica*, *asiatica*, *humilis*, *scabra*.

² *V. ante*, p. 39, n. 8, and *supra*, n. 1.

³ The famous Shiraz tobacco of Persia (*N. persica*, Lindley—*v. Comes*, *Monographie*, p. 36) is a variety of *N. Tabacum*; the Latakia of Syria, etc., seems to be derived from the same species (*v. Comes*, *ibid.*, pp. 15, 19, and *Encycl. Brit. ut. sup.*, p. 39, n. 6); while the East Indian (or Green) and Syrian tobaccos are varieties of *N. rustica* (*v. Encycl. Brit.*, *idem*, and *Comes*, *ibid.*, pp. 22–23). Xanthi, Kavalla and Samson are offspring of *N. Tabacum* (*v. Comes*, *Razze*, pp. 211 ff., 39, *et passim*).

⁴ *V. Hartwich* (p. 68), who records the fact that tobacco was sold as a *Wundkraut* (vulnerary plant) by pharmacists in Frankfurt-on-Main in 1582, and who refers to the German apothecaries who sold

tobacco, and their prices during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. *Cp.* nos. 17, 50, 56, etc.

⁵ The value to the various communities of these "physic gardens" was recognized by those governments which later legislated against the domestic cultivation of tobacco, for they were specifically exempted from the application of such laws. *V. Index: Physic Gardens*.

⁶ *V. infra*, pp. 71 ff.

⁷ *V. nos.* 118, 158 "1" (note), 158 "e" (note), 98-A, etc. The Spaniards seem to have been long content with the cultivation of the plant in their American possessions (and in the Philippines; *v. ante*, p. 10) and with the great trade in tobacco carried on with their home country and England (*v. infra*, pp. 83–84).

⁸ Dunhill, p. 103.



NICOTIANA RUSTICA

The authors' explanatory letter-press is [trans.]: (A) the leaves, stalk and panicle; (B) vertical cross-section showing (a) receptacle, (b) calyx, (c) corolla, (d) stamen, (e) ovary, (f) style base; (C) flower with corolla removed showing (b) calyx, (f) style with stigma; (D) corolla (enlarged) laid open to show the stamens; (E) stamens (enlarged), front and rear; (F–G) grains of pollen (greatly enlarged) dried and swollen by water; (H) pistil (enlarged) showing (d) hypogynous disk, (e) ovary, (f) style, (g) stigma; (J) horizontal cross-section of ovary showing (h) partition wall, (i) placenta, (k) ovules; (K) stigma (g) and (f) style (both enlarged); (L) the mature capsule showing dehiscence, supported by the calyx (b), natural size; (M) horizontal cross-section of same showing (h) partition wall, (i) placenta, (k) seeds; (N) seed (greatly enlarged) with (l) the umbilicus; (O) the same (in vertical section) with (l) umbilicus, (m) albumen, (n) embryo.

Engraved by C. F. Schmidt. From O. C. Berg and C. F. Schmidt, *Darstellung und Beschreibung sämtlicher in der Pharmacopoea Borusica aufgeführten officinellen Gewächse*, etc. (Leipzig, 1858–1863), Volume II.

From a water-color copy by Margaret Sorensen in the Arents collection.

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and in Asia their influence was evident. They were responsible for the almost simultaneous introductions of tobacco-smoking to the seaports of Persia, West Hindustan, Indo-China, Java and Japan, by 1600-1601, and elsewhere in India and the East by 1605.¹

Tobacco soon found its way into China (first undoubtedly through the enterprising Fukienese mariners)² from the Philippines, where the Spanish had begun the cultivation of *N. Tabacum* in the latter part of the XVIth century,³ as well as from the Portuguese colony at Macao, and later from Korea⁴ and Japan. The Chinese were soon active in dealing in this new and valuable commodity, and in disseminating the custom of smoking it throughout the interior of Asia. Thus while the European traders were making the prized leaf familiar in the seaports of the East, the Chinese were introducing it into Mongolia, Tibet, Turkestan and eastern Siberia.⁵

Along some parts of the north and west coasts of Africa the Portuguese had undoubtedly taught the use of the tobacco pipe to the natives before the middle of the XVIth century,⁶ and the Dutch, according to the earliest published notice relating to tobacco in Africa, brought the custom into Guinea before 1597.⁷ With the growth of the negro slave-trade the smoking of tobacco spread rapidly and widely among the black natives, who became inordinately attached to this new sedative.⁸

By the early part of the XVIIth century, therefore, the recreative use of tobacco was known in all continents, except Australia,⁹ while the chief species of the plant once confined to the Americas were being sown in strange and familiar corners of the earth.¹⁰

¹ The exact dates of the introductions into these regions are not available, but almost all authorities agree upon the fact that smoking, in most of these Eastern countries, was only beginning to be known by 1595-1598 and that the habit was fairly well established among them by 1605. *V.* n. 158 "e", Comes, pp. 192 ff., La., *Asia*, pp. 2, 11, etc., and Satow, pp. 68 ff. A letter from a Japanese correspondent to Comes (p. 249, n. 2) states that tobacco-smoking was known in eastern Japan by 1595 and that tobacco seed was first imported there about 1596. Rein (*Japan*, Vol. II, 1896, p. 155, cited by Hartwich, p. 98) thought it very probable that tobacco was introduced into Korea from Japan between 1592 and 1597. In various Japanese works the period when tobacco was supposedly introduced into Japan is placed at 1570-1591. But none of these earlier dates has been substantiated by contemporaneous evidence and they are undoubtedly too early by several years.

² Comes, pp. 264, 265, n. 7, and La., *Asia*, p. 2.

³ *V. ante*, p. 10.

⁴ It is very likely that the Japanese first brought the custom of smoking into Korea, and that from Korea tobacco found its way into North China. *V.* Satow, p. 74, Comes, pp. 258 ff., La., *Asia*, p. 10, and Dunhill, p. 105. Henri Hamel's *Reise nach Corea*, 1668, gives the earliest account of tobacco in Korea. The plant was called *Nampankoy* as it was derived from the "Nañbañ," or "Southern Barba-

rians" (i.e., the Portuguese traders from Macao, Spaniards from the Philippines, and later the Dutch).

⁵ Dr. Laufer (*Asia*, p. 15) remarks that the Chinese tobacco and smoking utensils are still ubiquitous among the natives of these countries.

⁶ *V.* n. 98-A (introd.) and n. 158 "j."

⁷ *V.* n. 98-A.

⁸ *V. infra*, pp. 149-151, and nos. 158 "j", 152.

⁹ *V. infra*, p. 154, n. 4.

¹⁰ By the end of the XVIth century the Portuguese had introduced the cultivation of tobacco, with seeds brought in from Brazil, into several places in the Near East and probably on the West Coast of Africa. This insured a ready supply for their own needs as well as for the purpose of trade, for tobacco was soon found to be a valuable commodity in barter. These cultivations were shortly extended all along the trade route to the East and the Portuguese were responsible for sowing or encouraging the growth of tobacco in India and Indo-China by 1595-1605 (*v.* Comes, pp. 195-197, *et passim*) and probably in Java and Japan (at Nagasaki) between 1601-1605 (*v.* n. 158 "e", Satow, p. 70, La., *Asia*, p. 2). The Dutch are credited with first introducing the cultivation of tobacco in Java and Japan by some authorities, but the earlier discoveries of these countries by the Portuguese and their extensive trade in Asia before the advent of other European merchants, makes it most probable that it was they who instituted these tobacco farms there.

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No practical or deliberate element had originally dictated the wide dissemination, thus indicated, of the habit of smoking. Its diffusion to Asia and Africa was casual and a natural accompaniment of the expanding European trade. The mariners and merchants accustomed to their pipes (or cigars) carried them with them, having first secured enough of the coveted leaf to provide an adequate supply for the duration of their voyage. When they had set out their wares at the trading-places, it may readily be imagined that they continued to smoke in the presence of the astonished natives. It was but another step to invite the chief men to join them in a sociable pipe, thus maintaining an ancient custom of the American Indians, who had long known how the good smoke fostered amiability and subtly served as a conversational intermediary between strangers. Some pipes and leaves would have been left with the natives who requested them, and as the habit grew among them, they continually asked for more tobacco.¹ It was not long before the European traders were aware of the commercial value of the leaf, for wherever they went they were met with requests for the soothing herb. When the captain of a Turkish galley boarded Dallah's ship in the Dardenelles, in 1599, and "desired to have som tobacco and tobacco-pipes"² he was but repeating a demand undoubtedly familiar to all European traders who operated in the Levant, along the African coast and in the Far East.

WE come now to a subject of such exceptional interest in this historical survey as to require individual consideration: the progress of tobacco in England. Before this little could be said in this regard for it was not until the concluding years of the XVIth century that England had any place of importance in nicotian annals. On the Continent tobacco had been generally accepted as a panacea since 1560, and as such had been woven into daily life there. But in England, about three decades later (after its fairly limited original reception as a wonder-working simple) smoking suddenly and triumphantly became a social force, developing into an almost national recreation.

When and how the plant which was to achieve such a sensational career in England first reached that land may be conjectured from the conditions then existing. The introduction of tobacco and smoking did not occur in England as early as it had in Spain, Portugal and Belgium, for the English participated only tardily in explorations to America. This delay was occasioned by several factors of which the chief were the papal bull of demarcation proclaimed by Alexander VI, 1493, by which Catholic England (together with nations other than the Spanish and Portuguese) was debarred from colonization, etc., in the Americas; the comparative poverty of the country; internal dissensions; and an habitual national

Hartwich (p. 99) thinks it likely, in view of the early date of introduction into Japan, and the similarity of the small pipe bowls used there with the early Philippine tobacco pipes, that the Portuguese first brought in seeds from the Spanish plantations in the Philippines (via Macao) rather than from Europe. The assumption is not unreasonable but there were probably joint introductions from America, Europe and the Philippines at the period stated which cannot now be clearly indicated.

India soon produced sufficient tobacco to export it to Persia and to Red Sea ports. *V. infra*, p. 83, n. 8.

¹ This condition existed until the local growers in Asia produced palatable tobacco in sufficient quantities to supply the home markets (*v. ante*, p. 42, n. 10). But in Africa where tobacco agriculture long remained imperfect, foreign tobacco was much sought after.

² *V.* n. 118, introd.

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insularity. It was only when the English Protestant reformation had been achieved, shortly after the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, and attention attracted to the vast wealth acquired by the popular Catholic enemy, the Spanish, through their acquisitions in America, that the maritime enterprise of the English was fully aroused. Once the spirit of expansion had stirred the people, their restless seamen voyaged across the Atlantic to the inviting shores of the new-found world.



THE "GLORIOUS" ELIZABETH
Frontispiece to Camden's *Historie*, 1630 (n. 170).
Engraved by Delaram, after Hillyard. [Reduced]

In the meantime, however, there were the usual mercantile relations with the Spanish and with other traders from the Continent. Smoking, by 1560, was fairly prevalent among the Spanish, Portuguese, French, and Flemish sailors, and many of these must have come in contact with the English either in their home ports or in the British Isles. The use of pipes or cigars would, therefore, have been familiar to English seamen before 1565, and soon thereafter, together with foreign mariners, they were beginning to demonstrate tobacco-smoking in London and other ports. Pena and De l'Obel (n. 13) had undoubtedly witnessed this curious performance in London, where they lived, for they affirm that before 1570 sailors who had returned from America smoked publicly.

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The tobacco for smoking brought in by the more provident mariners would have quickly become exhausted. A few of the smokers could replenish their pipes at foreign ports but the need for a supply of the coveted leaf at home must soon have made itself felt. Some of the provincial English, it is true, smoked yarrow or coltsfoot,¹ but this was poor diet for mariners who scorned the medicinal pipes. The more advanced herbalists, attracted by the Continental fame of tobacco as a panacea, undoubtedly imported seeds for their physic gardens, probably in the early 60's, but these cultivations would have been slight and of no practical use to the recreative smokers. It is pretty certain that there was no growth of tobacco in England before 1563-1565, even for medicinal purposes. After the latter date there are several contemporary records which indicate the presence of tobacco in England.²

We cannot do more, therefore, than approximate the period when the plant and smoking first appeared in England, from the Continent. The date of the first introduction of tobacco from America is equally uncertain but may very probably have been coincident with the return of Hawkins from Florida, in 1565.³ In the account of his voyage, John Sparke, the younger,⁴ gave the first original notice in English of the use of tobacco by the Indians. He reported that the adventurers had witnessed smoking in pipes by the natives of Florida and that the French colonists there were already fully accustomed to this mode of using the plant. It seems very natural that the then friendly English should have participated in this custom and that they would thus have acquired the usual craving to satisfy a new appetite. Some of the adventurers, too, may have already learned to smoke from their association with foreign seamen. There was, so far as they knew, no supply of this strange herb in England; what more likely then that they should import its seeds for cultivation in their own gardens? It may, in fact, have been the species developed from them to which Harrison referred in his account of tobacco, 1573 (v. n. 31), as "Nicetian" (*N. rustica*), then prevalent in Florida.⁵

N. Tabacum may have been growing in England before 1570, for in their work (n. 13), Pena and De l'Obel apparently recorded its presence there and highly praised tobacco's medicinal worth. But it is still uncertain whether they were describing *N. Tabacum* (of which a cut illustrates their text) or *N. rustica*.⁶ At any rate, by 1573, Harrison⁷ was able to give accurately the physical characteristics of *N. Tabacum*, then being cultivated in English gardens, and to record that it was employed medicinally by means of a pipe. That this species was again brought into England in 1573 is pretty certain from the circumstance that in that year Drake returned from the West Indies.⁸ Such an importation would have readily commended itself to those experienced seamen who accompanied him and who were already habituated to the luxury of smoking.⁹

¹ *V. ante*, p. 5, n. 3.

² *V. infra*.

³ *V. nos.* 36 (at n. 11) and 176.

⁴ *V. infra*, pp. 240-241.

⁵ This is but a supposition, for it is equally likely that Harrison's reference was to *N. rustica* developed from seeds imported from Portugal, Belgium or France. Cf. *ante*, pp. 22-23, 31-32.

⁶ *V. n.* 13.

⁷ *V. n.* 31.

⁸ *V. infra*, pp. 298-299.

⁹ Pipe-smoking may have come into England about this period, too, through the Englishmen who had fought with the Huguenots in France. Sir Walter Raleigh was among these adventurers and it is assumed that they acquired the habit of smoking from the French who had returned from Florida (*v. infra*, p. 239, and n. 36, at n. 15).

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Within a few years the plant was sufficiently familiar in England for Richard Hakluyt to write to a factor in Constantinople (1582): "The feed of Tobacco¹ hath bene brought hither out of the West Indies, it groweth heere, and with the herbe many haue bene eafed of the reumes [rheums], &c."²

It is clear, therefore, from the testimony of Pena and De l'Obel, Harrison, and Hakluyt, that both of the principal species of tobacco had been imported into England some years before the usually accepted date of first introduction there, c. 1586. As these three chroniclers note particularly the medicinal value of the plant, it demonstrates that its reputation as a catholicon was by then established among the English, and suggests that the seeds of tobacco had been imported partly from those countries on the Continent where its therapeutic uses had already been confirmed. It may be likewise inferred, from the general maritime conditions then prevailing and the status of tobacco among seamen, that some of them had made independent introductions into England from America of the seeds together with the habit of smoking.

The interest of English herbalists and physicians in tobacco received encouragement from Frampton's translation of Monardes, 1577 (n. 24).³ In relation to the medical conceptions then prevailing and the enthusiasm with which Monardes presented his nicotian gospel, it was only natural that they should soon be as busily engaged as were their Continental colleagues in advancing the remedial uses of tobacco and formulating new principles for its employment. But the new "panacea" did not arouse the popular interest in England that it had in Portugal, France and Spain,⁴ nor was it heralded there by the fanfare which had introduced it on the Continent. In accordance with the sentiments of experienced nicotian specialists, the majority of the English medical men emphatically opposed the growing habit of smoking a "drug" for pleasure.⁵

The recreative use of tobacco there did not become general for at least a decade and a half after Pena and De l'Obel published their account of the plant, 1570 (the first to appear in England), and for many years those who indulged in a pipe publicly were regarded with great curiosity.⁶ The two "poore wilde barbarous" savages⁷ who accompanied Amadas and Barlowe (after their six weeks' sojourn in the land they named "Virginia") to England in 1584 are said to have brought tobacco with them to provide for their own needs. The Londoners who crowded about the Indians gaped with bewilderment when they "drank" tobacco⁸ through their pipes of clay.

The evidence already presented shows that tobacco and smoking were present in England before this occasion, but it is obvious that the use of pipes had not assumed sufficient proportions among civilians to attract especial comment before 1586. In that year Drake, who had conducted raids in the West Indies where he had got "great store of Tabacco,"⁹ reached home, bringing with him from the

¹ *N. Tabacum*.

² N. 51-A.

³ The full text of Liébault (n. 28) did not appear in English before 1600 (n. 58). A summary of the 1570 text (n. 12) from Frampton's translation formed a part of Chute's tract, 1595 (n. 46).

⁴ *V. ante*, pp. 29 ff.

⁵ *V. nos.* 50, 60, 96, 99, 146, *et al.*

⁶ *V. ante*, p. 22, n. 1.

⁷ *V. n.* 68, n. 2.

⁸ The smoking of tobacco was almost invariably referred to in England as "drinking" (*i.e.*, inhaling, and apparently swallowing) tobacco until the last quarter of the XVIIth century. Other allied expressions were "quaffing," "tasting," or "sucking" tobacco or smoke.

⁹ *V. infra*, p. 315.

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unfortunate colony of "Virginia" (at Roanoke Island, N. C.), Ralph Lane, its first governor, and the impoverished settlers. That they had adopted the Indian method of smoking tobacco, and that they continued it at home are clearly indicated by one of their number, Hariot (n. 36).¹ The return of Drake's fleet with a sufficient supply of the seed² and leaf to give encouragement to "tabacconists"³ is agreed upon by historians⁴ as the occasion which first firmly established in England the habit of pipe-smoking.

Thus a momentous event ushered into England the social use of tobacco, the private luxury of a pipe became known about London, and delighted courtiers and plain citizens fell upon the habit with as much earnestness and enthusiasm as though it had been especially ordained for them.

The impetus to this custom was early and chiefly given by that romantic figure, Sir Walter Raleigh, who, from his own day⁵ to this, has been traditionally credited with the original importation of tobacco and the custom of smoking into England, and who, more than any other, has become the patron saint of smokers. He had never visited his colony in "Virginia," but it is only logical to believe that Amadas and Barlowe⁶ in 1584, or at the latest, Lane or Hariot⁷ in 1586, had presented him with some tobacco and clay pipes made by the Indians, so that he learned to "suck it after their maner. . ."⁸ The virgin colony had failed; there were no precious metals or jewels with which to reward Sir Walter for his enterprise, but in the pipes and dried leaves he received, there was great treasure indeed. He had what may be regarded as a sure intuition about tobacco, for he seems readily to have understood its nature, its purpose and its value. He not only soon learned how to cure the Indian weed (*N. rustica*)⁹ properly, but he is said to have turned one of the great rooms of his home¹⁰ into a *tabagie*, where he encouraged his

¹ The form in which tobacco was to be smoked by most Englishmen for nearly two centuries thereafter was dictated by the fact that these colonists brought back with them the clay pipes commonly used by the Indians in Virginia (*cf.* nos. 36, 73, and 102, etc.). With the growth of the habit of smoking the demand for pipes increased, bringing into existence a new and soon successful industry in England (*v. infra*, p. 50, n. 12).

² The cultivation of the plant began at Winchcombe (Gloucestershire) so soon after Drake's return that it indicates a significant association with that event. Probably some of the colonists from Virginia (where only *N. rustica* grew) were residents there. Winchcombe was to be the scene of a small insurrection later (*v. infra*, p. 116) when the government sent troops to spoil the tobacco crops which the farmers continued to plant, despite prohibitory legislation.

³ In England, a smoker, until about the XVIIIth century. A vendor was referred to as a "tabacconian," "tabacco-seller," etc.

⁴ *V. nos.* 36, 73, 170, and Brodigan, pp. 54 ff., Brushfield, p. 34, *et passim*, Comes, p. 100 ff., *et al.*

⁵ *V. Buttes*, n. 53; *cf.* James I, n. 68, *et al.* Cleland (p. 14) in his rhetorical manner exclaims, "At a period when he was in full possession of his transcendent talents, invested with the highest honours

which a monarch could bestow; secretly beloved by a queen equally extravagant and profuse, at least in as far as her favourites were concerned; and occupying, as it were, the most prominent situation in the kingdom, did Raleigh receive with pleasure, employ very extensively, and laud very highly, that weed, which was destined to create so striking a change in the habits of the people. That a practice so disgusting, and so utterly alien to all previous customs, should have in a comparatively brief period of time acquired an extensive diffusion, is to be solely attributed to the high station of its introducer and commendator, and to the desire of novelty, however ridiculous, which was implanted in the breasts of what Gifford characterises as an 'age of vanity and profusion.'"

⁶ *V. n.* 68, n. 2.

⁷ *V. n.* 36.

⁸ There is a possibility, of course, that Raleigh had already acquired the habit of smoking (*v. ante*, p. 45, n. 9) and that his lieutenants had been instructed by him to acquire tobacco and seeds in America.

⁹ *Cf.* n. 212. He first had tobacco cultivated in Ireland (on his estate at Youghal) and set great store by the experiment. *V. Sir J. Hennessy, Sir Walter Raleigh in Ireland*, 1883, p. 117.

¹⁰ Durham House. *V. Brushfield*, pp. 28 and 30.



"RALEIGH'S FIRST PIPE IN ENGLAND"
Buss' conception of a familiar anecdote of Raleigh's career, engraved by Egan. The pipe is the chief exaggeration of detail in this fantastic composition. From the extra-illustrated volumes of Fairholt (1859) in the Arents library. [Reduced]

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friends to accustom themselves to the correct technique of smoking. The legends which grew up about Raleigh, and which are retold in some texts as historical occurrences, are alone sufficient evidence of how central a figure he was in the newest popular fashion. There were the familiar tales of how his servant had doused him with a can of beer, thinking him on fire,¹ how he taught Elizabeth and her ladies the use of tobacco pipes,² and how he had won a wager with the queen that he could weigh the smoke,³ etc., etc. Later, each place he had visited, each inn he had slept in, was to claim the honor that it was there Sir Walter had lit his first pipe.⁴ Almost all the fashionable courtiers followed the noble example of England's most distinguished smoker,⁵ and it was undoubtedly his patronage of the "divine herb" which gave the strongest impetus to the new fashion, a fashion which was later to develop among the English the most enthusiastic tobacco devotees in Europe, the most ardent missionaries of the pipe, and, in consequence, that profitable trade in the coveted leaf which was to be the economic salvation of England's southern colonies in America, as well as one of the nation's greatest individual sources of revenue.

Under the auspices of that talented smoker, therefore, the tobacco habit was soon prevalent in fashionable circles and it was even privately accepted or encouraged by the more liberal ladies of the court.⁶ The insufficient supply of good tobacco, and its consequent cost, at first restricted its use as a luxury to the wealthy, some of whom imported it privately. It was not long, however, before this new market attracted the interest of progressive dealers,⁷ who began to ac-

¹ This anecdote was not, however, of contemporaneous origin. *V.* n. 89.

² *V. infra*, p. 342, and *cf.* n. 710 [y^a-b]. Cleland (p. 14, note †) remarks that there is no reliable authority for the numerous accounts relating to the queen's indulgence in tobacco. In an attempt to refute both the statement that Elizabeth smoked, and that her ladies joined her in this pastime, he quotes a familiar passage from Aubrey's MS. (*i.e.*, *Letters Written by Eminent Persons*, † 1813, ii, p. 512) "S^r W. R[aleigh] standing in a stand at S^r R[obert] Poyntz parke, at Acton, tooke a pipe of tobacco, w^{ch} made the ladies quitt it till he had donne." But this is hardly refutation of the statements Cleland challenges. Hariot (n. 36), James I (n. 68) and several writers of the period (n. 65, *et al.*) indicate that ladies smoked or encouraged the habit.

³ *V.* nos. 238 and 710 [y^a].

⁴ *V.* Brushfield, pp. 28 ff. The names of several Englishmen have been advanced as entitled to the reputation of being among England's original smokers. Among these are Sir Walter Long, Raleigh's close friend (Aubrey, *op. cit. supra*, n. 2, *ibid.*), William Middleton, and others (*v.* n. 893). Prof. Arber provides some of the principal traditions and legends on this point. (Arb., pp. 87 ff.)

⁵ Much has been said in commendation of Raleigh's generous interest in tobacco, but nothing better than Barrie's graceful tribute: "When Raleigh, in honour of whom England should have changed its name, introduced tobacco into this country, the glorious Elizabethan age began. I am aware that those

hateful persons called Original Researchers now maintain that Raleigh was not the man; but to them I turn a deaf ear. I know, I feel, that with the introduction of tobacco England woke up from a long sleep. Suddenly a new zest had been given to life. The glory of existence became a thing to speak of. Men who had hitherto only concerned themselves with the narrow things of home put a pipe into their mouths and became philosophers. Poets and dramatists smoked until all ignoble ideas were driven from them, and into their place rushed such high thoughts as the world had not known before. Petty jealousies no longer had hold of statesmen, who smoked, and agreed to work together for the public weal. Soldiers and sailors felt when engaged with a foreign foe, that they were fighting for their pipes. The whole country was stirred by the ambition to live up to tobacco. Every one, in short, had now a lofty ideal constantly before him." (*My Lady Nicotine*, †, London, 1890.)

⁶ *V. supra*, n. 2. Not all ladies encouraged the habit, however—*cf.* n. 80.

⁷ Apothecaries, who were naturally accepted at first as proper vendors of this new medicinal herb, were soon required to increase their stock in order to supply the growing demand from smokers. At first the retail trade in tobacco was practically confined to them (*v. infra*, p. 336, and nos. 53, at n. 3, 125 "a", n. 7, and 129, introd.). But from about 1603 (or perhaps even earlier—*v.* n. 72 [B₂^a]) shops exclusively devoted to the sale of this commodity began to be established in London (*v.* nos. 109, at

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quire stocks of the coveted leaf. The import trade was at first, perforce, confined to the agents¹ of Spanish cultivators and exporters in the West Indies (chiefly at Cuba and Trinidad) and in Venezuela (chiefly at Caracas or Varinas) and the "right stuff" was long an expensive commodity. Old Aubrey remarked: "It was sold then for its wayte in silver."² I have heard some of our old yeoman neighbours say, that when they went to Malmesbury or Chippenham Market, they culled out their biggest shillings to lay in the scales against the tobacco . . ."³

Not only were excessive prices demanded for tobacco, but scheming dealers were openly accused of "sophisticating" their wares.⁴ It was undoubtedly their avarice which brought into existence a cooperative society of smokers,⁵ so that "hoarding Apothicaries" could be forced to "abate their prises of their mingle mangle" tobacco⁶ and members could be assured of the pure leaf or "cane."

The growing habit of smoking brought into daily use in London heretofore unfamiliar objects essential in its indulgence. Most common of these novel articles⁷ was the pipe, which had become fairly prevalent there by 1590-1592. Expensive metals (chiefly silver)⁸ were occasionally employed in their manufacture to indulge the whims of the more snobbish or luxurious members of high society.⁹ It was not long before the use of tobacco was common among the poor, many of whom were at first forced to be content with rough home-made clays, or make-shift pipes of a walnut bowl with a straw stem.¹⁰ But these gave way, for the most part, to the inexpensive and practical clay pipe,¹¹ in the production of which the English rapidly became expert.¹²

As the uses of tobacco became more evident, the plant began to be remarked upon by the men of letters. Thus we find the first poetic reference to it, "divine¹³ tobacco" in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, 1590 (n. 38), an acknowledgment of Spenserian influence in things nicotian by Harvey, 1593 (n. 43), the first English

n. 6, 117, and 125 "d") and a little later in other large cities in England. During this period the profitable trade also attracted the attention of others in England, so that tobacco was soon available at inns or the shops of grocers, chandlers, goldsmiths, drapers, et al. V. nos. 117, 178, 183, 190, 196 and 271.
¹ V. *infra*, pp. 84, 86.

² "Alfred Crowquill says it is worth its weight in gold!" (Steinmetz, in 2 *NQ*, 75, p. 444.) For the cost of tobacco in London from 1597-1608, v. *infra*, p. 84.

³ *Op. cit.* (*supra*, p. 49, n. 2), *ibid.*

⁴ They appear to have used common domestic plants for these adulterations, usually the dock (v. n. 54), but later stooped even to dangerous or disgusting methods when good tobacco became more expensive (v. especially nos. 109 at n. 2, 120, 125 "d", 157 [E⁴-b] and 219). V. *infra*, pp. 124-125, for an account of these abuses practised by members of the English tobacco trade during the XVIIth century.

⁵ V. introductory notes to nos. 46 and 106, and n. 57, n. 2.

⁶ From n. 46.

⁷ V. *infra*, p. 53.

⁸ V. nos. 46 (at n. 6) and 60.

⁹ Their tastes, in this regard, were sometimes re-

inforced by the recommendations of physicians (v. n. 60, first excerpt). Clays were early imitated in silver for presentation purposes (Dunhill, p. 225).

¹⁰ V. n. 31, n. 1.

¹¹ Cf. nos. 36, 73 (last excerpt), 102, 125 "d", 141. V. n. 46, n. 6, on the sizes, etc., of Elizabethan clays. The small size of the bowl then was undoubtedly due to the cost of tobacco, although Fairholt (p. 161) thought that these tiny pipes were merely imitative, at first, of North American Indian pipes. Pipes of brass and iron were occasionally employed later by the English and Irish. V. Fairholt, p. 171, and Dunhill, pp. 218-219.

¹² The clay pipe industry must have become important by the close of the XVIth century, for a monopoly of the manufacture and sale seems to have been granted by 1601 (v. ref. in n. 141). This new trade developed rapidly (v. n. 141, introd.) chiefly at London, Bristol and Winchester, and up to the period (before the middle of the XIXth century) when briers became fashionable in England, clay was practically the only pipe material employed (cf. Dunhill, Chap. XII). English clay pipes were accepted by North American Indians in part exchange for land, in the XVIIth century (v. ref. in n. 141).

¹³ V. concluding note to excerpt in n. 38.

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tract devoted to the subject of tobacco, 1595, written probably by Chute (n. 46), and a long botanico-medico-historical notice in the work of Gerard, 1597 (n. 50), in which the wanton smoker is mildly reproved. Tobacco, as a digestive aid, was a part of Buttes' famous teetotal dinner, 1599 (n. 53), in which work Raleigh



From Pritchett, *Smokiana* (†, 1890), page 15.

was first credited with the introduction of the plant into England. Almost all of these allusions or accounts were influenced by, or related to, or propagated, the accepted uses of tobacco in medicine. Not until we reach the poem, c. 1598-1600, assigned to the Earl of Essex (n. 52), do we come upon literary expressions which display tobacco in its popular social rôle, for it is here that the "sacred fume" is first clearly indicated as an anodyne for the troubled spirit. And only with the

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appearance of Jonson's blithe comedy of character and manners, *Every Man Out Of His Humor*, 1600 (n. 59), acted 1599, is one made fully aware of the extremities to which the fashion of smoking had been carried by some enthusiastic devotees.¹ The foibles of the roistering smokers and their accomplices, and their relation to the London scene are here displayed with graphic detail. To this subject we shall come in a moment.

By 1600 smoking was prevalent not only in London but in all the more cosmopolitan cities of England and Ireland. No other nation had so quickly developed the habit, and its wide popularity there occasioned comment from foreign visitors.² Unlike the Spanish, these patrons of tobacco were not content to reserve the pleasure to themselves. Wherever they went they carried the pipe with them, so that we find them credited with its introduction into, and the propagation of smoking in, Turkey,³ Russia, Scandinavia, Holland and Germany,⁴ etc. Wilhelm van der Meer wrote to Neander⁵ that he had never seen pipe-smoking before 1590, when he attempted to imitate the English and French students at the university in Leyden. About the same period (some authorities believe it was 1615, however)⁶ Cardinal Crescenzo made the practise known in Rome, having learned it indirectly from the English.

While the novel Indian custom of smoking was thus growing in England and abroad, the habit was taken up and displayed in exaggerated forms by the strutting dandies who then infested London and who were ever wont to ape any expensive curious custom. In an effort to insure nicotian exclusiveness these playboys advertised loudly that the taking of tobacco was an art reserved for the élite,⁷ and under the guidance of their "professors"⁸ they developed a technique for the "correct" employment of pipes, etc.⁹ The bizarre dissipations of these "reeking gallants" in London commenced soon after Raleigh began to encourage smokers. It was their conversion of a sober recreation into an extreme fad which first aroused censure from the clergy and the moralists, gave rise to that group of robust satires and invectives which did much to enliven the social literature of the period,¹⁰ and finally awakened the ire and hatred of James I.¹¹

In no other part of Europe was ever such a fantastic indulgence in tobacco displayed as that practised by the ornamental beaux of London. Even the fashions

¹ Davies' *Epigrammes* (composed c. 1590—v. n. 144) contains a reference to a gallant "who dares take Tobacco on the stage," and Buttes' "Satyricall Epigram, upon the wanton, and excessive use of Tabacco" (n. 53) also remarks upon a cavalier beclouding the air of the theatre with "foggie fume." There are other incidental allusions to the antics of the extravagant smokers, before 1600, but Jonson was the first to report upon them fully.

² *V.* n. 102; cf. n. 465.

³ *V.* n. 118.

⁴ *V. La., Europe*, pp. 57 ff. The custom may have been introduced into parts of Germany earlier, however, by the Spanish soldiers of Charles V.

⁵ *V.* in n. 148.

⁶ *V.* n. 11, n. 3.

⁷ James I, too, seems once to have been influenced by a kindred snobbery. *V. infra*, pp. 405-407, and

Chapman's satire on the king's sentiment, page 424, *infra*.

⁸ *V. infra*, p. 54.

⁹ Some of these dandies appear to have affected the use of snuff, too, as indicated by a passage in Lyly's *Pappe With An Hatchet*, 1589 (n. 33), and more clearly demonstrated by Dekker, in *The Guls Horne-booke* (n. 90, n. 3). Snuff was then most popular in France (v. n. 12, note 6) where it had the authority of royal indulgence, chiefly for its medicinal value. (*V.* the note to the first excerpt in n. 33). A few of these elegant young men appear, too, to have dallied with the cigar (v. a passage in n. 59, and n. 12 there), but most of them were devoted to the pipe.

¹⁰ *V.* nos. 53, 59, 61, 65, 70, 71, 76, 78, 84, 98, 119, 121, and those cited *infra*, p. 55.

¹¹ *V.* nos. 68, 85.

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at the height of the snuff age¹ were less extravagant than the nicotian frivolities with which these exquisites amused themselves during the later Elizabethan period and which persisted, in varying degrees and forms, almost to the close of Charles I's career.

By the last decade of the XVIth century tobacco² was beginning to prosper on English soil, and this species contented many moderate smokers, among them Raleigh.³ But in imitation of the wealthy the proper gallant demanded only that "right stuff," "good flinging geare," from Trinidad,⁴ from Caracas,⁵ etc., or the finest "cane," etc. To take it in a pipe was not enough; the groundlings were able to do that, too. Not only must the technique of the rude Indians be improved upon, but even the manners of the aristocrats could, in this respect, be supplemented here and there. So proclaimed the gallants. In order to express the correct forms of "taking the whiff," and the latest associated tricks, a "tobacconist" must, of course, be provided with the proper equipment.⁶ This would consist, among other things, of his case for pipes, containing a set of Winchester clays⁷ (or those ornamented with silver or gold), and his ivory⁸ or metal⁹ box for tobacco, sometimes large enough to hold a pound. Into the latter were fitted ember-tongs of silver, etc., used to convey a coal (usually of juniper) to light his pipe, a stopper of metal (sometimes attached to a ring)¹⁰ with which to compress the tobacco in the bowl, a pick which helped in cleaning the bowl, occasionally a knife needed to shred cane-tobacco, and often a small scoop in which the leaf, etc., could be dried. A mirror usually adorned the cover of these boxes. The fitted cases sometimes held a flint and steel, when they lacked the tongs, but such part of the equipment was held unnecessary in London where every shop which sold tobacco also provided light, a maple trencher upon which to shred the tobacco, a knife and a drying-shovel, and even rented pipes should they be required.¹¹

In the box itself, the dandy would have a sufficient supply of leaf, of "puding," or a piece of "cane." He would have acquired his favorite brand from his apothecary or other dealer, observed "in what state Tobacco [was] in towne . . ."¹² and thus fully equipped, would proceed to the theatre¹³ (a favorite resort for smokers) or to some public house where he would display his several tricks in smoking such as "the Ring," "the Whiffe," "the Euripus," "the Gulpe," "the Retention," "the Cuban Ebolition,"¹⁴ always "putting the fume through his nose."¹⁵ If he did not then direct his steps to St. Paul's, there to "spit private,"¹⁶ he might resume his exhausting day by visiting the smoking-clubs or tobacco ordinaries (described by

¹ *V. infra*, pp. 159 ff.

² *N. rustica. V. ante*, p. 45.

³ *V. ante*, p. 47, n. 9.

⁴ *V. Trinidad*, in *Glossary*. ⁵ Cf. n. 120, n. 10.

⁶ *V.* introd. to n. 81. Dekker employs the blithe expression "artillery" to classify the paraphernalia of these smokers (n. 90 [D⁴]).

⁷ *V.* the first excerpt in n. 65, and the inventory of a gallant's pocket, n. 91.

⁸ *N.* 81, introduction.

⁹ The "vulgar" material was wood, but some dandies were not averse to boxes made of ebony and other equally expensive woods.

¹⁰ *V.* Laufer's note in n. 81, and Fairholt, pp. 233 ff.

¹¹ Jonson and Brathwait have provided the best contemporary accounts of these tobacco shops. *V.* n. 125 "d", and introduction, illustration and explanatory leaf in n. 129.

¹² From n. 90.

¹³ *V.* nos. 53, 69, 125 "c", 144 (Epig. 28), and 156.

¹⁴ These terms occur in nos. 59, 90, etc.

¹⁵ *N.* 136.

¹⁶ There were extremists even among these dandies, for some of them carried silver porringers in which to measure the amount of saliva they were able to expectorate during the day, through their "correct" use of tobacco. *V.* n. 59 [L²]^b and cf. the illustration reproduced *infra*, p. 163.

Dekker),¹ where he would discourse with elegance and wisdom "upon that myfticall wonder [tobacco]" and say whether his "Cane or your Pudding be sweeteft, and which pipe has the beft boare, and which burnes black, which breakes in the burning, &c."²

Such adepts had, of course, received the advantages of higher nicotian education from expert teachers. Smoking (and its accompaniments) was then a matter for serious study, and it had its professors, as did the rest of the liberal arts.³ Were there a newcomer to the ranks of the gallants thirsting for social etiquette, or a young blood from the country, say, such an "effential Clowne" as Jonson's Sogliardo,⁴ who came regularly to London to acquire perfection in the art of "blustering"⁵ and of "whiffing," etc., he would follow the usual routine by visiting the middle aisle of St. Paul's (then the fashionable promenade of sporting men, swaggers, and their sort)⁶ and examine the placards of the specialists who advertised there. Among these there was certain to be one such as Jonson records from the hand of Cavalier Shift, alias Signior Whiffe, etc.⁷ This jackanapes, publishing his course of study, announced that, for a reasonable fee, he would prepare any newcomer to "be as exactly qualified as the best of our ordinary gallants are . . ." by instructing him in the "moft Gentlemanlike ufe of Tobacco: as first, to give it the moft exquisite perfume;⁸ then, to know all the dilicate sweet formes of the [taking] of it: as also the rare Corollary and practife of the Cuban Ebolition, Euripus, and Whiffe;⁹ which he fhall receive or take in here at London, and evaporate at Uxbridge or farther, if it pleafe him." This specialist, it will be seen, had something exceptional to offer, for he guaranteed to teach one not only the usual nicotian technique but the ability to inhale tobacco, retain it, "take his horfe, drinke his three cups of Canarie, and expofe [*i.e.*, exhale] one [whiffe] at Hounflow, a fecond at Stanes, and a third at Bagshot"¹⁰—communities miles apart! An art indeed! Small wonder then that the impressionable Sogliardos should engage a Shift to initiate them into the recondite matters of smoking, such as those already alluded to, as well as the "Receit Reciprocall,"¹¹ the art of "making the Patoun . . . and a number of other myfteries, not yet extant."¹² It was such a combination and circumstance which made it possible for that cynical man-about-town, Carlo Buffone, to inform his associate, Puntaruolo, that he had discovered Sogliardo at an ordinary where he had hired a private chamber in which Shift might advise him professionally, without disturbance. "I brought fome dofen or twentie Gallants this morning," cries Carlo, delightedly, "to view them (as you'd doe a piece of Perfpective) in at a key-hole; and there we might fee Sogliardo fit in a Chaire, holding his fnowt up, like a Sow under an Apple tree, while th'other open'd his noftrilles with a Poking-fticke, to give the fmoke a more free deliverie. They had fpit fome three or fourefcore ounces betweene them, afore we came away." "How!"

¹ These shops came to be regarded, especially during the time of James I, as places of low repute, and professional vendors of tobacco were considered to be in the class of usurers and bankrupts (*v.* nos. 117, 153, 156, etc.). Honest dealers, such as Anslop (recommended by Barclay, n. 109, at n. 6) and the unknown original of Abel Drugger (n. 125 "d") were notable exceptions who were, of course, spared such contempt.

² From n. 90.

³ Gifford, ed. of Ben Jonson. *V.* notes in n. 59.

⁴ N. 59.

⁵ *V.* n. 130, and the character of Kastrill in n. 125 "d".

⁶ *V.* n. 59, n. 4.

⁷ *Ibid.*, first excerpt.

⁸ *I.e.*, "sophisticate" it to give it a sweet odor.

⁹ *V.* n. 59, n. 7, for explanations of these terms.

¹⁰ N. 59, at n. 11. ¹¹ N. 59, n. 12. ¹² *Ibid.*

Puntaruolo demands, "three or fourefcore ounces?" "I," responds Carlo, "and preserv'd it in porringers as a Barber does his Bloud, when hee pricks a veine."¹

While in these diverting scenes and portraits Jonson presented literary creations with his accustomed skill, he was but drawing upon familiar material, for the prototypes of his characters were an actual part of life in London.² Were verification of this fact needed, one has but to look into the works already cited³ or into other plays by Jonson, into Dekker's tracts or comedies (nos. 90, 101), or Marston's productions (nos. 69, 81), or those of Rowlands (nos. 83, 89, 94, 107), Chapman (nos. 72, 75), Barnaby Rich (nos. 117, 127, 132), Sharpham (n. 84), Taylor (n. 111), and other contemporary English writers. It is to these men of letters, and the lampoons provided especially by the satirists among them, that we owe so complete a record of the nicotian deportment of the gallants.

It was chiefly this sportive part of London society which instituted the first antismoking campaign. As will be seen, there were two groups which opposed the social uses of tobacco: the moralists, and the majority of those who accepted the prevailing medical conceptions relating to the plant. It was an axiom of the latter that the plant was a remedial agent—a drug; *ergo*, it was illogical and obviously unhealthy to employ it for pleasure. Some mild reproofs against the inordinate "drinking of tabacco," based on this dictum, had already appeared⁴ and were soon to be followed by criticisms more stern and direct (*v. infra*). If the moralists did not wholeheartedly accept the opinions of the herbalists, *et al.*, they at least upheld them in their efforts to stamp out the "Indian vice." The excesses of the gallants served to give impetus to that movement earlier than one might have expected in an age extremely liberal in its personal appetites and in its acceptance of novel fashions.

The attack upon smokers began seriously in England with the feeble tract of the pseudonymous Philaretus, *Work for Chimney-Sweepers* (n. 61), received powerful encouragement from the invectives and repressive measures of James I (n. 68, and *cf.* n. 85), and was carried on by a group of earnest, if excitable, pamphleteers who flourished chiefly during the reign of the first Stuarts.

Philaretus advanced "eight principal reasons and arguments" against the use of tobacco and produced some quaint ideas which were destined to do long service. These were largely based upon moral prejudices and some popular misconceptions of the physical nature of the plant, with its assumed consequent effects upon the human organism. As it was "hot and drye" this pamphleteer stated that it caused sterility and barrenness,⁵ induced an infinite number of maladies, was a poisonous

¹ *V.* note on the use of these porringers, *ante*, p. 53, n. 16.

² Despite his ironic reflections upon tobacco and its uses it seems wholly unlikely that so virile and convivial a spirit as Jonson was privately opposed to the "divine weed." In these contributions he was chiefly a satirist who sought to reprove extravagant folly. It is his fools only who speak either excessive praise or excessive scorn of smoking (*v.* Cleland's comment quoted in n. 59, n. 1, and n. 125 "a", n. 9). While it is true that he deliberately stooped once to defame the weed, he did so as an

afterthought and with a bow in the royal direction (*v.* n. 210, conclusion of n. 4). Nichols, indeed, (*v.* introd. to n. 137) implied that Jonson was guilty of sycophancy at that time for attacking in print the herb he himself enjoyed privately.

³ *Ante*, p. 52, n. 10.

⁴ *V. infra*, p. 437 and n. 53 [P³].

⁵ These opinions (and similar ones relating to the effect of smoking upon sexual desire and potency) were occasionally repeated (*v.* nos. 92 [Cc²], 148, and 161) and they were pretty generally accepted in some Eastern countries (*v. infra*, p. 71).

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enemy to mankind and was the especial breeder of "melancholie . . . the verie feate of the Divell in bodies poffessed." The "firft author and finder [of this venomous plant, tobacco] was the Divell^[1] . . . [and it was, therefore] not to be ufed of us Chriftians."

These were typical contentions of the more serious and dour members working for the antitobacco cause,² who were to become as extravagant in their strictures as ever the gallants were in their use of tobacco. On the other hand, the advocates of tobacco in this controversy seem usually to have manifested humor and liberality—and with good reason, for as they wrote, they drew upon their pipes for inspiration.

Philaretus' tract was promptly replied to by a physician, Roger Marbecke (n. 62), who, with good wit and common sense, readily indicated the absurdities and contradictions presented by the perturbed author of the *Work*. His tract was the first to maintain the cause of tobacco, and thus both sides had advanced their initial arguments.³ With the rest of his associates in the controversy Marbecke reprehended the excesses of the gallants, but he would not because of them alone deny to those good and sober men, the moderate smokers, the joy of a social pipe.

Within two years (1604) appeared the next (and most famous) of antitobacco treatises, the anonymous *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* (n. 68), issued by James I shortly after his accession to the throne. Although twelve years were to pass before he publicly acknowledged his authorship (n. 124), it was an open secret from the first.⁴

It has long been the fashion of later commentators to treat the royal document with scorn, to accuse it of pedantry, of vindictive prejudices, of insular ignorance and of deliberate misinformation.⁵ That it suffers from some of these faults to some extent is true, for in its composition the king seems to have been partly animated by such narrowing influences as his hatred of Raleigh (whom he believed the introducer of the habit of smoking into England),⁶ by his naive medical con-

¹ This conceit was probably derived from Benzoni (n. 10, at n. 4) or Monardes (n. 15, at n. 6) and was often repeated (v. nos. 111, introd., 128, 271, and cf. *ante*, p. 8, n. 2). For Satan's association with tobacco, v. nos. 68, 70, 129, 266, etc.

² V. especially Taylor, n. 111, Deacon, n. 122, Sylvester, n. 128, and Venner, n. 146. Beer remarks that "The prevailing attitude [toward tobacco] was similar to that of the present day in regard to opium." (P. 85.)

³ "We have now but to notice the early beginnings of the Tobacco Controversy, which—sometimes slumbering, sometimes raging—has lasted to our own time, and will yet go on. It created a larger early Tobacco literature in England than is generally thought, or than we have been able to trace. It raged over Europe as well as in England." (Arb., p. 90.)

⁴ V. n. 68, n. 1.

⁵ V. Cleland (pp. 19 ff. and notes) for references to the animadversions bestowed upon James' tract. The typical criticisms were fairly prejudiced themselves, or displayed unfamiliarity with the nicotian conditions then prevailing. Cleland (pp. 20 ff. and

notes) appears to have been the earliest commentator to praise the *Counterblaste* for its "good sense . . . good feeling [and its] kind and conciliating spirit." Dr. Laufer (*Europe*, p. 26) regarded it as a document of "considerable culture-historical interest," and remarks later: "While the royal diatribe is sizzling, of course, with misstatements, exaggerations, and outbursts of gloomy pessimism and unrestrained animosity, it was a natural reaction against the many exorbitant claims made by the friends and defenders of the narcotic, and in his scathing denunciation of the tobacco excesses of his time the king was presumably nearly right." (Pp. 29-30.)

⁶ V. n. 68, n. 3. We are in accord with the opinion of most editors that James I believed Raleigh to be the introducer and inspirer of smoking in England, for his own contemporaries proclaimed that fact. James' hatred of this favorite courtier of Queen Elizabeth, having been carefully nurtured by Cecil and others, would have become intensified by Raleigh's patronage of a custom he so bitterly disliked. (Cf. Arb., p. 90, ¶ V.) But Cleland (p. 20, n. f) opposes this view.

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ceptions and by his own constitutional aversion to tobacco. But the outward causes which inspired this production were alone sufficient, to an author of James' temperament, to compel its writing. The plant had been acquired from barbarous people, who were said to put it to dubious uses; the smoking gallants had made a general nuisance of themselves in London; the therapeutics of tobacco, though widely accepted by herbalists and laity, had nevertheless developed obvious absurdities; the daily use of this "drug" for pleasure was regarded by sober physicians as dangerous to health; and the tobacco trade was largely in the hands of Spanish enemies, entailing great costs upon Englishmen.¹ For the most part, it may be believed that James was sincerely concerned over the welfare of his "good Countrey men" in condemning a habit he thought vicious, vain, and physically and morally corrupting, while his refutation of the more exaggerated remedial claims advanced for tobacco² (even though influenced by his prejudices) displayed uncommon good sense.

He pointed out that as the Indians were supposed to cure venereal disease with tobacco smoke³ no English gentleman should willingly take upon himself the imputation of that disease by similarly employing the plant; examined, and then derided, the claims of unfailing medicinal virtues made by the nicotian specialists;⁴ charged smokers with slavish imitations of a foreign novelty, with foolish affectations and the commission of moral sin (for tobacco-drinking was but a species of lust and drunkenness); bewailed the cost of this "precious stink"; cried out upon those who spoiled ancient hospitality with their pipes; remarked that smoke better became a kitchen than a dining-chamber, "and yet it makes a kitchin also oftentimes in the inward parts of men, foiling and infecting them, with an unctuous and oily kinde of Soote, as hath bene found in some great Tobacco takers, that after their death were opened";⁵ and ended with the oft-quoted lines, "A custome lothsome to the eye, hatefull to the Nose, harmefull to the braine, daungerous to the Lungs, and in the blacke stinking fume thereof, neereft refembling the horrible Stigian fmoke of the pit that is bottomeleffe."⁶

If "his children" (his subjects) were not willing to accept his fatherly counsel—and it was soon evident they were not⁷—he was in an enviable position to emphasize his exhortations and to enforce his opinions. Within the year he gave more vigorous expression to his hatred of tobacco by increasing⁸ the then nominal

¹ V. *infra*, pp. 84, 87, 89.

² This was the first general condemnation of nicotian therapeutics published. Cf., too, n. 21.

³ V. nos. 39, 40.

⁴ V. *ante*, pp. 31 ff.

⁵ This was commonly believed by those opposed to smoking and snuffing for pleasure. V. *infra*, p. 61 and nos. 122, at n. 2, 125 "a", 148 and 312.

⁶ V. the excellent summary of the *Counterblaste* provided by Cleland (p. 20, note f), the reprint and comments in Arb., and the excerpts in La., *Europe*, pp. 26 ff.

In various texts it is stated that the king's tract was replied to—by the "nimble-witted Jesuits [of Poland] . . . perhaps through theological spite," says Steinmetz, p. 13. This refutation is said to have been entitled *Anti-Misocapnus* (v. n. 143, n. 2).

⁷ In Sir Henry Wotton's *Table Talk* (v. *Life and Letters*, ed. L. P. Smith, ii, p. 497) occurs one of several similar conversations between James I and members of the court in which the king took a smoker to task: "My Lord Montjoy, reprehended by the K[ing] for taking tobacco, answered, 'By that your Ma[je]sty shall have a little more practice in England, [you] will find greater faults to pardon amongst us.'"

During an interview between James I and Sir John Harington (Queen Elizabeth's godson) the king denounced tobacco strongly to the latter. V. *Nugae Antiquae*, ed. T. Park, 1804, vol. i, p. 370.

⁸ V. *infra*, pp. 89 ff., for notices of the increase and changes in the tobacco imposts during the reign of James I.

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Crownes have their compass, length of dayes their date,
Triumphes their tombes, felicitie see faile:
Of more then earth, an earth make, none partaker.
But knowe we make the KING most like his maker.
Simon Patiens sculp: Lond. Ich: Bill excudit.

JAMES I

Frontispiece to *The Workes of James*, 1616 (n. 124). [Reduced]

duty of twopence the pound¹ to six shillings tenpence, an advance of four thousand per cent!² This impost was ordered in a document³ addressed to the High Treasurer of England, and contains that discrimination between the patricians and the plebs which was the undoubted source of at least one published satire.⁴ “*Tobacco*, being a Drugge of late Yeres found out . . .” proclaimed the king in part, “was used and taken by the better sort both then and nowe onelye as Phisicke to preserve Healthe, and is now at this Day, through evell Custome and the Tolleration thereof, excessivelie taken by a number of ryotous and disordered Persons of meane and base Condition, whoe, contrarie to the use which Persons of good Callinge and Qualitye make thereof, doe spend most of there tyme in that idle Vanitie . . .” He hoped that the imposition to be laid upon tobacco would prevent its importation in quantity, but yet leave “sufficient store to serve for their necessarie use who are of the better sort, and have and will use the same with Moderation to preserve their Healthe . . .”

By such phrases as these James apparently hoped to win over the aristocracy, but the “better sort” did not wholeheartedly endorse his antitobacco policy. Contemporary documents and published accounts⁵ indicate that the use of tobacco by the nobility increased rapidly during the reign of James I despite his disapproval of it and his occasional attempts to discipline courtiers for their nicotian indulgences.⁶ But on the whole James exercised only a civilized tyranny in his early dealings with tobacco; some other rulers decreed torture and death in their efforts to suppress its use.⁷

It is necessary to digress for a moment to point out that the high rate thus placed upon tobacco, without Parliamentary sanction,⁸ shortly had its natural economic consequences:⁹ for a time it almost suppressed the import trade in this

¹ Instituted some time after 1590. No duty was at first imposed upon tobacco and as late as 1590 it is not included in the enumerated commodities of that year's rate-book. When, soon after, the importation of tobacco became considerable, an attempt was made to collect a duty by virtue of a subsidy (enacted 1558) granted to the queen on all imported goods. *V. Mac.*, p. 33, and *infra*, p. 84, n. 5.

² This impost was farmed out, as was then the custom. Under Oct. 19, 1604, is recorded the demise to T. Lane and P. Bold of the new impost (6s. 8d.) and the old custom (2d.) on tobacco (*C.S.P., Dom.*, 1603-1610, p. 159). The rate placed upon this commodity, however, was so far in excess of its value that importers refused to accept shipments and the holders of the lease soon found it so unprofitable that they were forced to petition that the impost be lowered or they be permitted to surrender their patent. *V. infra*, p. 89, n. 1.

³ *V. infra*, pp. 205-207.

⁴ *V. n.* 75, last excerpt.

⁵ Some will be found in Brushfield, pp. 31 ff.

⁶ *V. supra*, p. 57, n. 7.

⁷ *V. infra*, pp. 71, 73, 75.

⁸ *V. n.* 959 (under 1604). Attempts were made later to confirm the king's orders by Parliamentary law.

⁹ There were normal social reactions as well. The

opposition of James I to smoking and the campaign of the antitobaccoists awakened that element of human perversity and instituted those forms of protest which seem invariably to follow the interdictions of popular appetites, or interference with their full enjoyment. We are not without evidence of this in our own day and the common phrases which were part of the era of liquor prohibition in the United States seem particularly applicable to London in the early XVIIth century. Among the dealers tobacco was “boot-legged”; the smugglers sold the commodity secretly as “right off the ship”; the domestic production was “doctored” in London and prepared in such shapes (“pudding,” “cane,” etc.) as to suggest its foreign manufacture. As the campaign of the reformers became more strenuous further attention was attracted to smoking, so that the habit grew apace. Ladies generally learned how to “drink tobacco” in private and later were publicly offered pipes when attending plays (Prynne, *Histrio-Mastix*, 1633, marginal note, p. 363). To some the “Indian fume” tasted sweeter because of the kind of opposition it had aroused, and many probably indulged immoderately who might otherwise have smoked soberly, had they smoked at all. When the chief prohibitionist, James I, died the custom against which he had so fruitlessly inveighed lost its best advertiser and the excesses committed by smokers

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commodity, developed a considerable traffic in smuggling the kind most desired, from Spain or its colonies, and instituted an energetic cultivation of the plant on English soil.¹ The first factor continued in effect until the king found it profitable to make a compromise with his aversion, for he increased his income considerably by renting the duties on imported tobacco;² the illicit running of tobacco, thus early begun, attracted numerous English, Scotch, Dutch, and Colonial merchantmen, and persisted in varying proportions until past the end of the XVIIIth century;³ while the tobacco farms remained a thorn in the governmental body, resulting in insurrections in parts of England when attempts were made to suppress them.⁴ To these phases of tobacco's history we shall return when the economic record of the plant is considered.

Among the men of letters who joined James I in his campaign against smoking were many obviously influenced by his published and private utterances on the subject, such as Daniel (n. 76), Warner (n. 79), Melton (n. 93), Drayton (n. 104), Wither (n. 108), Taylor (n. 111), *et al.*, and especially Rich (nos. 78, 117, 127, 132), the fanatic John Deacon (n. 122), and the religious moralist, Joshua Sylvester. The latter composed, probably as a propaganda tract, *Tobacco Battered* (1616-1617), the first poem in English entirely devoted to an attack upon the habit (n. 128). A valuable contribution to this literature, which, though it expressed little of the king's sentiments, abetted his cause, was Brathwait's work, appropriately entitled *The Smoaking Age* (n. 129). But the dramatists and poets, who appeared to be engaged in the same movement, were actuated neither by the moral considerations of the reformers, nor by the opinions expressed by the medical fraternity that tobacco was only a remedial plant, but merely made use of contemporary material, excellently suited for satire and caricature. Indeed, there are good inferential reasons for accepting the opinion that some of the writers in this group were privately no enemies to the social pipe, and that it was but the affectations of the gallants and the extravagances of the panaceists they mocked.

James I carried his most cherished abomination to the very seat of learning—to Oxford—instituting the first known public debate, 1605, in academic circles on the value of tobacco.⁵ He received with naive pleasure the only decision possible for the contestants (some of whom were devotees of the pipe): that smoking was odious, unsanitary, etc., etc. As the process of vilifying tobacco appeared to have no apparent effect upon "unregenerate tabacconists," the published propaganda of some of the writers on physic became more intense, and developed into something of a campaign of terror. Those who engaged in the wanton pleasure of "drinking" tobacco were earnestly assured that they were shortening their days, and that those "sooty fumes" had the effect eventually of blinding, deafening or

became less conspicuous. Charles I, who shared his father's hatred, served to keep tobacco before the public eye by several decrees (v. n. 190 and *infra*, p. 115, n. 3), but as he was more impersonal, the reformers had less authority and achieved less publicity. Thereafter the nicotian extravagances which had so seriously offended the moralists began rapidly to disappear. By the time Cromwell came upon the scene smoking had settled down to a comfortable

everyday habit which was not to be widely attacked again before the wide acceptance of the cigarette in the middle XIXth century (v. *infra*, p. 173).

¹ V. the quotation from Fairholt, *infra*, p. 405.

² V. *infra*, pp. 88-90.

³ V. *infra*, pp. 119 ff., and Mac., pp. 147-148.

⁴ V. *infra*, pp. 113 ff.

⁵ V. Wake's account of it, n. 85.

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weakening them incurably. An array of perturbing case-histories (coupled with ominous warnings) was presented of those who had, by a continued use of this "drug," been rendered insane, or sterile, or who had shrivelled from loss of natural heat, or whose offspring were debilitated, or in whom the power of smell had become atrophied.¹ Finally—and most awful—was the mute proof displayed by the blackened and sooty bodies and brains of dissected smokers,² whose daily, intemperate use of this physic, tobacco, had brought them to this sad state—God's especial warning to "fume-suckers."³

Gardiner, 1610 (n. 96), a defender of tobacco therapeutics, cautioned "our Tabacconists . . . that they keepe a moderation in receiving the fume thereof . . . left this Epitaph be inscribed on their graves:

Here lieth he had liued longer, if
He had not choakt himselfe with a Tabacco whif."

Indeed, he added, "many abusers thereof haue died fodenly."

William Vaughan, whose popular handbook on health first appeared in 1600 (n. 60), later turned to plain rhyme to enforce his admonitions to smokers, saying,

"Tobacco, that outlandish weede,
It spends the braine, and spoiles the feede:
It duls the sprite, it dims the fight,
It robs a woman of her right."⁴

A summary of the awful effects of tobacco used contrary to the author's advice is contained in the treatise (n. 146) of Tobias Venner, "Doctor of Physicke in Bath, in the Spring and Fall," which concludes on the ominous note that "[Tobacco] overthroweth the spirites, perverteth the understanding, and confoundeth the senses with a sodayne astonishment and stupidity of the whole body."⁵

Only a bold and desperate man could have continued to smoke in the face of this concerted attack, but England seemed inhabited by perverse creatures who clung determinedly to their pipes. Consider to what depths they had fallen, in their desire for tobacco, that they could resist so heart-stirring a plea as that presented by Deacon (n. 122) in one of the most disturbing passages in nicotian literature: ". . . imagine thou beheldest here such a fume-fuckers wife most fearefully fuming forth very fountaines of bloud, howling for anguish of heart, weeping, wailing, and wringing her hands together, with grisly lookes, with wide staring

¹ See nos. 88, 146, 148, etc. Later Bacon (n. 159) presented the opinion that the use of tobacco by expectant mothers would have deleterious effects upon the mentality of their infants. (Cf. n. 150.)

² V. *ante*, p. 57, and cf. Cleland, pp. 22-23.

³ The immoderate smoking of tobacco or use of snuff, either for recreative or remedial purposes, had undoubtedly led to serious ailments or even fatalities, and these instances were widely employed as propaganda by the antitobacconists.

⁴ Devotees of the pipe occasionally expressed a belief, then evidently popular with smokers, that physicians attacked smoking because its remedial value reduced the usefulness of the medical fraternity. V. n. 46, at n. 4, and cf. nos. 133 and 137 (third stanza).

⁵ First published in the 1612 edition—v. n. 161.

⁶ It was this kind of ranting accusation, expressed by earlier writers, which that genial advocate of tobacco therapeutics and the moderate pipe, Dr. Barclay (n. 109), had in mind when he wrote:

"Some do this plant with odious crymes disgrace,
And call the poore *Tabacco* homicid,
They say that it, O what a monstrous cace!
Forestals the life, and kils man in the seed,
It smoaketh, blacketh, burneth all the braine,
It dryes the moisture treasure of the life,

Good Ladie looke not to these raving speiches,
You know by proof that all these blames are lies,
Forged by scurvie lewd unlearned Leiches . . ."

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eies, with minde amazed, with thoughts perplexed, with body shivering and quaking in every joint . . . while she pitifully pleades with her husband thus:

'Oh husband, my husband, mine only husband! Confider I befeech thee, thy deare, thy loving, and thy kind-hearted wife. . . . Why dost thou so vainely preferre a vanishing filthie *fume* before my permanent vertues . . . Have not I here brought forth *an armie of children* unto thee?' . . . and continues in like remarkable strain for another breathless scene, invented by an author whose hatred of tobacco expressed itself in a kind of hysteria.



CHARLES I

Engraved by John Smith, after Van Dyck.
From an engraving in the Print Room of the British Museum.

While all the agents of reform were thus engaged in an effort to suppress smoking, a group of blithe and liberal spirits, undisturbed by preacher, panaceist or prince, were producing tributes (sometimes of great merit) to the plant and its social uses. Smoking as a means of solace had already been advertised by Essex (n. 52—*v. ante*, p. 51), *et al.*, and before James I's accession to the throne the remedial value of the plant and a moderate use of a "physical pipe" had been upheld by Dr. Marbecke (n. 62), Dr. Bellamy (*v. n.* 61, note 6), Richard Browne (*v. n.* 62, n. 4) and others.¹ Marlowe had affirmed (so said his accuser) that "all they that love not *Tobacco* . . . were fooles";² and Jonson had, through merry old Justice

¹ Cf. also the introductory notes to nos. 96 and 109.

² This occurs in the "Charges Made against Marlowe by Richard Baines" (a professional informer),

May 29, 1593. The "Charges" is printed in the Mermaid Series edition of Marlowe (ed. Havelock Ellis, 1887), from Harleian MSS., 6853, f. 320 (now

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Clement, expressed, by implication, his regard for that "herbe, so generally receiv'd in the courts of princes, the chambers of nobles, the bowers of sweet ladies, the cabbins of souldiers!"¹

But it was only with the appearance of the first full poem in the English language with tobacco for its theme, *The Metamorphosis of Tabacco*, 1602 (n. 63), by Sir John Beaumont, that the joys of the "celestiall fume" were properly celebrated. Smokers found in its author one fully able to express their philosophy and maintain their cause, for these lovers of the pipe, "who ne'er abused the kindly weed," maintained that tobacco had ushered in England's most gleaming era. Indeed, it was the serene, comforting, divine vapor which had inspired genius, mellowed social life, stirred ambition and brought into being that great literature which was the most brilliant jewel in the crown that England wore.² Beaumont gave voice to that thought with youthful enthusiasm, singing,

"Bleft age, wherein the *Indian* Sunne [tobacco] had shin'd,
Whereby all Arts, all tongues haue been refin'd;
Learning long buried in the darke abyfme
Of dunsticall, and monkish barbarisme,
When once this herbe by carefull paines was found,
Sprung up like *Cadmus* followers from the ground,
And our poore tongue, which long had barren laine . . .
Wanting the fall of sweete Parnassian raine,
Was lightned by this Planets radiant beames,"

and proclaimed that tobacco was

"The daintiest dish of a delicious feast,
By taking which man differs from a beaft . . .
All goods, all pleasures it in one doth linke,
Tis Phisick, clothing, Musick, meate and drinke . . ."

In those days the social pipe, because of its expense, was sometimes passed from man to man—a communion of smoking which invited friendships and induced sober reflection. It may well be imagined that the pipe thus went the rounds, amidst the "high astounding" talk of those great spirits and wits who gathered at the *Mermaid* (in the club founded by Raleigh), among whom were Jonson, Bacon, Beaumont, Fletcher, probably Shakespeare, and others. Often must they have echoed that demand of Thorius' (n. 157),

"Fill me a Pipe (boy) of that lusty fmoke
That I may drink the *God*³ into my brain,
And so inabled, write a buskin'd⁴ straine;"

or that plea of Beaumont's,

"Infume my braine, make my foules powers subtile,
Give nimble cadence to my harther stile . . ."⁵

f. 307), and is published in other works. The copy Ellis employed was that sent to the queen; the spy's original report occurs in Harleian MSS. 6648, folios 185-186 (formerly 170-171). The phrase relating to "Tobacco and Boies" was scored through in the MS. copy sent to the queen. In the opinion of Ellis

this particular "blasphemy" was a mere jest.

¹ *Every Man In His Humour*, n. 125 "a."

² Barrie has wittily expressed this idea (*v. ante*, p. 49, n. 5) voiced by the Elizabethan poets.

³ Phoebus—*v. n.* 157, note "a."

⁴ *I.e.*, lofty dignified.

⁵ N. 63.

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Among the English men of letters there were a number of dramatists who championed the cause of tobacco, directly or by implication, such as Chapman (n. 75), Day (n. 87), Tomkis (n. 133), Holyday (n. 137), *et al.*, and there were poets, other than those already referred to, who defended its social use and wrote songs in its praise.¹ Most famous of the poems which circulated during James' reign was that by Thorius, whose elegant *Hymnus Tabaci* lauded

"th'Herb which doth the Poets fancy raise,"²

while Rowlands, whose invidious comments on tobacco-abusing gallants would seem to have installed him in the antismoking camp, produced a neat epitome of the joys of a pipe, containing the oft-quoted lines:

"Much victuals ferve, for gluttony,
To fatten men like fwine,
But hee's a frugall man indeed,
That with a leafe can dine.
And needs no napkin for his hands,
His fingers ends to wipe,
But keepes his kitchin in a box,
And roft-meat in a pipe."³

MANY of the writers who flourished between the years 1590 and 1625 were silent upon the subject of tobacco; there are no apparent references to it in the works of Greene, Kyd, Peele, Breton, *et al.* To these the plant and its uses may have been a matter of indifference, or the nature of their works dictated the exclusion of nicotian allusions, etc. Most conspicuous among this group is Shakespeare, for in all his vast survey of God, man and nature, the "divine herb" has no part nor even circumspect mention. Surely one would have expected, with good reason, that that bloated comedian, Falstaff, would have shared a convivial pipe with merry Hal,⁴ or that in the dramatist's parade of cavaliers and adventurers some would have taken tobacco as an accompaniment to their ale.⁵ "Did he not sketch for us, with enjoyment and with satire, too, the fantastic fops, the pompous stewards, the mischievous pages, the quarrelsome revellers, the testy gaolers, the rhapsodizing lovers, the sly cheats, and the ruffling courtiers that filled the streets of Elizabethan London, persons who could have been found nowhere else, nor in any other age? No one can dispute that he drew the life that he saw moving around him."⁶

But none of the efforts to impart a nicotian flavor to Shakespearean scenes or passages has been successful, although various "snuff" phrases have temporarily

¹ Ravenscroft, n. 110; Weelkes, Hume (*v. infra*, p. 518); *et al.* V. Stevens, "Tobacco and Drama" (in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1904, vol. 296, pp. 582 ff.), which provides an interesting survey of the subject, though marred by several glaring inaccuracies.

² N. 157.

³ N. 94.

⁴ Cleland (p. 51, n.) thought that Shakespeare refrained from presenting Falstaff as a smoker because Jonson had previously satirized the habit, and also that tobacco was omitted as one of the luxuries of

the hoary reveller because so few corpulent men were addicted to its use. But Cleland's opinions here have no bearing upon Shakespeare's general silence. *V. infra*, pp. 66-69.

⁵ The character of Sir Andrew Aguecheek in *Twelfth Night* is almost always represented with a tobacco pipe, apparently following a stage tradition existing from the original performance of the play. See the engraving reproduced on the page facing.

⁶ Walter Thornbury in *3NQ.*, IX, Jan. 1866, p. 1.



SHAKESPEAREAN SMOKERS

From the extra-illustrated volumes of Fairholt (1859), in the Arents library. [Reduced]

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excited commentators.¹ Of these the one most often quoted occurs in Hotspur's description of the fop, "perfumed like a milliner," who

"... 'twixt his finger and his thumb . . . held
A pouncet-box, which ever and anon
He gave his nose, and took't away again;
Who therewith angry, when it next came there,
Took it in snuff . . ."²

This, without question, was but the familiar gesture of a sensitive dandy subduing an unavoidable stench with one of the medicated aromatic powders then common—not tobacco snuff. And though there are phrases strikingly suggestive of the language then associated with smoking habits³ in *Antony and Cleopatra*: "And forced to drink their vapour;"⁴ in *Romeo and Juliet*: "Love is a smoke made with the fume of sighs;"⁵ and in *Much Adoe About Nothing*: "being entertained for a perfumer, as I was smoking a musty room . . ."⁶ their relation to tobacco and its uses will not bear critical examination.⁷

Other Shakespearean phrases are thought to have had a recondite nicotian significance, and among these one often referred to is the "juice of cursed hebenon"⁸ (with which Hamlet's father was dispatched). It was the opinion of Dr. J. A. Paris⁹ that by these words a distillation of tobacco was intended. But (apart from other considerations),¹⁰ were there any validity in this strained suggestion, the dramatist, already genius enough, must have had a chemical knowledge denied to the rest of his contemporaries. For he must then have known, well in advance of scientific investigators,¹¹ that the empyreumatic oil of tobacco had lethal power.

¹ *V. Midsummer Night's Dream*, V, i; *Love's Labour's Lost*, V, ii; *All's Well that Ends Well*, I, ii, etc.

² *Henry IV*, I, iii. Cf. n. 65, n. 4.

³ *V. Wilson* (pp. 9-11), who provides some valuable comments on this subject.

⁴ *V*, ii, 213.

⁵ *I*, i, 196.

⁶ *I*, iii, 54-55.

⁷ In connection with some of the conjectures presented on the subject it seems curious that none of these investigators offered for consideration Othello's line (*IV*, ii, 67), "O thou weed, Who art so lovely fair and smell'st so sweet!"

⁸ *Hamlet*, I, v, 62. "Hebenon" ("Hebona" in first quartos, etc.) has been accepted as a metathesis for "henebon," i.e., henbane, with which tobacco was constantly associated at first (*v. ante*, pp. 9 and 38). Rev. Alex. Dyce (*A Glossary to the Works of William Shakespeare*, ed. 1902, p. 230) states that Gray conjectured that henbane was intended, quoting Pliny to show that the oil of the seeds of henbane dropped into the ears will injure the understanding. Marlowe in his *Rich Jew of Malta* linked "The juice of hebon . . ." with other poisons. Shakespeare's "hebona" has also been thought to mean the yew which was, anciently and mediævally, considered the most deadly poison known.

⁹ In his *Pharmacologia*. Cf. Paris and Fonblanque, *Medical Jurisprudence*, 1823, ii, p. 417.

¹⁰ Cleland (p. 47, n. ‡) logically rejected this "ingenious hypothesis" on several grounds (which may

be here added to the comments given in note 8, *supra*): "Hebenon" probably met the poetic requirements of the line in which it occurred; there was historical precedent for the form of murder indicated by Shakespeare as Ambroise Paré had been accused of killing Francis II by pouring a poison in his ear; etc.

Dr. Paris' opinion that Shakespeare had especially chosen tobacco as "an agent of extraordinary malignity" because of the prejudices against it during James I's reign can hardly apply to the phrase cited, as *Hamlet* was composed and produced before that ruler's accession to the throne!

¹¹ The active principle in tobacco was originally discovered near the close of the XVIIIth century (according to Cleland, p. 44, although several authorities place the date as 1809) by Vauquelin, who was, however, unable to isolate completely the constituent, which he called "Nicotianine." According to Capus, Leulliot and Foëx (†, 1929, Vol. I, p. 144) Vauquelin's experiment was conducted with *Nicotiana latifolia*, in 1809. Nicotine, a colorless oily alkaloid of poisonous character, was first obtained through the experiments of Posselt and Reimann in 1828. But the effects of this poison were known much earlier. Pepys reported that in 1665 he had witnessed an experiment at the Royal Society where it was demonstrated that a drop of the distilled oil of tobacco could kill a cat. (Cf. T. Birch, *Hist. of the Royal Society*, 1756-1757, Vol. II, pp. 42-43.)

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Were we, therefore, to depend only upon the negative evidence presented by Shakespeare's plays, tobacco never existed. What were the reasons which induced this silence, when all the world in which he moved was suffused with the fumes of the "Indian weed," when his intimates and contemporaries made frequent acknowledgment of its presence, and when there were opportunities in his own plays to deride the fashion of smoking, to praise it, or at least to mention it?

The poet's writings cannot, for a reply, be put upon the rack, for the solution is not to be found in his teeming phrases but in the external conditions then prevailing. Three probable causes suggest themselves: the novelty of smoking; the vulgar publicity given to the habit because of the excesses committed by the gallants; and, later, the forbidding presence of tobacco's arch-enemy, James I, upon the throne.

The dramatist, for the most part diplomatically interested in periods and places remote from his own familiar London, must have been daily reminded of the recent introduction of this Indian habit—most conspicuous of all the customs or things newly brought into England. A fashion patently unknown before his own age, and probably ephemeral, would suggest that allusions to it be excluded from almost all his plays, and thus he avoided an anachronism of the type he occasionally committed.¹ He was silent, as well, about other matters equally novel as tobacco-smoking. Silver forks, for instance, had but lately become a part of English household equipment, and ladies and gentlemen of high estate were adapting themselves to the correct use of these sometimes dangerous instruments brought in from Italy. Nowhere in Shakespeare's works is there reference to these polite utensils.²

In relation to the second supposition advanced it will be remembered from the facts already presented that many writers between 1590-1603³ had satirized or condemned the tobacco extravaganzas of the dandies. The wide notoriety these gallants had acquired put public smoking in bad repute. This circumstance alone might have reasonably suggested to Shakespeare that the subject was unduly popular and common and that allusions to a custom so generally lampooned be omitted from his plays, even when opportunities presented themselves.⁴ Furthermore the dramatist had never seriously expressed an interest in prevalent sociological reform. Let the blustering gallants set every tavern reeking with their nicotian frivolities; it was but the exuberance of youth, and such fashions must pass.

Continental chemists made analyses of tobacco and were aware of the pernicious quality of its essential oil before the close of the XVIIth century. Cf. Bailard (n. 300), Redi (n. 316), Lemery (n. 411), *et al.*

Cleland (pp. 43 ff.) provides a valuable account of the early investigations into the chemistry of tobacco. For the results of modern researches see Capus, Leulliot and Foëx, Vol. I, Chap. IV.

¹ Nicotian anachronisms occur in several English dramas of the XVIIth century—*v. nos.* 65, 91, 168, 232, and 289.

² Noticed by Walter Thornbury (*op. cit. sup.*, p. 65, n. 6), p. 2. His paper, "Shakespeare's Silence About Smoking," appears to be the only one devoted to this curious subject, and provides an interesting survey of tobacco customs in London then, chiefly

derived from the notices of Jonson and Dekker. His conclusions are that (1) the poet may have aimed at a certain idealism and thought the new fashion too trivial to deserve notice; and (2) as a prudent manager and courtier, Shakespeare may have considered it unwise to praise a custom detested by the king. But Thornbury himself showed (*v. quotation, supra*, page 65) that few things on the London scene were "trivial" to Shakespeare and seems to have forgotten that the plays most adapted to nicotian allusions were composed before James ascended the throne.

³ *V. nos.* 144 (Epig. 28 and note), 53, 59, 61, 65.

⁴ Several of Shakespeare's plays, composed between 1591-1602, present scenes in which the act of tobacco-smoking might have been easily introduced.

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These foolish affectations could do no damage to the Indian herb were it endowed with inherent merit.

James' animadversions upon tobacco could not, of course, have had any influence before 1603-1604. The animosity of the king against the fashion of smoking swayed Jonson¹ as it had swayed others,² and Shakespeare had shown himself as amenable to princes as a shrewd courtier should be. But he had indicated his esteem for his sovereign by polite implication in *Macbeth*, perhaps quite early in James I's reign, and his aloofness, therefore, from a minor controversy was not too pronounced. Furthermore, the literati of the day must have regarded James' tobaccophobia with amusement,³ though, on the whole, they wisely made few allusions to this personal aversion. To maintain the cause of tobacco after the king's campaign against smoking had begun would, of course, have been most impolitic for any dramatist who wished to remain persona grata at court.⁴ Good diplomacy suggested then that it was better to refrain from any mention of the delicate subject of smoking in the later plays.

From this series of conjectures on this complex matter we arrive at a conclusion which seems only reasonable from the facts adduced: Shakespeare was himself a smoker⁵ or, if not, was at least tolerant of the social uses of tobacco. Truly it is unfortunate that he, above all others most expressive, should have remained silent on a theme he could have expounded nobly. Yet he was not alone in this reserve. What have we in the nature of acclaim or compliment for tobacco, or even direct reference to the plant, from the most conspicuous English figure in nicotian annals? A passing note descriptive of American Indian customs,⁶ a reference in a testamentary letter⁷ and one or two reports of his conversations⁸ are the only evidences of his interest in tobacco from Raleigh himself. And did not Milton, before the first campaign against tobacco died out, smoke his nightly pipe,⁹ yet never raise his pen to inscribe a word in defense of the soothing herb? Not all the friends of tobacco were articulate, even when there were great opportunities to acclaim it.

Though Shakespeare failed to notice tobacco, that philosopher-statesman who is by some thought to be his *alter ego* made frequent references to the subject. The first of these¹⁰ appeared in Bacon's *Historia Vitæ & Mortis* (n. 150); fuller accounts are contained in his *Sylva Sylvarum* (n. 159). Bacon displayed a scientific and economic interest in the plant, and in his speculations on its nature and

¹ Jonson had added some cloacal verses to his *Masque of the Gypsies* (n. 210), apparently to please James I. *V. ante*, p. 55, conclusion of n. 2.

² *V. n.* 85.

³ Cf. *infra*, p. 424.

⁴ Several writers were not so reticent, however, for during the reign of James I tobacco was praised for its therapeutic value (nos. 96 and 109), commended for its economic worth (n. 105), and as an agricultural staple (n. 120), and celebrated for the pleasures it gave to smokers, etc. (n. 157).

⁵ Some students of the subject had already advanced this opinion but usually without indicating their reasons for the hypothesis or the evidence to substantiate it. The problem seemed to us to be of sufficient importance to the study of nicotian

literature to warrant independent investigation and analysis.

⁶ *V. n.* 49.

⁷ *V. infra*, p. 342.

⁸ In *A Declaration of the Demeanour And Carriage of Sir Walter Raleigh*, London, 1618, it is stated that "... before hee went from London ... hee cast forth some words to some particular friends of his Company. That hee knew a Towne in those parts, vpon which hee could make a faving Voyage in Tobacco, though there were no other spoile." [D₂^{a-b}] *V. n.* 710 [cccc^{a-b}] for Raleigh's denial of the charge that he smoked while he watched Essex beheaded.

⁹ Noticed by his contemporary, Richardson, and later biographers (Ap., pp. 63-64).

¹⁰ There is a slight reference in the 33rd Essay, "Of Plantations," 1625.

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effects came to some naive conclusions. Thus we have on one hand the complete silence of Shakespeare on tobacco, and on the other, a series of observations from Bacon indicating a deep interest in the plant. The matter lies without the scope of this history, but in passing it may well be asked if these circumstances do not provide us with further proof of the separate identities of these two men?

WHILE tobacco was thus playing an active part in the social and economic life of England, its recreative use was spreading steadily about Europe and Asia, sometimes with tragic results.²

Except for France, where snuffing had grown in popularity,³ and Switzerland, where the social uses of tobacco remained almost a novelty till past the middle of the XVIIth century,⁴ smoking had become fairly general in Europe by 1625. English sailors had made the pipe known along the ports of the North Sea and the Baltic by 1600, German travellers had initiated Austrians and Poles into the nicotian mysteries by 1615-1620, and elsewhere in Central and Southern Europe the novel custom was becoming known through the usual channels of commerce or social intercourse. The Thirty Years' War was the greatest single factor in furthering the dissemination of pipe-smoking about Central Europe;⁵ at its close (1648) the habit was generally familiar to the Germans, Dutch, Swedes,⁶ Austrians, Bohemians, Hungarians, Norwegians, etc. The Germans and Dutch, indeed, by this time were notorious for their predilection for the pipe, seeming to vie with all other nations for supremacy in this custom.

On the Continent the medical fraternity and their associates maintained the dictum, "tobacco is medicine only" and occasionally reprehended its recreative uses.⁷ But as they never witnessed in their own cities those nicotian extravagances (familiar in London) which had horrified their English brethren, for the most part they were content merely to publish mild cautionary reproofs coupled with suggestive records of those who had been harmed by an excessive indulgence in pipe or snuff. Thus, while the subject of tobacco was doing much to enliven English literature, chiefly prosy, informational works relating to it were being produced on the Continent during this period.

Along the trade routes⁸ the Turks, Arabians and the Asiatics generally seized upon the pipe⁹ with as much avidity as ever Europeans displayed. Elaborate contrivances for taking tobacco, which cooled the smoke or rendered it more mild, etc., were developed by their artisans with truly remarkable rapidity.¹⁰ Quite early in the XVIIth century foreign visitors were able to describe such curiosities as the Turkish *chibouque*,¹¹ the Persian *hooka* or *kalian*,¹² the Anglo-Indian *hubble-bubble*, *nargileh*, etc.,¹³ the Dahomey *calumet*,¹⁴ as well as the less complex pipes of

¹ *V. infra*, pp. 84 ff.

² *V. infra*, pp. 71 ff.

³ *V. nos.* 88, 135, 148, et al.

⁴ Students, soldiers and mariners, however, preferred the pipe. *V. ante*, pp. 44-45, n. 9, and 52.

⁵ *V. infra*, p. 78.

⁶ *V. La., Europe*, pp. 57-58, Dunhill, p. 231, Corti, pp. 100-102, among others, on the spread of pipe-smoking in Europe during the early XVIIth century.

⁷ Along with their general acceptance of the pipe, the Swedish soldiers took up with avidity the chewing of tobacco.

⁸ *V. ante*, pp. 41 ff.

⁹ Cigars later became popular in some parts of the Far East. *V. infra*, p. 166 and note 9 there.

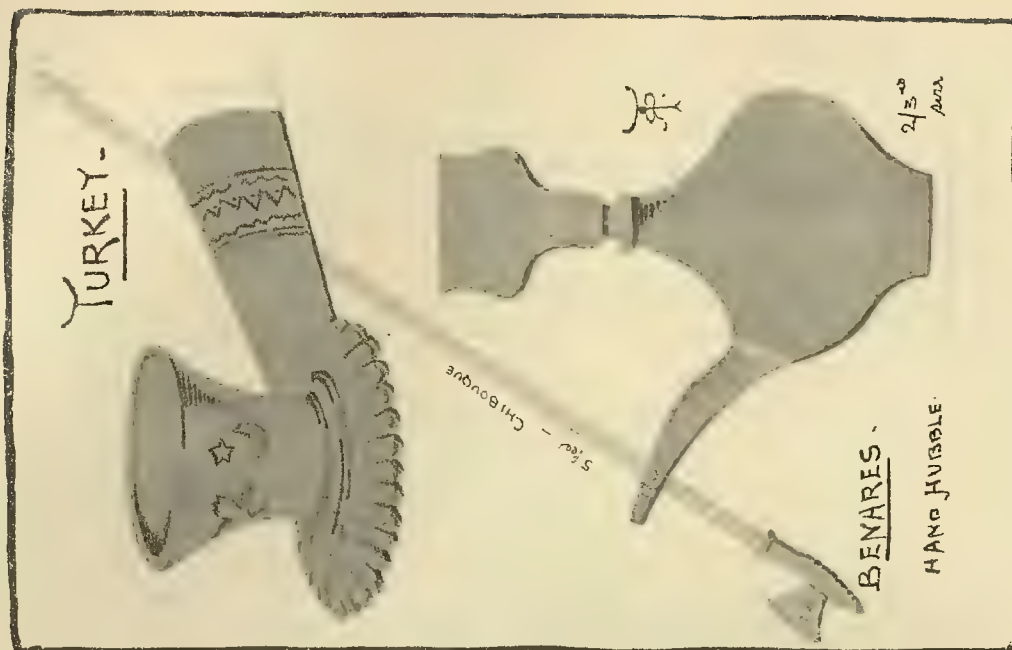
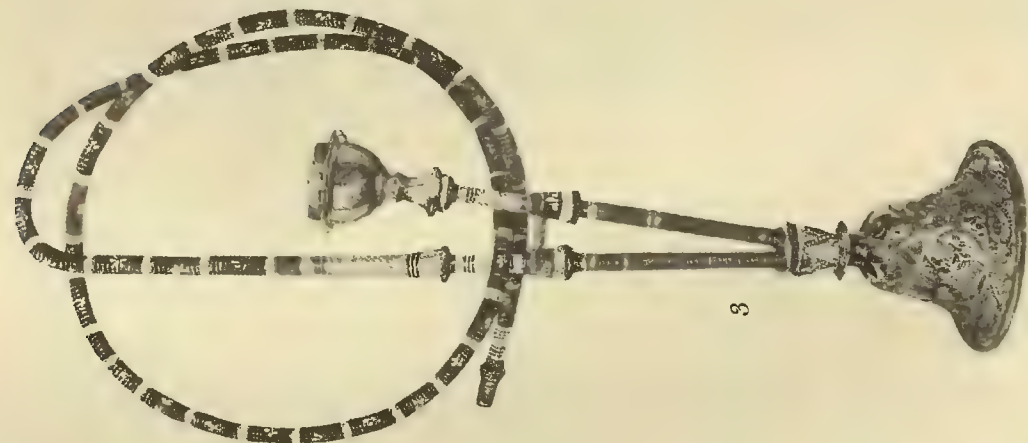
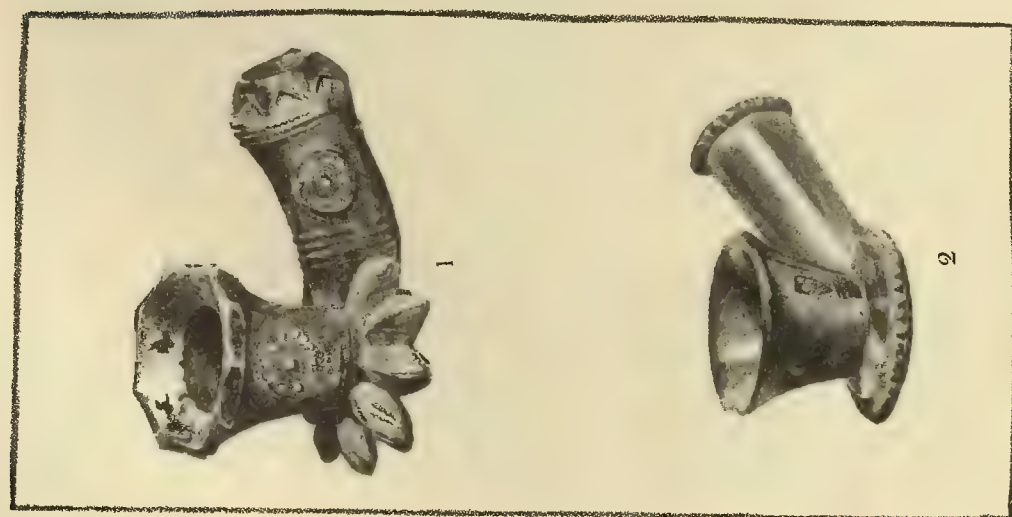
¹⁰ *V. ante*, pp. 11-13.

¹¹ Nos. 118, 179; and cf. Dunhill, pp. 152-154.

¹² Nos. 148, 158 "o", 191, and 233 [Ggg.^a].

¹³ These pipes were not confined to India alone but were found in various countries of the East.

¹⁴ N. 158 "j".



TURKISH AND ANGLO-INDIAN PIPES

Figure 1. Old Turkish pipe-bowl of wood with brass overlay; red glass beads inset. Length: 3 3/8". Height: 1 1/2". Figure 2. Modern Turkish bowl of red clay. Length: 3 3/8". Height: 2 1/2". Figure 3. Hooka ("hubble-bubble") from Calcutta, India. (Cf. the illustrations of the hooka on page 12.) From original water-color drawings by Frank Calvert in the Arents collection, of specimens in the United States National Museum. Figure 4. From Pritchett, *Smokiana* (t, 1890), page 47.

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China and Japan.¹ All these were then in use chiefly among the wealthy, or in the more prosperous public houses, along with the unadorned common pipes introduced by the Portuguese, English and others. But in parts of Africa, Arabia, and perhaps in Turkey as well, water-pipes in which some narcotic (probably hemp) was smoked were undoubtedly in existence before the advent of tobacco,² so that it was not too difficult a matter for the ingenious craftsmen of the East to elaborate upon these instruments and adapt them to the newly introduced plant. The Europeans, on the other hand, who had acquired directly from American Indians the custom of rolling tobacco leaves into cigars, or inhaling smoke through a plain pipe, were long content to maintain these simple forms.

The therapeutic reputation of tobacco never had the vogue in the Near East or in Asia which it enjoyed in Europe. Its remedial value was accepted by a part of the medical profession and those who dealt in simples, in Java,³ Japan, China and India,⁴ but ignored by the majority of their countrymen who found in the plant chiefly a source of recreation.

As smoking and snuffing became more evident in various lands of Europe and Asia, official cognizance of an unfavorable nature began to be taken of the growth of these habits. Smokers, particularly, were not long to remain undisturbed and were the first to feel the lash. Royal opposition to them, which had originated in Europe with James I of England, began to be expressed by rulers from Denmark to Japan, from China to Russia. The rise and fall of these suppressive measures form one of the most striking phases of the history of tobacco, and they may well be considered at this juncture.

In Turkey, Persia, India and China the plant which had rapidly become the favorite sedative among the commonalty was to receive its severest trials and its first baptisms of blood, for cruel and savage punishments were ordained for those who dared disobey the royal edicts against smoking. Despotism overlords in these lands dictated harsher penalties for smokers than ever European monarchs sought to impose.⁵ There were numerous reasons which instituted the opposition of those in authority, some of them based upon ignorance or prejudice, some upon rational grounds. In Turkey it was insisted that as tobacco was not sanctioned in the Koran⁶ it must be a "heathenish weed" and therefore suitable only for "Christian dogs" and other foreigners. It was believed, too, that as it was "dry" by nature, it was an anti-aphrodisiac and would inevitably produce sterility, etc., etc.⁷ Similar opinions, joined with a natural suspicion of a drug so highly regarded by outsiders and so profitable to them in their commerce with his people, seem to have motivated the Persian ruler, Shah Abbas. Jahāngir, the Mogul emperor of Hindustan, ordered (1617) that smokers should have their lips slit—a mild penalty in comparison with those inflicted by Murad (Amurath) IV in Turkey, and Shah

¹ Cf. Dunhill, pp. 106 ff., and 148-149. K. P. Thunberg (*Travels in Europe, Africa, Asia*, 4 vol. ed., London, 1795) described the pipes employed by the Japanese when he visited there (c. 1775) as composed of lacquered bamboo, with a copper mouth-piece, tiny bowl, and about six inches in length. He provided details, too, of the elaborate apparatus employed by wealthy smokers which contained pipes, tobacco and small spittoons, etc. (Vol. IV, pp. 43-44).

² *V. ante*, pp. 11 and 13.

³ *V. n.* 158 "e".

⁴ *V. La., Asia*, pp. 2, 3, 7, 12; Satow, p. 82.

⁵ Except in Russia, then certainly more Asiatic than European in national temperament.

⁶ Cf. n. 704.

⁷ *V. ante*, p. 55, n. 5; n. 303 [G₂^a]; and Cleland, p. 52.

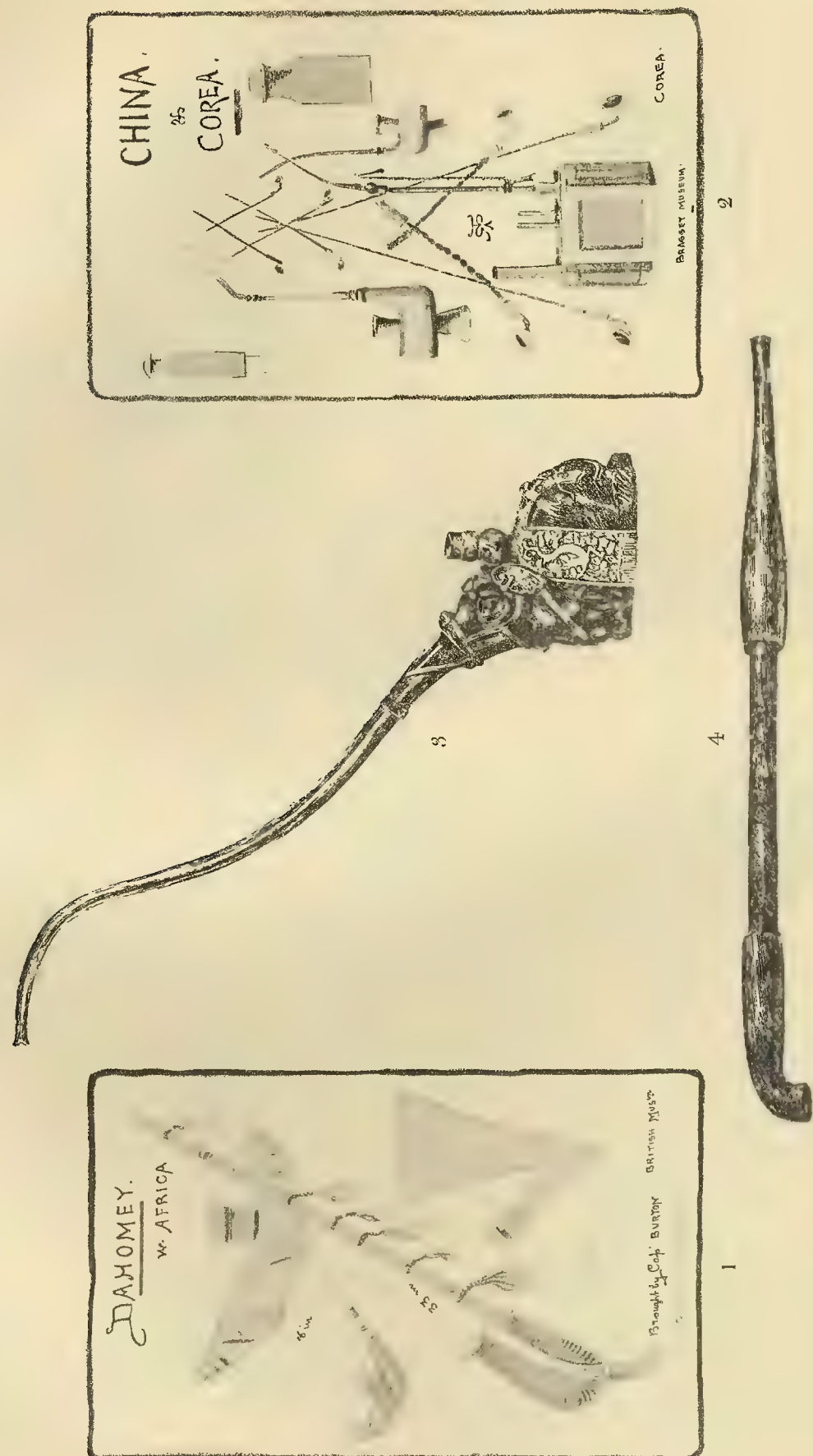


Fig. 1. From Pritchett, *Smokiana* (t, 1890), p. 33. Fig. 2. From the same, p. 69, to illustrate the small bowls of Chinese tobacco pipes. (Those shown, in upper part, are of white metal with bowl diameters ranging from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 1". The Korean pipes are flatter, with bowls composed of brass.) Fig. 3. Chinese water-pipe of bronze. The elephant trappings are of repoussé brass, gilded. Length: 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Height: 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Fig. 4. Japanese pipe, of copper and bamboo. Length: 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Figs. 3 and 4 are from drawings by Frank Calvert in the Arents collection, of specimens in the U. S. National Museum and the American Museum of Natural History, New York, respectively.

AFRICAN AND ORIENTAL PIPES

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Abbas in Persia. "As the smoking of tobacco has taken very bad effect upon the health and mind of many persons," the emperor wrote in his memoirs, "I ordered that no one should practise the habit. My brother Shah Abbas, also being aware of its evil effects, had issued a command against the use of it in Irán."¹ In China, various edicts were promulgated against smoking or planting tobacco, from early in the XVIIth century² to about 1650.³ The prohibitory decree of 1638 was the severest, for it threatened decapitation to any person who trafficked in tobacco with the "outer barbarians."⁴ That the plant was regarded by some officials as pernicious (having been introduced by Europeans),⁵ subversive of discipline in the army, and of dubious value to health, were among the reasons which produced these several interdictions.

From about 1606-1607, orders against smoking and planting tobacco emanated from the Mikados and shoguns of Japan, increasing the severity of punishments threatened from mere reprimand to the confiscation of property for members of the military classes and imprisonment for commoners who disobeyed these commands. Although these regulations were generally abandoned where originally instituted, by about 1630 others took their place in parts of Japan, some of which remained in force until the beginning of the XVIIIth century.⁶ Mistrust of alien customs, the fear that the widespread popularity of the plant would interfere with the growth of needed crops of rice, the danger from fire, the belief that smoking was prejudicial to health, and the disturbances created by some fractious members of smoking societies motivated most of these prohibitions.⁷

Sandys (n. 118), who visited Constantinople about 1611, was the first European to record the beginnings of the persecutions of smokers in Turkey, and he also indicated the eagerness with which the inhabitants sought the new sedative, however imperfect it was in quality. According to contemporaneous accounts the

¹ In Elliot, *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, 1875, vi, p. 351. (A fuller account will be found in *The Tuzuk-i-Jahāngirī or Memoirs of Jahāngir*, trans. by Alex. Rogers, ed. H. Beveridge, London, Royal Asiatic Soc., 1909, pp. 370-371.) In the court of Jahāngir's father, Akbar, however, tobacco was introduced by a favorite officer, Asad Beg, in 1605, who remarked upon the rapidity with which the custom of smoking spread among the nobles and others. V. Elliot, vi, pp. 165-167.

² Dunhill (p. 105) mentions an Imperial Edict of 1612.

³ The Emperor Tsung Ch'êng, in 1641, prohibited smoking, bewailing the fact that princes and high officials indulged in this habit privately. (Cf. the letter of A. Henry, in Comes, p. 265, n. 7, and La., *Asia*, p. 4.)

⁴ Satow, p. 72. V. the comments, *ibid.*, p. 85, where it is remarked that this decree may have been directed as much against the Manchus (by some thought to have introduced tobacco to China from the North) as against the plant itself, as the Manchus were then the national enemy. This decree seems not to have remained in effect long.

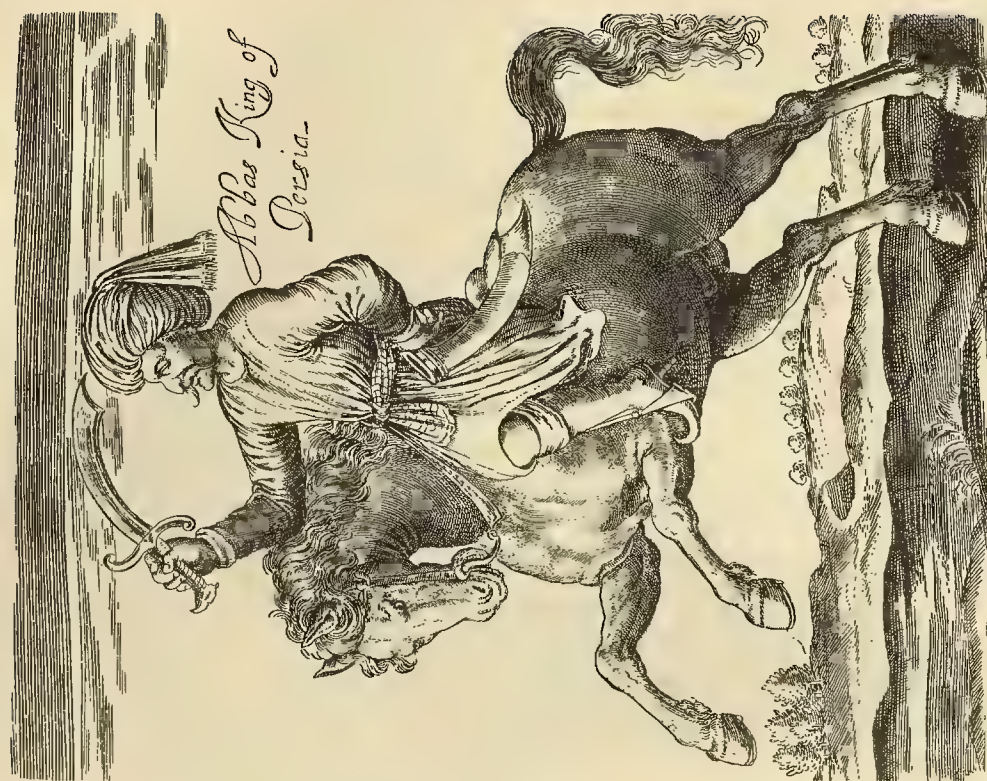
⁵ Rennell, *Description . . . de l'Indostan* (trans. Boucheseiche, Paris, 1800), ii, p. 337, cited by Comes, p. 266, n. 3.

⁶ V. the letter of H. Nomura, in Comes, p. 249, n. 2.

In the *Diary of Richard Cocks* (ed. E. M. Thompson, Hakluyt Soc., 1883) under 1615 occurs: "August 7.—Gonosco Dono came to the English howse, and amongst other talk told me that the King had sent hym word to burne all the tobaco, and to suffer non to be drunk in his government, it being the Emperours pleasure it should be so; and the like order geven thoroughout all Japon. And that he, for to begyn, had burned 4 piculls or C.wight this day, and cost him 20 taies pico; and had geven orders to all others to doe the like, and to pluck up all which was planted. It is strange to see how these Japons, men, women, and children, are besotted in drinking that herb; and not ten yeares since it was in use first." (Vol. I, pp. 34-35.) Cocks was chief of the English factory of Hirado, in Japan, c. 1615-1622.

A letter from an Englishman, William Eaton, at Osaka, to another at Yeddo [Tokyo], reported that "[at Osaka] at least 150 persons have been apprehended for buying and selling tobacco, contrary to the emperor's command, and are in jeopardy of their lives . . ." and went on to say that large quantities of tobacco had been burnt. (C.S.P., Col., E. Indies [etc.], 1513-1616, March 1, 1614, p. 279.)

⁷ Satow, pp. 70 ff.; Corti, pp. 146-147.



SHAH ABBAS THE GREAT
From Herbert's Relation (n. 191).



SHAH SEFI
From Oelschlaeger's Beschreibung, 1647 (n. 233).

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method of punishment was to force the stem of a pipe through the cartilage of the nose, seat the victim backwards upon a mule and have him led through the streets.¹ It was Murad IV,² however, who, by his insane cruelties, became the terror of smokers, having ordered several seized *flagrante delicto* to be summarily beheaded, and others to be hanged with a pipe thrust through their noses.³

In Persia, Herbert (n. 191) observed how the disobedience of the shah's⁴ edict brought dire results to some unfortunate camel-men who were escorting a shipment of tobacco from India. They lost their noses and ears and their stock was destroyed. The aversion of this monarch to tobacco seems to have been intermittent; as Herbert remarked, "It seemes some late Edict had forbid [smoking], and then tis death or as bad as death to drinke it, for [the shah] sometimes tolerates and forbids the same thing three or foure times in two yeares as the humour pleafes him." It was during some mood of his tobaccophobia that he decreed that any soldier who smoked should lose his nose and lips.⁵ About the same time he made a torch of a tobacco vendor who, ignorant of the sudden prohibition, had wandered into the camp prepared to sell his merchandise to the soldiers. The victim's pyre was composed of his own stock of tobacco leaves.⁶

It was Shah Abbas' grandson and successor, Shah Sefi,⁷ who, "in a humor having once forbidd'n Tobacco to be taken," caused two rich Indian merchants, strangers to his land, found smoking in a tavern, to be executed by means of molten lead poured down their throats.⁸

The frequency of fires originating from lighted tobacco pipes, the opinion of the Patriarch that smoking and snuffing were deadly sins, and that the odor of tobacco profaned the church, etc., etc., impelled Czar Mikhail Feodorovich,⁹ in 1634, to issue an *emannoy ukase*¹⁰ which decreed the knout and slitting of the nose for first offenders who sold or used tobacco¹¹ and death for habitual transgressors.¹² The use of both pipe and snuff persisted, however, despite the grave dangers involved, so that Czar Alexis (after 1645) ordered deportation to Siberia for smokers, which decree he reenforced (1649)¹³ by commanding that torture and exile and sometimes death be inflicted upon those who violated his antitobacco laws, whether they were foreigners or his own subjects.¹⁴

¹ Such exhibitions seem to have been fairly rare, however, before 1623. *V.* nos. 118, 397, and cf. Corti, pp. 135 ff.

² Reigned 1623-1640.

³ N. 397 [I₁^b]. Snuffing was adopted by many Turks in an effort to circumvent the antitobacco edicts of Murad IV (v. the reference cited *infra*, p. 164, n. 4). The prohibitions against smoking were revoked (from about 1655, according to La., *Europe*, p. 63) by Mohammed IV (reigned 1648-1687).

⁴ Shah Abbas, the Great (reigned c. 1587-c. 1629).

⁵ N. 282 [Yy^a].

Learning that his courtiers continued to indulge secretly in the habit he so rigorously sought to suppress, with grim humor he pretended to submit to the strength of their appetites. Inviting them into his presence he commanded that pipes be filled for them and that they smoke a brand which was, he said, a present from his vizier, and the "most excellent Tobacco in the World." Gravely he inquired

how they liked the substance thus inhaled and listened with derisive interest to their flowery praise of it, for each pipe had been filled with an unappetizing provender.

"Cursed be that Drug," he cried finally, "that cannot be discerned from the Dung of Horses"! (Related by Chardin, n. 486, II, B₃^b.)

⁶ N. 282 [Yy^a].

⁷ Reigned c. 1629-1642.

⁸ N. 361.

⁹ First of the Romanofs (reigned 1613-1645).

¹⁰ Cleland, p. 41; and v. Corti, pp. 140-143, Comes, pp. 114-115.

¹¹ *V.* n. 233 [Q₃^b].

¹² *Statutes of Czar Alexis* (†, 1913).

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *V.* n. 307, which records (1663-1664) the continuance and prevalence of smoking in Russia, despite the stringency of the prohibitory laws. A contemporaneous account (c. 1652-1658) relates that

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Thus the princes of Eastern Europe and of Asia leagued themselves in a vain effort to combat a "stranger herb" and a foreign habit. Whatever success they had was but temporary, for while they drove terrified smokers to cover, the incense of tobacco rising from secret corners indicated that its devotees were no less ardent than before. How could even despotic authority hope to combat successfully an appetite of man which had subtly become a necessity of life and which inspired the poets? Did not Turkish minstrels sing of tobacco as one of the "four cushions of the couch of pleasure"¹ and the Chinese enrich their literature with such elegant phrases relating to the "smoke-blossom"² as "life-lengthening plant," "soul-reviving smoke," "herb of love," "herb of amiability," "herb of reflection," "herb of discernment," and "herb of yearning or affection"?³ Legends which exalted the herb *Taibako*,⁴ invented by nicotian enthusiasts, became part of the familiar tales of the people in Korea and China;⁵ and in Persia, Turkey and other lands of the East, tobacco received similar tributes.⁶

Despite the savage persecutions of the Murads, the shahs and other rulers, therefore, the inhabitants of these several empires found means of evading the royal interdictions against smoking or snuffing which kept them in a continuous state of nicotian rebellion. Added to that inherent tendency on the part of mankind to resist prohibitions was the natural impulse to partake of forbidden fruit. The herb these princes sought to withhold must be especially desirable! But these human forces would not of themselves have been strong enough to withstand the power of those in authority successfully or for long, and the right to use tobacco could not so soon have triumphed universally had not an inevitable and invincible factor aided this cause of man: the economic value of the plant.⁷ Everywhere the persecution of tobacco disappeared when it began to enrich the royal treasuries through its commercial importance, and, to complete the circle, such importance it could not have had, had not smokers persisted in their habits. Were it not for the widespread recognition of this fact, the campaign against tobacco, certainly in the East, must have become more stringent and more protracted, for the reasons which occasioned that opposition were felt by those in authority to be soundly paternalistic and practical.

In Europe itself (outside of Russia) the hand of authority fell less heavily upon the "divine herb." Indeed, many of the interdictions imposed, such as those emanating from the Popes, were then essential, as will presently be shown. Some of the prohibitions were probably imitative of the attitude of James I at an earlier period: certainly Christian IV of Denmark⁸ in 1632⁹ and Gustavus II of Sweden

the Patriarch Nikon sent into banishment those members of the clergy who were guilty of smoking and ordered that one be sent to a cannibal tribe, the "dog-faced Kalmucks," to be devoured, but that he escaped. (Quoted by Singer, pp. 140-141.)

The Russian decrees against the use of tobacco were rescinded by Peter the Great shortly after his accession to the throne. *V. infra*, p. 133 and *cf.* nos. 428, 439.

¹ *V.* quotation from *NQ.* in n. 118.

² Also, "smoke-fire," "smoke-flower," "smoke-wine" (as it intoxicated), and "gold-thread herb."

³ *V.* Satow, pp. 79-80, and *La., Asia*, p. 8.

⁴ "The foreign word *tam-ba-ku* has always been restricted to the written language, and is now obsolete, but it survives in the form *ma-ku* (abbreviated for *ta-ma-ku*), which is commonly used for cigarette among the Canton and Fukien men at the ports." (*La., Asia*, p. 7.)

⁵ *V.* Satow, pp. 80-81, and *La., Asia*, p. 10.

⁶ *V.* Walpole's *The Ansayrii* (†, 1851) i, pp. 230 ff.

⁷ *V. infra*, pp. 83 *et passim*, for a discussion of this subject.

⁸ Norway was then included.

⁹ The order was rescinded in 1643 and a duty on tobacco imports levied (*La., Europe*, p. 58).



CZAR MICHAEL FEDOROVICH

From Oelschlaeger's Beschreibung, 1647 (n. 233).



SULTAN MURAD IV

From an engraving in the Vienna National Library.

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at about the same time seem to have been influenced by the English ruler and his successor in their attempts to suppress the importation of tobacco into their kingdoms, and its use by their people.

A sudden mortality among the natives of Palermo, Messina and neighboring places was attributed by the authorities there to excessive addiction to tobacco, whereupon the Council of Sicily, under direction of the viceroy, sought to restrain the habit (1640) by inflicting penalties upon those who continued to indulge in it. To add weight to their prohibition, they attempted to alarm the populace by proclaiming that the Turks had poisoned the tobacco leaves in an effort to destroy Christians.¹

Official opposition to smoking became evident in parts of what is now Germany through the edict of the Elector of Cologne in 1649 against the "sale, purchase or use of tobacco everywhere" because the herb was a menace to health, was a fire hazard, etc.,² and through the prohibitory orders issued at Wurttemberg, 1651,³ Saxony, 1651, 1653⁴ and other places where the inhabitants had evinced an inordinate appetite for tobacco and too great a carelessness in the use of lighted pipes.⁵ Various town councils in Switzerland, notably at Appenzel, Basle, Zurich and Berne, from 1653 on, issued ordinances designed to combat the "epidemic of smoking."⁶ The council of Berne took the most prominent part in this campaign; in its police regulations (divided according to the ten commandments)⁷ the use of tobacco was classified (1661) as an offence punishable by the same penalties inflicted for adultery: the pillory, imprisonment, and fine. In order to deal effectively with those disobedient to the law against smoking, a special *Chambre du tabac* was set up (1675) which existed until 1750.⁸

In Austria, Hungary, the Netherlands and other countries of Europe⁹ after 1650, legislation against planters or vendors of tobacco, smokers, and occasionally snuffers, was enacted for diverse reasons, fell into disuse, was revived by reformers or officials, and finally disappeared entirely before the economic advance of tobacco.

The royal opposition to, or official disapproval of, nicotian habits, which expressed itself most vigorously in the XVIIth century, had thus appeared in almost every part of the Old World, and was occasionally evident even in the European colonies in America.¹⁰ Not all of the antitobacco laws were unnecessary or unwarranted. One must differentiate between those prohibitions based on national or private prejudices, ignorance or caprice, and those dictated by economic or agricultural exigencies,¹¹ by the standard rules of church or society¹² or by a practical

¹ Cuffari, *I biasimi del Tabacco*, 1645, p. 22 (cited by Comes, p. 96).

² Corti, p. 110.

³ Columbus, p. 30.

⁴ Corti, p. 114; Columbus, p. 30.

⁵ V. Corti, pp. 110 ff., for an account of the German decrees against tobacco-smoking.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 172 ff., et passim.

⁷ Cleland, p. 42.

⁸ N. 951 [O³], and v. the several authorities cited by Comes, p. 111.

⁹ V. Corti, p. 126, et passim, and nos. 301, 1143, etc. Even in parts of France, notably at Dijon, the use of tobacco was restricted up to the establish-

ment of the monopoly in 1674—v. *infra*, p. 144 and n. 7 there.

¹⁰ In Mexico and Peru (v. *infra*, p. 79, n. 4), and in New England (v. *infra*, n. 12).

¹¹ Such as the Strasburg regulation, 1620 (v. *infra*, p. 83, n. 4). Several such local laws came into existence in Central Europe for the same reason.

¹² The Massachusetts Bay Company opposed the planting of tobacco in the Colony (v. *infra*, p. 106), and from 1632 laws were passed which prohibited the use of tobacco publicly, enforced (1634) solitary smoking upon those who sought the solace of a pipe, etc., and temporarily suppressed the retail trade in tobacco (1635). The year 1637 saw the repeal of

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regard for common safety. Among the interdictions against snuffing or smoking which were directed by sound judgment and ecclesiastical policy, were the various bans issued by several Popes. These, either through error or bias, most commentators have carelessly condemned as severe or arbitrary.

In Spain, Father Tomás Ramon, 1635 (n. 198)—apparently influenced by the strictures of Dr. Francisco de Leiva y Aguilar against the use of tobacco 1634 (n. 192)¹—declared it an abomination in the sight of God that the clergy should indulge in snuff and *papeletes*² at ecclesiastical councils, or before celebrating mass. Leon Pinelo, 1636 (n. 202), conducted a moral investigation of the ethical problem presented by priests who employed tobacco before performing their religious duties,³ and referred to the earliest orders prohibiting its use on such occasions by the synods of Mexico and Peru, which had ordained heavy penalties for disobedient priests.⁴ Undoubtedly some of the minor clergy and parishioners of the Church (which had always displayed a most tolerant attitude in matters of such private appetites) had become notoriously careless of religious etiquette in their uses of tobacco, for upon the just complaint of the Dean and Chapter of Seville, Urban VIII⁵ issued the first papal interdiction (1642) against smoking and snuffing, saying, in part, "It has been reported . . . that the vile custom of smoking has become so intrenched in Seville that both sexes and both the lay and regular clergy engage in it. Even during the mass they defile the doorways with tobacco

all these unenforceable laws, but in 1638 the use of tobacco was again strictly regulated by law under penalties of fine and forfeiture. In 1646 the law was revised chiefly to reduce the hazards of fire from careless smokers. (*Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, ed. N. B. Shurtleff, 1853, Vol. I, pp. 101, 126, 136, 206, 241-242.) V. Beer, pp. 82-84, and his references.

The famous "Blue Laws" of the New Haven Colony ordered (1647) that none under twenty-one take tobacco; none unaccustomed to the habit indulge in it without the prescription of a physician, and none smoke publicly, etc., under penalty of a fine. (*The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, ed. J. H. Trumbull, 1850, I, p. 153.) A regulation confining smokers to their domestic product had been issued by the court of June 15th, 1640, but was repealed in Jan., 1647 (*ibid.*, pp. 53, 146).

¹ This work had such wide influence that it was said to have been suppressed as it seriously reduced the sale of tobacco in Cordova (where it was published) and thus affected the income of the tobacco monopolists there. Cf. *infra*, p. 143.

² Crushed tobacco rolled in paper; the Spanish form of the Mexican cigarette. V. *infra*, pp. 168, 170.

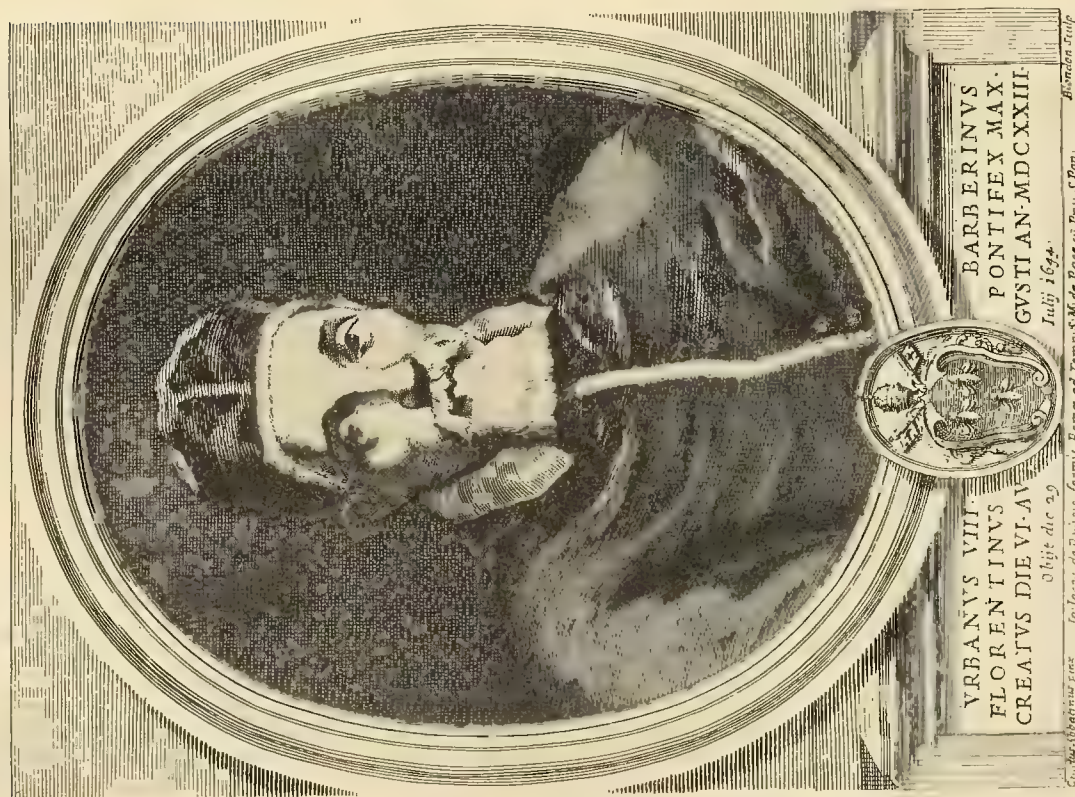
³ Theologians debated the grave question whether or not the use of tobacco violated the conditions of the fast before Mass. Cf. nos. 202, 510, and also 5N^Q. I, p. 345.

On the Continent the private luxury of the pipe or of snuff had been pretty widely accepted by members of the non-Catholic clergy as well, especially in Germany, the Netherlands and in France. In England the Puritan pamphleteer, Prynne (in his *Healths sicknesses*, 1628), urging the ministers of

the church to lift up their voices against drunkenness, reminded the brethren that they were enjoined by the canons of the church, etc., "not so much as to enter into any Inne or victualling house (much less into a Tauerne, Alehouse, or Tobacco-shop, where too too many of them place their chieftest residence) unless it were in case of necessity when they traue . . ." [B.³]. Cf. Fairholt, p. 107.

⁴ The first proscription of tobacco emanating from ecclesiastical authorities appears to have been that issued in Mexico, 1575, by a council which forbade its use in churches throughout the Spanish colonies. This seems to have been directed partly against the converted natives who had been accustomed to smoke in their own houses of worship. In Lima, Peru (1588), and again in Mexico (1589) special orders were issued whereby the missionary priests from Europe were prevented from chewing, snuffing or smoking tobacco before celebrating Mass, and all persons were forbidden to use tobacco before receiving Communion, under pain of eternal damnation. The Holy See accepted these restrictions as just but ordered that they be applied only to the places where they originated. Cf. n. 510, §17, and v. Moroni, *Dizionario Ecclesiastico*, Venice, 1855, vol. 72, p. 176, and Corti, p. 107.

⁵ Cf. nos. 309, 510, §17, and the text in *Bullarium Privilegorum ac Diplomatum Romanorum* . . . pub. G. Mainardi, 1733-1762, vol. vi, part 2, pp. 311-312. Urban's bull gave rise to an amusing nicotian anecdote which relates that a wag attached to a famous statue, where it was brought to the Pope's attention, the lines from Job (13:25) reading, "Wilt thou break a leaf driven to and fro; and wilt thou pursue the dry stubble?"



URBAN VIII (MAFFEO BARBERINI), POPE FROM 1623-1644.

Engraved by Blondin after Abbatini.
From an engraving in the Print Room of the British Museum.



BENEDICT XIII (PIERO FRANCESCO ORSINO), POPE FROM 1724-1730.

Engraved by H. Rossi after Trevisani.
From an engraving in the Print Room of the British Museum.

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juice . . .” By proclamation of this bull he enjoined all to refrain from the use of pipes and snuff within the sacred precincts of the churches of the state and diocese of Seville, under pain of excommunication. The practises which Urban VIII sought to suppress, however, were still evident elsewhere, so that in 1650 Innocent X, by a *Constitution* “cum sicut,”¹ solemnly notified the faithful that the penalty of excommunication would be laid upon those who dared to take tobacco in, or about, the Church of St. Peter at Rome,² an order renewed by Innocent XI, 1681,³ and, it is said, by Innocent XII.⁴ The frequency of these papal prohibitions indicates how futile was the condemnation by even supreme religious authority of habits which consecrated members of the church and religious devotees found irresistible. Some of the priesthood asserted that snuff, to the use of which they were widely addicted, aided them to resist the temptations of the flesh and to preserve pious tranquility, and this argument was successfully maintained by the advocates of Father Joseph da Cupertino⁵ when it was charged that, because he had been a notorious snuffer, he had not been of sufficient “heroic temperance” to entitle him to the beatification proposed for him.

It was not until 1725 that papal opposition was relaxed, for in that year Benedict XIII (who had become an ardent snuffer) issued a *Motu Proprio*, in which he announced that he “has abolished and wholly abrogated the prohibition made by Pope Innocent X of blessed memory, which laid the penalty of Excommunication, *ipso facto*, on all and singular, who dared . . . to take the herb Nicotiana, commonly known as Tobacco [as snuff or smoked in the Church of St. Peter, Rome].” This revocation was not, however, to be taken as license, for the *Notification* of the cardinal concludes, “We charge the Rev. Chapter and all the Clergy of the aforesaid Church, not only that they take tobacco so circumspectly in this Church and its choir and sacristy, that no one who enters may be scandalized and imagine offense, but also that no one of them, especially while he is in the Choir and performing the Divine offices, dare to offer openly or covertly a casket or case in which he keeps the snuff of tobacco, to others in his reach and vicinity, under penalties to be inflicted at our discretion, according to the mode of the disobedience . . .”⁶

¹ For information on these papal decrees, etc., I wish to acknowledge my especial indebtedness to Father Paul Grosjean, S. J. (Brussels), whose timely assistance was all the more generous in being unsolicited. I have made considerable use of his scholarly advice.

² Cf. nos. 309, 510, §17, and text in *Collectio bullarum sacrosanctæ Basilicæ Vaticanae*, Rome, 1752, vol. iii, p. 265. Innocent’s interdiction was taken by some of the brethren as a revocation of Urban’s bull, as it specifically applied only to St. Peter’s, Rome (v. n. 538 [Vol. II, X^{3a}]), while others proceeded to enforce the prohibition in all Catholic churches (v. Corti, p. 132).

³ Targioni-Tozzetti’s *Cenni storici* . . . 1853, p. 119, cited by Comes, p. 85.

⁴ Hornstein, *Der Tabak* (†, 1828), p. 16, who mistakenly dates the order 1690, a year before Innocent XII assumed the Papacy.

At Santiago (Spain) the application of Urban’s bull was so severe that five monks were immured (1692) for having smoked cigars in the choir at night during divine service. (Comes, p. 65, following Columbus, p. 33, and Tiedemann, p. 144.)

⁵ V. nos. 510 and 703.

⁶ Trans. from the text in Ferraris, *Prompta Bibliotheca Canonica, Juridica, Moralis, Theologica*, ed. 1758, vol. vii, p. 187. Cf. this work for his *Tabacum Summarium*, and v. Corti, pp. 198-199.

A century and a quarter later Cardinal Giacomo Antonelli, secretary to the Papal States, issued an order (1851) that for the future none was to put any obstacle in the way of smokers and that the dissemination of antitobacco literature would be punished by imprisonment. (Corti, p. 251.) This was, however, less an indication of extreme liberalism in nicotian matters than a recognition of the economic value of tobacco to the State.

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WHILE tobacco was thus bewitching the larger part of mankind, affecting social customs, expanding the materia medica, and undergoing the vicissitudes of persecution, a vast commerce was coming into being to satisfy a new appetite of man. Virgin fields were being extensively sown with tobacco seeds, merchant ships, freighted with the fragrant nicotian leaf from Spanish colonies in the West Indies, etc., were plying the Atlantic, and cities were growing up on the fringes of tobacco plantations.

The commercial history of tobacco is, at first, indissolubly linked with the development of the Spanish settlements in the West Indies, in Mexico and northern South America. Having observed the methods of tobacco agriculture practised by the Indians of Yucatan, Spanish planters (before 1535)¹ transferred the seeds of the cultivated variety growing in that Mexican province² at first to St. Domingo.³ Several successful crops resulted shortly in tobacco leaf of exceptionally fine quality and flavor. As the habit of smoking spread rapidly among the Spanish colonists, as well as their slaves,⁴ it was soon carried to the homeland where a demand for American tobacco began to express itself. The planters who were engaged in supplying the limited needs of their fellow-settlers and themselves shortly became aware of the commercial value of the sedative herb and began to expand their agricultural operations. It must have been difficult, at first, to persuade shipmasters that the leaves of tobacco would make a profitable cargo at home, and inexperience must have resulted in the deterioration of the earliest shipments.⁵ But these ventures were quickly successful; the demand for this colonial tobacco persisted and grew to unexpected proportions in Western Europe, and Spanish tobacco plantations spread steadily over the chief islands of the West Indies, in Mexico and elsewhere.⁶ By 1580-1590 tobacco of the most palatable quality was being produced on a large scale in Trinidad, Cuba,⁷ Venezuela⁸ and

¹ Comes, p. 16 (and cf. his *Razze*, p. 53). Mantegazza (*Igiene*, 1871, p. 198; cited by Comes, *ibid.*), says 1531.

² Diderot, *Encyclopédie* (3d ed., 1775), XV, p. 753, cited by Comes, *ibid.*

³ Comes, *ibid.*

⁴ *V. infra*, p. 205.

⁵ After careful research had established the conclusion that the tobacco trade could hardly have been a factor in European commerce before 1575 or thereabouts, it came as an unpleasant shock to discover in Thacher's *Christopher Columbus* (i, p. 561, n.) a statement which completely upset this belief. That author, writing of the use of tobacco by the Spaniards, remarked that he thought "trafficking in that weed which to one half the world comes as a panacea and to the other half as an abomination," was much earlier than 1550, and offered as evidence to substantiate this opinion a passage in the second will of Diego Columbus, executed in 1523, commencing, "*A Antonio, tobacco mercador . . .*," which he translated "To Antonio, tobacco merchant, a Genoese, who was accustomed to live in Lisbon, 2500 reals of Portugal . . ."

A tobacco merchant in Lisbon before 1523!—perhaps before 1506! (*v. infra*). In conducting an investigation of the matter thus necessitated by Thacher's translation, recourse was had to *Chris-*

tophe Colomb (which preceded Thacher's work, having been published at Paris, 1884) where it appeared that its erudite author, Henry Harrisse, had queried the spelling of "*tobaco*" (vol. i, p. 302; ii, 490, etc.). The Spanish form was invariably *tabaco*, and the combination here should, of course, have been "*mercador de tabaco*" had it been intended for "tobacco merchant." "*Tobaco*" was only a form of Antonio's surname! Harrisse indicated that its correct spelling was uncertain, for it appeared in the first will (1506) as "*Vazo*," and in the second as "*Tobaco*" ["*Tobazo*" in the *Memorial del Pleyto*]. In the *Raccolta di documenti . . .* Rome, 1893 (cited by Wi., i, p. 152, n.), the questioned phrase begins "*A Antoniotto Baço . . .*" which is undoubtedly correct, and which indicates how easily the transition to "*tobazo*," or "*tobaco*" was made.

Obviously Antonio had not trafficked in the weed, but his ghost rises occasionally to confuse the historian, for in so recent a work as that of MacInnes the erroneous statement is repeated from McGuire (in Hodge, ii, p. 768).

⁶ Bennett (*v. n.* 158 "q") stated that the demand for their tobacco in England developed new Spanish colonies in America. Cf. n. 105, n. 3.

⁷ Billings, p. 41; Comes, pp. 7-8.

⁸ Comes, p. 27.

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northern South America, etc., and the foundations of that commerce which was to make Spain the envy of other European nations were thus early established.

In Europe tobacco-farming as an industry was practised in Portugal by 1575-1580,¹ on a smaller scale in parts of England before 1590,² in the Netherlands about 1608,³ in Alsace (Germany) by 1620,⁴ and elsewhere on the Continent, though sporadically, in the early part of the XVIIth century.⁵ The Portuguese were active in promoting the cultivation of the plant at their trading-stations on the sea route to the East,⁶ whence the plant spread to the interiors, while the Dutch encouraged such plantations in the East Indies,⁷ extending these agricultural ventures to contiguous places when they were found to be profitable. In several countries of the Orient, particularly in India,⁸ farmers grew and exported tobacco to nearby Asiatic ports, including Persia,⁹ early in the XVIIth century; and the Spaniards, who had introduced tobacco from Mexico or the West Indies into the Philippines before the close of the XVIth century,¹⁰ were soon engaged in supplying this valuable production of their farms to Chinese mariners¹¹ and to European countries.¹²

Spanish planters continued in practical control of the English and Continental markets and encountered no serious competition until tobacco began to be successfully cultivated in Virginia and exported thence to England and other countries of Europe, after 1616.¹³ After the second decade of the XVIIth century the early commercial history of tobacco revolves almost entirely about the contest for the European market between the Spanish exporters in the West Indies, South America and elsewhere, and the English colonists, at first in Virginia. The subject is so vast and complex that only its essentials can be considered here (in as chronological an order as its various phases permit), but extensive notices dealing with this division of tobacco's history will be found in the main body of this work.¹⁴

¹ Humboldt and Murray (cited by Billings, pp. 80-81), and Billings, p. 478. The inception of this agriculture in Portugal may have been earlier, however, if De l'Escluse's report (n. 18) does not refer only to the growth of tobacco in physic gardens or as an ornament.

² *V. ante*, p. 47, n. 2.

³ *V. infra*, p. 97, n. 9.

⁴ A native of Strasburg, Robert Königsmann, is credited with first cultivating tobacco in Alsace about 1620 for commercial purposes, having imported seeds from Virginia. The senate shortly prohibited him from continuing, on the grounds that the success of such agriculture would damage the industry in essential cereals. *V. Tiedemann*, p. 175; Wagner, *Tabakkultur* (J, 1888); and Schwab (*op. cit. supra*, p. 23, n. 1), cited by Comes, p. 106.

⁵ T. Pasetti (*Cenni Storico-Statistici sul Monopolio del Tabacco in Italia*, J, 1900, p. 7) states that the inception of this agriculture in Italy took place at several communities along the valley of the Brenta about 1560, but in view of the fact that tobacco was then regarded chiefly as a panacea and not as a commercial commodity, this cultivation was undoubtedly similar to that in the physic gardens of Spain, France and elsewhere (*v. ante*, pp. 31, 36).

In Mantua the cultivation of the plant began

probably before 1600 (Comes, p. 92). Norway is said to have instituted tobacco-farming in 1616 (Wagner, *op. cit. sup. n.* 4, cited by Comes, p. 117) but the result was unsatisfactory and the experiment not seriously renewed for almost two hundred years. This agricultural industry existed in France on a small scale as early as 1626.

⁶ *V. ante*, pp. 41-43.

⁷ Billings, pp. 478-479; and *v. infra*, p. 107, n. 4.

⁸ *V. n.* 158 "1" and "o"; Comes, p. 197 (citing several authorities); and La., *Asia*, p. 14.

⁹ *V. ante*, p. 42, conclusion of n. 10, and p. 75.

¹⁰ *V. ante*, p. 10.

¹¹ *V. ante*, p. 42.

¹² According to Neander (n. 148) "Philippine" tobacco was well known in Europe by 1622.

¹³ *V. infra*, p. 87-88.

¹⁴ See especially those referred to in the pages following which deal with the economic history of tobacco, and the Index: Commerce in tobacco. The dates given throughout this section are New Style.

It will be seen that by far the preponderant part of the following pages on the economic history of tobacco deals with England and her American colonies. At the time of rewriting this section of the *Introduction* it was not possible for me to consult all the manifold English official publications, asso-

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England had long offered the colonial Spanish planters one of the most lucrative markets in all Europe, and it was to remain so until tariffs favorable to Virginia, Bermuda, etc.,¹ were successfully established. From 1588 to 1604 Spain and England had been at almost constant war; but this seems not to have affected the Spanish exporters seriously, for their tobacco continued to be bought by the English, being conveyed in French, Flemish² or other foreign ships,³ or else smuggled in. It will not be amiss to refer briefly here to the prices of Spanish tobacco in London during the period when it was being eagerly imported. The fantastic fluctuations indicated were due to several causes, chief of which were the intermittent war, the quality and quantity of leaf imported and the variable imposts.⁴ Thus, in 1597,⁵ a pound cost 35 shillings; in 1599 the finest kind commanded the almost incredibly high price of £4/10,⁶ while an inferior grade brought 12 shillings. Sixteen shillings was demanded for a pound of tobacco, in 1600, and 33 shillings in 1603, etc., etc. The price of 40 shillings the pound in 1606 was partly due to the prohibitory duty imposed by James I, in 1604.⁷ In 1608,⁸ the cost was 30 shillings the pound.⁹

But the appetite which was strong enough to withstand all the opposition so far devised could also meet economic exigencies and though the relish for Spanish tobacco had developed into an "expensive diet"¹⁰ Englishmen continued to main-

ciated manuscript material, colonial records, etc., except those which are part of the Arents reference library. Fortunately for the accuracy of the work on hand I had recourse to George Louis Beer's *The Origins of the British Colonial System, 1578-1660*, and *The Old Colonial System, Part I, 1660-1688*. The extent to which I depended upon this scholar's voluminous researches will be obvious from the frequency of the references to these works in the notes appended to the following pages. (Some of his source material, i.e., the Board of Trade Papers and the Colonial Entry Book, have been completely rearranged since he conducted his researches but references to these papers given in our footnotes are few and can be related to the new arrangement by the "key" provided by the Record Office.)

After the manuscript of *Tobacco* had been completed my attention was directed to the *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, by Lewis Cecil Gray, assisted by Esther Katherine Thompson (Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1933). This extremely valuable work has several divisions devoted to the subject of the tobacco industry. The student who desires fuller information on the Anglo-American tobacco trade than is provided in *Tobacco* would do well to consult these chapters.

¹ *V. infra*, pp. 89 ff; 94, n. 7; 108, n. 5.

² Mac., p. 33.

³ According to the first official figures (1602) over 16,000 lbs. of tobacco came into the port of London in that year (cf. *C. S. P., Dom., 1603-1610*, p. 140, No. 2), but a considerable additional quantity must have been smuggled in. Rive (p. 57) estimates that the annual consumption in England at the beginning of the XVIIth century was no more than 25,000 lbs.

⁴ Cf. *ante*, p. 59, n. 1, and *v. infra*, notes 5 and 8.

⁵ A duty on tobacco seems not to have been fixed by 1597. In that year those who were engaged in the intermittent import trade in tobacco in Cornwall resisted the attempt of the customs-officers to examine the tobacco cargoes of two foreign ships which had come in, and also refused payment demanded of the queen's penny on each pound imported (*v. ante*, p. 59, n. 1). These shipmasters and importers insisted that there was then no custom on tobacco—an opinion in which the local officials seem to have concurred. The customs-collector was threatened with violence if he persisted in interfering with the landing of the cargoes, and in his letter of complaint to his superior he asked that some charge on tobacco be published in order to prevent a recurrence of this episode. (Lansdowne MSS., No. 84, Sec. 20 (1597); cited by Mac., pp. 33-34.)

⁶ The ratio of money value between Elizabethan days and our own was approximately six to one. *V. Traill, op. cit.* in n. 68, n. 8.

⁷ *V. ante*, pp. 57, 59.

⁸ "Hard-pressed for money in 1608, again without Parliamentary sanction, tobacco was valued at 20s. per lb., which brought the poundage up to 1s." (Mac., p. 52.) Cf. *infra*, p. 89, conclusion of n. 1.

⁹ These figures are derived from the "Household Account Books" in *Hist. MSS. Comm., MSS. of Duke of Rutland*, Vol. IV (1597-1613), pp. 412 ff.

In 1619 it was stated in a petition of the Virginia Company to the Privy Council that "Spanish [tobacco] is sold ordinarily att 18s the pound and some times att more." (Kingsbury, i, p. 282.) In the "Book of Rates," however, all imported tobacco was valued at 10 s. the lb. *V. infra*, p. 89, n. 5.

¹⁰ *V. Fairholt*, p. 70, and Aubrey reference, *ante*, p. 50.



AMERICAN INDIAN TOBACCO CULTIVATION

These are copies of the earliest illustrations published which display American natives engaged in cultivating, gathering, pressing, drying and curing tobacco. They were engraved by M. van Brouck and first appeared in Neander's *Tabacologia*, 1622 (n. 148). The reproductions here are from the French edition, 1626 (n. 148-b), for which they were reengraved. [Reduced]

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tain it. It was this insistence upon the palatable leaf exported from Varinas, Caracas, Trinidad, etc., which promoted the traffic with Spain, to the growing alarm of English economists (*v. infra*). What appears to have been the earliest English attempt to compete with this foreign control of the tobacco trade was the cultivation of the plant begun at Guiana, in 1609, under the direction of Harcourt (n. 105). In his account of the English colony there, Harcourt predicted the great commercial value of tobacco and sought for encouragement, but the attempt to colonize Guiana was abortive.

An unexpected supply of this commodity was beginning to be developed which was soon to put the English in a position to compete successfully with the Spanish cultivators and exporters. This was the tobacco produced from imported seeds in England's first successful colony in North America. The settlers who originally attempted the cultivation of tobacco in Virginia found but one species indigenous there, the hardy *N. rustica*. Of this, Strachey¹ wrote that "it is not of the best kind, it is but poore and weake, and of a byting taft . . ." These colonists had known at home that excellent leaf sent in from the West Indies, or South America, and they were soon aware that their best crops could not hope to compete with the Spanish production.² About 1610-1611, therefore, seeds were imported into Virginia, first from the island of Trinidad (then famous for the quality of its tobacco), thus imitating that process of selection and crossing which had resulted so favorably for the Spanish cultivators of tobacco in St. Domingo and elsewhere.³ This introduction⁴ of *N. Tabacum* (apparently for the first time into North America above Mexico) is recorded in an obscure passage by Strachey. John Rolfe (an ardent smoker), credited by Hamor (n. 112) as the pioneer English colonist regularly to grow tobacco for export (1612), was undoubtedly responsible for this importation.⁵ The outcome of this experiment was tobacco leaf which could compete favorably with that grown by the Spaniards, for *N. Tabacum* was easily naturalized to the climate and soil of Virginia.⁶ It was, indeed, the success of this trial which resulted in the economic salvation of Virginia. Thereafter tract after tract was cleared of the native *N. rustica*, and the species which is now the chief tobacco of commerce was diligently cultivated by the settlers. In this they were encouraged by Capt. George Yeardley,⁷ then deputy governor, who had seen how all their other endeavors had failed. Had the colonists persisted in their efforts to participate in the valuable market controlled by the Spanish, by farming only the species indigenous to Virginia, their colony would undoubtedly have failed again,⁸ England lost its foothold in North America, and in consequence been deprived of the greatest individual source of revenue from its American possessions.

¹ *V. infra*, pp. 525-526.

² Owing to the exigencies of obtaining a bare living the settlers made no effort to grow tobacco for their first three years in Virginia. The prophecy had been made, however, that they would produce tobacco worth £5000 by the end of the first year, indicating that they were aware of the adaptability of Virginia to this commodity almost from the inception of the colony. *V. Bruce*, i, pp. 194-195, who refers to several sources.

³ *V. ante*, p. 82.

⁴ It was succeeded by the importation of seeds from Venezuela, etc. *V. n.* 112, n. 12.

⁵ *V. Rolfe's* notices of the tobacco industry in Virginia, *infra*, p. 525, and in n. 164.

⁶ The fertile tract of land in Sir Thomas Dale's settlement on the north side of the James River produced tobacco of which the flavor was so nearly like that from Varinas, in South America, that the early planters designated the place "Varina." (*The Virginia Hist. Register*, etc., Vol. I, No. IV, p. 161.)

⁷ *V. n.* 164.

⁸ *V. ante*, pp. 46-47.

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The first experimental shipment of the tobacco newly developed in Virginia occurred in 1613,¹ and as it was of pleasing taste it was well received in some quarters. But production for the succeeding two or three years was slow, and English dealers were unwilling to hazard too much on an uncertain commodity, as it was difficult to woo smokers from their accustomed "Spanish" leaf. In the period 1615-1616 only 2300 lbs. of tobacco came into London from Virginia,² while Spain sent in more than 50,000 lbs.³ The growing opposition among English economists and statesmen⁴ to the successful Spanish trade was expressed in various pamphlets, of which that issued by C. T., in 1615 (n. 120), appears to have been highly popular.⁵ In it, *inter alia*, he charged Spanish planters and traders with disgusting methods of adulteration and with attacking English merchantmen.⁶ Apparently unaware of the impending value of Virginian tobacco crops, this writer urged his countrymen to accustom themselves to domestic tobacco and gave some practical advice for its cultivation. This agriculture was already being practised on a small scale in the provinces,⁷ as well as near London. The usual high cost of foreign tobacco, the proximity of metropolitan markets and the possibility of ready profits from tobacco were already sufficient stimuli to English farmers, but C. T.'s handbook seems to have given needed encouragement in some sections, as the cultivation of tobacco shortly thereafter began to occupy increased acreages, particularly in the counties of Gloucester and Worcester.⁸

¹ Brown, *Genesis of the United States* (†, 1890), ii, p. 639, *et al.*

² *Customs Rolls*, 911, cited by Beer, p. 109, and p. 110, n. 1.

Bermuda began to cultivate tobacco for exportation about 1614 (Mac., p. 130, *et al.*). The Bermuda Company fixed the price at 2s. 6d. (*v. infra*, p. 101, conclusion of n. 4).

According to the account in Smith's *Virginia* (n. 164 [Cc²]), 70,000 [lbs.] of tobacco were exported from Bermuda in 1620, but if this be accurate the larger part of this shipment must have been smuggled into England or disposed of in the Netherlands, as the official records of exportation from Bermuda about this period show considerably smaller amounts. *Cf. Customs Rolls*, 913.

Tobacco became, as in Virginia and Maryland, the colony's staple export "and the standard of value upon which its commercial transactions were based." (Beer, p. 259.) As in Virginia, the colonizing Company protested against the settlers' concentration upon tobacco, yet complained about its poor quality in comparison with that of Virginia, "licensed Spanish" and St. Kitts, and sought to interest them in other commodities. After the first half of the 17th century tobacco lost its importance as "the cheife and greatest comoditie of these Islands" (Bermuda) owing to the rapid decline in its commercial value, but the trade revived somewhat during the reign of James II. (Lefroy, *Memorials of the Discovery . . . of the Bermudas or Somers Islands*, †, 1877-1879, I, p. 307, *et passim*; Beer, pp. 259 ff., and various references cited by him, including Lefroy; Beer, *OCS.*, ii, pp. 90 ff., citing chiefly *C.S.P.*, *Col.*, under various years, and Lefroy.)

Importations from St. Christopher came into England from c. 1625. *V. n.* 173 [H²-b], and *cf. Acts*, i, nos. 199, 200, *et passim*, and *ibid.*, n. 577, which relates to the different manner in which the English and French settlers there made up rolls of tobacco. (*V.*, too, the references in *C.S.P.*, *Col.* and *Dom.*, cited by Beer, p. 89, n. 2.) The tobacco from St. Kitts was favorably compared in Europe to "Spanish" and it was regarded by the Bermuda Company as presenting serious competition to the production of its own colony. The annual average of the tobacco exported from the West Indies to England for the four years, 1637-1640, was 354,326 lbs. (Hardwicke MSS., BM., Add. MSS., 35865, f. 248; and *v. C.S.P.*, *Col.*, 1574-1660, pp. 79, 124; *Va. Mag.*, IX, p. 410, cited by Gray, p. 8, n. 51.) After the middle of the century, however, sugar, indigo and cotton were rapidly displacing tobacco as the staple crop of St. Christopher and the other Caribbean Islands under English control. *Cf. Beer*, pp. 89-90, 412-413, 417, and Bruce, i, p. 321.

³ *Customs Rolls*, 911, cited by Beer, p. 109, and p. 110, n. 1. These are official figures, of course, and take no account of the considerable amounts of Spanish tobacco then smuggled in. The declared importation of tobacco into England in the period between June 24, 1615, and Aug. 9, 1617, was 22,338 pounds of colonial as against 131,200 pounds of foreign (*ibid.*, cited by Beer, p. 117, n. 1).

⁴ *Cf. Rive*, p. 58.

⁵ He charged "that there is paid out of England and Ireland, neere the value of two hundred thousand pounds every yeare for Tobacco," to Spanish growers.

⁶ *V. ante*, p. 47, n. 2.

⁷ *V. infra*, pp. 114 ff.

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Despite the growing traffic in domestic tobacco,¹ and the favor in which the colonial Spanish leaf was still widely held, the demand for "Virginia" (cheaper than "Spanish") soon increased, particularly in London and other large cities. Almost all other industries were abandoned in the infant English colony in order to supply this new and lucrative market. It became necessary for successive governors of Virginia to restrict this agricultural activity of the settlers,² who were neglecting the farming of essential cereals and even their defenses against the ravages of nature and the Indians, in order to produce tobacco. Capt. Smith recorded that when the new governor, Capt. Argall, came to Jamestown in 1617, he "found but five or fix houfes, the Church downe, the Palizado's broken, the Bridge in pieces, the Well of fresh water fpoiled; the Store-houfe they used for the Church, the market-place, and ftreets, and all other fpare places planted with Tobacco, the Salvages as frequent in their houfes as themselves, whereby they were become expert in our armes . . . the Colonie disperfed all about, planting *Tobacco*."³

It was not long before the Virginian planters demanded protection from foreign as well as domestic competition, justly stating (through the London Company) that tobacco represented the only present means of their livelihood, that the quality of their crops was as good as "Spanish," and that the tobacco then being produced on English soil was imperfect and occupied lands more needed for cereals. In 1617 the exportation of tobacco from Virginia was 20,000 lbs.⁴ At the instigation of the farmers of the customs⁵ (assisted by the Virginia Company) James I issued (1619) the first of the numerous decrees which prohibited the cultivation of tobacco on English soil.⁶ This initial official step in fostering the colonial trade was to result in a lengthy and dramatic conflict between the government and the domestic planters—a subject to which we shall soon come.

The establishment of the tobacco trade had created a new source of income⁷

¹ *V. infra*, p. 114, at notes 6 and 7.

² *V. infra*, p. 97, Rolfe's account (*infra*, p. 525), and nos. 164 [T₂^b], and 456.

³ N. 164. About this time the Virginia Company derived a profit of £300 from its common garden in Virginia (Kingsbury, i, p. 350). Tobacco must have constituted the largest part of this produce.

⁴ Brock (p. 214), Bruce (i, p. 262), *et al.* give the date as 1619, but Beer (p. 87) states that it was 1617. A study of the *Customs Rolls* for this period confirms the date given by Beer. The official importation of Virginia tobacco into England in 1618 (records are available for only a five month period ending Sept. 29) was 41,728 lbs. (*Customs Rolls*, 912.) In 1619, 44,879 lbs. were imported (Record Office, London, MS., number E. 122/91/10). The confusion over the date probably arose from the record that 20,000 lbs. were exported from Virginia, June, 1619, in one ship (*v. Acts*, i, n. 41).

The price of tobacco in Virginia was fixed by the first Assembly in 1619 (under orders from the Company) at 3s. the lb. for the "best", 18d. for the "second best." Cf. n. 164 [R₂^b]. These valuations could not, however, be maintained in England (*v. infra*, pp. 101, 102, n. 5; Kingsbury, i, pp. 289, 342).

⁵ Cf. *ante*, p. 59, n. 2, and *infra*, n. 7. The Company refrained at first from petitioning the king in

this matter as it was thought it "might be a scandall for Virginia . . . that it could not subsist without that weed . . ." and "forasmuch as the ffarmors of Impost had it on foote allready that they proceed, and the Company as they see occasion to assist them." (Kingsbury, i, p. 258, and *cf.*, ii, p. 68.)

⁶ This proclamation (n. 140) was held in abeyance until the Company had decided to pay the increased duty on tobacco (*v. infra*, p. 89, and references in n. 7 there). The regulation against tobacco-planting was to be in effect for only five years (*v. Kingsbury*, i, p. 291). *V. infra*, pp. 113 ff., for some of the succeeding proclamations on this subject.

In the discussion in Parliament on tobacco (18 April 1621) Sir Edward Coke, who was steadfastly opposed to monopolies, objected to the royal restraint on tobacco planters, saying "That never till within thefe forty years was there any restraint made, other than by act of parliament, that a subject, being a freeholder, shall not plant what he list in his own ground." (Chalmers, p. 49, citing *Parliamentary Debates*, 1620-1621, i, 105; 270-271.) Cf. *Commons Journal*, I, pp. 581 ff.

⁷ Parliament, in 1604, granted James I the customs duties (being five per cent of the value of commodities set down in the "Book of Rates") then worth £127,000. These duties, which were officially

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for its arch-enemy, James I, for he had preempted the impost on tobacco,¹ which in turn he later granted to his favorite, the Earl of Montgomery, sometime between 1608 and 1613. That this "royal right" was even then of considerable value is indicated by the fact that Montgomery received £3000 a year, from 1615 (which was to be continued for twenty-one years), for his surrender to the king of his patent.² This was (after James had raised the duties to 2 shillings the pound)³ granted in 1615 to two Englishmen, who were required to pay £7000 yearly from 1616 on for the sole right to import tobacco, "with a proviso of determination at six months' notice, if found prejudicial to the State."⁴ The application of the royal prerogatives to colonial imports and the demands of the patentees, etc., were at first resisted by the Virginia Company,⁵ but it finally agreed (1620)⁶ to pay 12 pence the pound on tobacco brought in (which was more than the amount stipulated in its charter, though equal to only half the duties charged on the Spanish product) provided that the regulation against growing the plant in England be issued and enforced.⁷ The policy of giving English colonial products preferential

known as tonnage and poundage, were generally referred to as the subsidy or custom. It was usual then to farm them out. The Stuarts also levied, as their royal prerogative, additional duties known as the impost, basing this claim on the precedents of the two previous reigns. (Beer, pp. 103-104, citing several authorities.)

¹ In the Lansdowne MSS. (156, f. 58) is a page (presumably a draft) headed "A plaine declaracon, how greatlie the ffarmours of the Tobacco impost have bene endamaged by that ffarme, and what proffitt and benefit their labour & travell have brought to his Ma^{tie}." (Kingsbury, i, p. 121, No. 2). This document (undated, but *c.* 1608) recites, *inter alia*, that the late farmers of the tobacco duty became involved in difficulties because of the excessive valuation set upon this commodity and ignorance of its perishable nature, etc. An official inquiry is requested to show that there had been no attempt to defraud the king by false statements of losses, etc. *V. ante*, p. 59, n. 2.

In 1608 the impost was reduced to one shilling the pound owing to the unwillingness of the patentees to continue their lease (Beer, p. 109, citing *Patent Rolls*, 6 Jac. I, July 28, 1608, etc.).

² *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1611-1618, p. 299, and *cf. ibid.*, p. 214.

³ *V. Acts*, i, n. 9. In 1615 (*Customs Rolls*, 911-915, 667, 668, cited by Beer, p. 109, n. 3) sixpence was added to the impost of 1s. which had been placed upon tobacco in 1608 (*v. supra*, conclusion of n. 1). The royal subsidy of 5 per cent had, in the meantime, been increased from twopence (in 1604) to sixpence (Beer, p. 109). *V. infra*, n. 5.

⁴ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1611-1618, July 30, 1615, pp. 280-281.

The office of collecting the tobacco impost was awarded for life to Abraham and John Jacob, in 1618, a grant confirmed in 1620 (Beer, p. 111, n. 3, citing *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1611-18, p. 535; 1619-23, p. 179, etc.). The farmers of the customs were allowed "defalcations," *viz.* deductions from the rent paid

by them of the amount which colonial tobacco would have paid in duties had it not been exempt (Beer, p. 111, n. 1, citing several authorities). *V. infra*, n. 5.

⁵ The patentees seized the tobacco exports from Virginia in 1619, demanding sixpence the pound additional to the usual five per cent subsidy (*v. ante*, p. 88, n. 7) collected by the farmers of the customs. (Despite the considerably greater value of Spanish over colonial tobacco, in the "Book of Rates" all tobacco was then indiscriminately valued at 10s. the lb., making the subsidy 6d.) This brought the total duties on colonial tobacco to 1s. the lb. The Bermuda importation was also held for the increased tax. The Virginia Company protested that this was a violation of their charter rights for by their patents they had been granted "freedom from Custome and Subsidie in Virginia for one and Twenty years and in England for a certaine nomb^r of years now expired, and from all other Taxes and Imposicions for ever," excepting only the usual subsidy. (The "certaine nomb^r of years" referred to a provision in the charter of 1611 whereby the Company was exempted from custom duties for seven years.) Upon petitioning the Privy Council the Attorney General decided in favor of the Company. *V. Acts*, i, n. 41; Kingsbury, i, pp. 245, 281 ff.; Beer, p. 111, citing several authorities.

⁶ This was on January 8th; in July following the Company again prepared to contest the monopolists. *V. infra*, p. 99, n. 2.

⁷ Kingsbury, i, pp. 291, *et passim*, and *v. Beer*, pp. 112-113. Cf. *ante*, p. 88, n. 6. In 1620 the Companies jointly hired an "intelligencer" to spy out tobacco planted contrary to law. Kingsbury, i, pp. 327-328.

That the spread of tobacco-planting in England was causing concern in official circles is indicated by a passage in a letter written by Buckingham to Cranfield (July 31, 1621): "The King's rent of £15,500 [*sic*] for tobacco, is in danger to be lost, or at best to decline much, and all the money spent

rights—and eventually a monopoly—in the home markets, which was to become a distinctive attribute of the English colonial system later, was inaugurated by this agreement.¹ The Company was shortly engaged in a dispute, however, with the Privy Council because of the efforts of the former to circumvent the monopolists.² By 1620–1621, James received £16,000 annually³ from the rental of the tobacco impost. The grant of sole importation was temporarily withdrawn from the monopolists in 1622 and awarded to the Bermuda and Virginia Companies,⁴ but reverted to the old lessees⁵ upon the dissolution (1624)⁶ of the latter company. For many years the “royal rights” in the import trade continued to be exercised and patents of the tobacco customs or importing and vending grants were awarded to the king’s favorites⁷ or opulent concessionaires, awakening protests and arousing resistance from Parliament,⁸ planters⁹ and importers.

The imports from Virginia and the tobacco produced in England were apparently insufficient to affect seriously the established Spanish trade, for up to 1620–1621 vast quantities of the superior and highly popular leaf grown in the Spanish colonies were still being unloaded on the English market,¹⁰ even though it was costly. The Virginia Company sought the protection of the king and propagandized for favorable legislation. Undoubtedly under the influence of that then powerful organization, Bennett¹¹ (an economist) produced, about 1620, a “Bullionist” tract which charged that the chief cause of the decay in English trade, the lack of silver at home, etc., etc., was the excessive importation of tobacco from Spain (worth to that land £100,000).¹² Economic and political conditions in England at that period

about the plantations of Virginia and Bermoothes will be lost, if there be not some present course taken to restrain the planting of tobacco, here in England.” (Brown, *First Republic in America*, 1898, p. 426.)

¹ *V. Beer*, p. 114, and *cf. infra*, pp. 91–95, 108, n. 5, and 113.

² *V. infra*, pp. 99–100.

³ *Cf.* n. 158 “q,” note. The House of Commons was informed by Sir Edwin Sandys, in 1621, that the patentees were to pay £16,000 a year (*Commons Journal*, I, p. 586). The exclusive right to import tobacco was then vested in a group headed by Sir Thomas Roe (*v. Acts*, i, nos. 48, 49; Kingsbury, i, p. 141, n. 185). Roe surrendered the monopoly on Sept. 21, 1621, the expiration of the first year (Kingsbury, ii, p. 68). It was then granted to an associate of Roe in the monopoly, Abraham Jacob (collector of the tobacco impost—*v. ante*, p. 89, n. 4), whom the Virginia Company had found so “tough an adversary,” but not at the same rent. (Kingsbury, ii, pp. 68, 175.)

In 1619 (*v. n.* 139) James I had granted a fee for “viewing” tobacco to certain patentees, and in 1620 (*v. n.* 142) he restricted importations to licensees. The rents and fines derived from these sources were additional to those paid by the monopolists of the tobacco imports.

⁴ *V. infra*, p. 91.

⁵ *V. infra*, p. 94.

⁶ *V. infra*, p. 92, and n. 11 there.

⁷ *V. nos.* 215, 216, 358.

⁸ Despite the occasional voiding of monopoly patents and the “Statute of Monopolies” (1624)

by which Parliament sought to regulate such grants, James I and particularly Charles I (*v. infra*, p. 95, n. 2) had little difficulty in circumventing legislative opposition. Furthermore, for about half the period of his reign James ruled without the control of Parliament.

⁹ *V. infra*, p. 95, notes 3 and 5; pp. 109–110.

¹⁰ The Virginia Company was informed by the Lord Treasurer that “the medium of the quantity of Tobacco brought in these seauen last yeares ending in Michaelmas 1621” amounted to 142,085½ lbs. (Kingsbury, ii, p. 61.) *Cf. infra*, p. 91, and note 1 there.

That the English and Irish were partly concerned with the carrying trade from South America is indicated by the petition (1621) of the “Irish interressed in the Tobacco lately brought from the River of the Amazons” which had been detained by the farmers of the impost. *V. Acts*, i, nos. 68, 69, 73, and 76, relating to Capt. North’s share of the cargo under dispute.

¹¹ *V. n.* 158 “q,” and Mac, pp. 154 ff. In reward for his services in writing this treatise and pressing the subject upon the attention of the Commons, Bennett was made a “free member” of the Virginia Company (Kingsbury, i, p. 446).

¹² But C. T., in 1615 (*v. ante*, p. 87), believed that double that amount was then paid to the Spanish traders by the English. Sir Edwin Sandys (17 April, 1621) reported that £60,000 a year was the cost to the English of Spanish tobacco, “and 60,000 l. loss in Commodity.” (*Commons Journal*, I, p. 579.)

combined with the efforts of the planters and their agents. A currency crisis then existed, and the House of Commons unanimously assented to Bennett’s charges, voting (1621) “that the Importation of Spanish Tobacco is One Cause of the Want of Money within the Kingdom.”¹ Sir Edwin Sandys, first treasurer of the Virginia Company, and an influential member of Parliament, very convincingly sketched the economic dangers of the conditions then existing, and in 1621 foreign tobacco was ordered excluded by the Commons.² Of this Act Chalmers (p. 51) wrote: “Its provisions are extremely remarkable: No tobacco was to be imported after the 1st of October, 1621, but from Virginia and the Somer-isles; and, after that day, none was to be planted in England:³ There were to be paid to the king, for custom, fixpence a pound, in consideration of the losse he might sustaine in his revenue: None was to be sold by the merchant for more than eight shillings, and, by the retailer, none for more than ten shillings, the pound: But, ‘such as sell tobacco by the pipe may make the most they can.’” By this step the lower House attempted to further the new policy of colonial protection which had begun with the agreement between the king and the Virginia Company in 1620. But Parliament was adjourned before the regulations thus proposed by the Commons came up for consideration in the House of Lords and the special committee appointed at the next session seems never to have brought in its report.⁴ The necessity of enforcing the essential provision of this bill was too apparent to be ignored, however, and it was partially adopted by James I, who heretofore had obviously been unwilling to alienate the good will of Spain. By agreement between the king and the Companies⁵ for Virginia and the Somers Isles (Bermuda), in 1622, they were to be given the sole right to import tobacco from their settlements in America into England and Ireland for seven years.⁶ The net proceeds of one-third of all tobacco imported by the Companies

¹ *Commons Journal*, I, p. 552. It was estimated that the daily consumption in England, in 1621, was 1000 pounds (*ibid.*, p. 579).

² May 25 (*Commons Journal*, I, p. 627). *V. ibid.*, pp. 552, 579, 581–582, 586, 622, for the discussions in Parliament (begun 13 Mar.) which preceded the passage of this Act. Some members were in favor of accepting a proposal voiced by several of the debaters that all tobacco be excluded as “Thousands have died of this vile Weed,” etc., etc., but consideration of the weak economic condition of the colonies prevented the passage of a general exclusion bill.

³ It was intended, however, to permit enough to be grown in private gardens for the consumption of the planter (*Commons Journal*, I, p. 622).

⁴ *V. the Lords Journal*, III, 1620–1628, pp. 135, 138, 193.

⁵ When the privilege of sole importation was offered the Companies through the Lord Treasurer, it was stated that “The graunt [thereof had] in these two former yeares [1620–1622] been managed by other Contractors to the discontent and perhapps Detriment of the said Plantations . . .” (Kingsbury, ii, p. 36, and *cf. ibid.*, pp. 58–72, 81–88).

Despite the fact that the Virginia Company had attempted to obtain a monopoly of the tobacco trade in 1616 (Kingsbury, i, p. 24) some members, as late as 1622, still regarded the use of tobacco as capri-

cious and the commodity itself of extremely uncertain commercial value. “[They] consideringe ye vncertainty of this decaueable weede Tobacco wch serued neither for necessity nor for ornament to the life of man, but was founded onely vpon an humo^r wch might soone vanish into smoake and come to nothing, whereby the vpholding of any great rent to his Ma^{tie} to be raised out of that Comodity might in a short time bankrupt the Companies, and vtterly ruine the Plantacons: conceaued that it was a much safer waye for the Companies rather to yeald vnto his Ma^{tie} a certaine proporcion out of the Tobacco it selfe in specie then a certaine Revenue in money, beinge subiect to so great danger.” (Kingsbury, ii, p. 36.)

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 57 ff., 85–88, *et passim*. The Company wrote to the Governor and Council of Virginia, 1 Aug. 1622, *inter alia*, “. . . now at last it hath pleased God for the confirmation no doubt of o^r hopes and redoubling of o^r and yo^r coradges, to encline his Ma^{ties} Royall heart to graunt the Sole importation of Tobacco (a thing long and earnestly desired) to the Virginia and Sumer Ilands Companies and that upon such condicons as the priuate profit of each man is likely to be much improued and the generall state of the Plantation strongly secured, while his Ma^{ties} reuenue is so closely ioyned as together with the Collonie it must rise and faile, grow and empaire,

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was to be paid into the crown's exchequer in consideration of the exemption of this tobacco from import duties¹ beyond the customary subsidy of five per cent (equal to sixpence the pound on roll and fourpence the pound on leaf tobacco).² No less than 40,000 and no more than 60,000 pounds of the best Spanish³ tobacco was to be imported annually by the Companies for the first two years of the contract—a condition to which they submitted most unwillingly.⁴ The prohibition against English planting was renewed. This compromise agreement was mainly a fiscal measure, and the interests of domestic growers and of the consumers were completely ignored.⁵ Its acceptance by the crown and the Companies was a signal for strenuous opposition from the Warwick-Smyth party, which had been forced to abdicate its influence in the Virginia Company's affairs to the Southampton-Sandys' faction. The agreement was soon forced upon the government's attention for reconsideration.⁶ After considerable debate and abortive negotiations to effect a compromise, the moribund contract was dissolved by the Privy Council, April, 1623, as tending "to the utter overthrow and subversion of the . . . Plantations."⁷ As this abrogation would automatically have restored the duties on colonial tobacco to the 1620 rate of twelvepence and permitted the unrestricted importation of Spanish tobacco, it was incumbent upon the Companies that they protect themselves. Upon their petition⁸ a new agreement (more favorable to both themselves and the colonies) was promptly made whereby the king's interest in the imports was reduced to 9 pence the pound only.⁹ The Company continued as sole importers and they were required to bring all colonial tobacco to England first. At least 40,000 pounds of the best Spanish tobacco was, in addition, to be imported to meet the public demand.¹⁰ (This contract, too, was short-lived owing to the dissolution of the Virginia Company,¹¹ at which juncture the affairs of the colony were placed under the control of commissioners.) In 1624 the permission to import the same amount of Spanish tobacco allowed in 1623 was renewed.¹² But this limitation of the tobacco then still most widely desired by the wealthy only gave an impetus to smuggling,¹³ while competition to the colonial product continued from

and that not a small matter neither, but of twenty thousand pounds p. ann. (for the offer of so much in certainty hath his Matie been pleased to refuse in favor of the Plantations)." (Neill, pp. 323-324.) This was in the year of the Indian massacre of the Virginia colonists.

Because of the opposition to the contract it was not until Feb. 12, 1623, that the Earl of Southampton was able to inform the Virginia Company that it had been approved by the Privy Council (Kingsbury, ii, pp. 264-265) but in the next month the Council ordered it dissolved (*v. infra*, n. 7).

¹ Duties and handling expenses on this third were to be charged to the crown, but not freight.

² Cf. Beer, pp. 124 ff.

³ "Varinaes" was specified. *V. Kingsbury*, ii, pp. 121, 143, 337, and *cf. ibid.*, pp. 63, 84.

⁴ *V. Kingsbury*, ii, pp. 61 ff. *et passim*.

⁵ *V. Beer*, pp. 126, and 127, n. 1.

⁶ *V. Kingsbury*, ii, pp. 297, 302 ff., *et passim*, and Beer, pp. 128 ff.

⁷ *Acts*, i, n. 100.

⁸ *V. Kingsbury*, ii, pp. 335 ff., 365-366.

⁹ *Acts*, i, n. 100. The duty on foreign tobacco was then 2s. a pound. Colonial tobacco imported by those not free of either Company was also subject to the higher levy. (*Cf. Hist. MSS. Comm.*, Report viii, Appendix 2, p. 37, no. 293.)

¹⁰ The Companies had been offered the right to import this tobacco, too, for an annual rental of £6000 but, on the plea that the administration of that concession would be too expensive, etc., etc. (*v. Kingsbury*, ii, pp. 342-343, 411, 420, *et passim*), they rejected it.

¹¹ A writ of *quo warranto* was issued against the patents of the Company, Nov. 1623 (Chalmers, pp. 62-63). The patents were cancelled June 26, 1624 (*v. Brown—op. cit. supra*, p. 89, n. 7—pp. 601-603).

¹² Despite the discriminatory tariff favoring colonial tobacco, more than 130,000 pounds of the Spanish leaf paid the customs duty for the two years 1623, 1624. (*Customs Rolls*, 914, 915, cited by Beer, p. 126, n. 3.)

¹³ *V. Acts*, i, n. 148 (and note there), relating to the trials for fraudulent importation of Spanish tobacco which was "frequently vented in divers shoppes . . .

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domestic English crops. The complaints of the Virginia Company against the foreign commodity and internal planters were continued by the new commissioners for the colony, the Governor and Assembly of Virginia plead that the home government totally exclude the rival leaf,¹ while the Commons (under the influence of Sandys)² petitioned the king "to banish all foreign Tobacco not being of the Growth of his Majesty's Dominions."³ James I (after a few months' delay),⁴ on Sept. 29, 1624, therefore, issued the proclamation,⁵ which ordered that all tobacco not of the growth of Virginia and the Somers Isles be excluded and that prohibition of the cultivation of the plant in England or Ireland be strictly enforced.⁶

Thus the popular dislike of Spain and jealousy of its immense tobacco traffic, the financial and commercial policy of the majority in Parliament which, by opposing the exportation of bullion to Spain for tobacco, sought to strengthen its colonial trade in this commodity, and the economic self-interest of the Virginia Company and its associates, all contributed to encourage the cultivation in the Anglo-American colonies of that "superfluous vegetable product" which was to become the mainstay of Virginia.

But the economic difficulties of the colonial planters were by no means dissolved, for despite the assurance of royal protection implied by the proclamation of 1624 (and those succeeding) the financial interests of James I and his successor were not relinquished. The spirit of this age of kings was essentially anti-individualistic; private enterprise had still no especial sanctity in the eyes of the ruling classes. Agents were soon appointed who attempted to assume a rigid control of the rapidly growing tobacco import trade.⁷ Because of the bitter opposition this monopoly aroused among the colonials and the death of James I soon after its inception, however, it was never completely in operation. Charles I, in 1625⁸ (after prefacing his proclamation for "Settling the Plantation of Virginia" with the statement that the Virginia Company had been dissolved by his father, etc., etc.), announced that he intended to create a governmental monopoly of the tobacco trade "but of the maner thereof, Wee will determine hereafter at better leisure."⁹ The Sandys party of the old Virginia Company having been asked by the king to present some scheme which would protect both the royal revenue and the colonists' interests, produced a prolix document¹⁰ in which, among other things, they asked for reincorporation, "the banishment of all Spanish Tobacco," etc., etc., but the proposals advanced were unacceptable to both the crown and the colonial governments. Therefore, after various delays partly owing to his disputes with Parlia-

under the name of Virginia and Bermoodos, Tobacco . . ."

¹ *C.S.P., Col.*, 1574-1660, p. 66, cited by Beer, p. 135, n. 4. The Virginians, in 1626, also demanded that the tobacco of the English West Indies be excluded as well. (Letters of Gov. Wyatt and the Council, Apr. 6 and May 17, 1626, cited by Beer, p. 144, n. 6.)

² *V. Kingsbury*, ii, p. 540.

³ *Commons Journal*, I, pp. 710, 775, 794, 796, 24 Mar.-24 May, 1624.

⁴ Beer, pp. 135-136, and references cited there.

⁵ N. 154-A.

⁶ This policy was reaffirmed by several succeeding

proclamations. *V. conclusion of n. 154-A.*

⁷ *V. Beer*, pp. 137 ff. The new contract was confirmed by the proclamation of March 2, 1625 (*v. AAS.*, pp. 42 ff.).

⁸ *V. Chalmers*, pp. 126 ff.; *AAS.*, pp. 52 ff. (Mac., pp. 53-54, assigns this proclamation to the year 1624 and thereby implies that it was issued by James I.) This proclamation had been preceded (April 9, 1625) by one which again prohibited the importation of any tobacco but the English colonial products.

⁹ *AAS.*, p. 54.

¹⁰ This is usually referred to as the "Discourse of the Old Company of Virginia." Printed in *Va. Mag.*, Vol. I, pp. 155-167, 287-309. *V. Beer*, pp. 143-144.

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ment, the king reverted to the old monopoly system, issued a commission to a group of former lessees of the tobacco impost and others, and published a proclamation embodying his scheme, February 17, 1627.¹

The succeeding phases of the tobacco-monopoly system and the governmental policy of limiting the importations of Spanish tobacco present an exceedingly full and intricate division of English commercial history.² We cannot, within the limitations of this *Introduction*, continue to trace them here, though portions of these subjects will occur incidentally as our survey of the economic history of tobacco proceeds. It should be observed that the various regulations which reduced the importation of foreign leaf to a small quantity (usually 50,000 lbs.)³ and the hostile attitude to this commodity on the part of Parliament⁴ were rendered fairly ineffective by the persistence with which numerous English consumers demanded Spanish tobacco—a demand which continued to express itself throughout most of the XVIIth century.⁵ The policy of reducing this foreign commodity to a comparatively small quantity obsolesced during the reign of Charles I because of the system⁶ (continued throughout the colonial period) of preferential tariffs heavily favoring the products of the Anglo-American colonies.⁷

This governmental course conformed with the mercantile and political ideas then prevalent and was a natural outgrowth of the new spirit of colonial expansion widely evident in England. Despite the fact that the first Stuart rulers strongly disliked tobacco and sought continually to divert the colonies from making it their staple, on the logical ground that such concentration was economically precarious, their chronic impecuniousness and the prevailing political tendencies required them, nevertheless, to foster the infant colonial tobacco trade. By their protective tariff barriers and prohibitions of the domestic tobacco agriculture the English crown was, in essence, regulating the national taste in smoking. The government would undoubtedly have derived as large a revenue from the foreign commodity even if there had been no importations of colonial tobacco. But the movement and

¹ *V. AAS.*, pp. 55 ff.

² The best available account will be found in Beer, pp. 142–152, 170 ff., *et passim*. Cf. Mac., pp. 159–163.

³ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1625–1626, Oct. 19, 1626, p. 576; 1627–1628, Dec. 4, 1627, p. 457. *V. Beer*, p. 147 (and references cited there), for the profit and loss of this enterprise, 1627, 1628.

⁴ *V. ante*, pp. 90–93, and cf. *Cr.*, i, n. 1516.

⁵ Cf. Bruce, i, p. 294. Some of the prices of Spanish tobacco in England were twelve shillings threepence the pound in 1633; seven shillings, 1652; ten, 1657; eight, 1674; six shillings sixpence, 1685; and seven, in 1687. (Rogers, *Hist. of Agriculture . . . in England*, 1887, V, p. 467.)

⁶ Inaugurated under James I (*v. ante*, pp. 89–90, and n. 1 there).

⁷ The rates fixed early in 1631 set 3d. per lb. custom and 6d. per lb. impost on tobacco from Virginia and Bermuda; the same custom but 9d. per lb. impost on that from St. Christopher and other Caribbean islands (*v. ante*, p. 87, n. 2, ¶5). The entire impost (*i.e.*, one half of the duties) was to be refunded upon exportation from England within

a year of entry (Warrant Book 32, Privy Seal of March 1, 1631; cited by Beer, p. 204, n. 2). This regulation was not the first application of the drawback system to colonial tobacco imported into England (*v. Beer*, p. 203 and n. 2 there), but it marked the practical institution of a revenue policy intended to aid English importers in developing the foreign markets. (*V. infra*, p. 108, n. 5, and p. 110, n. 2.)

In February, 1632, the Privy Council announced that the king had graciously decided to accept a new rate on colonial tobacco, *viz.* 4d. the lb. (half subsidy and half impost) on imports from the first two above-named colonies; 6d. the lb. (half subsidy and half impost) upon that from the last. Spanish tobacco was to continue to pay 6d. the lb. subsidy for "pudding" or roll, or 4d. the lb. if in leaf, together with 18d. impost on each lb. in any form. "Strangers" were to pay a fourth part more on the subsidy as well as on the impost. A drawback of the impost (2d.) was allowed upon reexportation of colonial tobacco. (*Acts*, i, n. 291; *v. Beer*, p. 170 and references cited there.) These duties were several times altered during the XVIIth century (*v. infra*, p. 108, n. 5).

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incidence of taxation was then only imperfectly understood and, even if it had been understood, could have had little influence upon the imperialistic colonial policy of the English government which was then clearly asserting itself. The hated monopoly system, the extermination of the domestic cultivators, the increased cost of tobacco to the English consumer through the heavier taxation placed upon importations of this colonial commodity to offset the reduced revenue from the foreign product, and the practical exclusion from the mercantile field of those English merchants who had been dealing in the Spanish leaf, were the results of the government's regulation of this trade.¹ But these were incidental defects (some later eliminated, some adjusted) in a system which justified itself by extending (and securing) the boundaries of a kingdom into an empire.

Charles I's insistence upon his prerogatives in the tobacco trade² and the efforts of succeeding rulers to maintain these royal rights during the Restoration period and after often brought those actively interested in this commerce into opposition to the king³ or the monopolists. Until the abandonment of the farming-system⁴ many of the planters and their associates continued to oppose (or evade) this extra-official supervision of their chief industry. They sometimes petitioned the king or Privy Council to restore "free trade";⁵ they besought them to

¹ For an able summary of this phase of English colonial policy see Beer, pp. 171–175.

² In 1625 Parliament had refused to grant to Charles I the customs duties (then worth £190,000) which had been awarded to his father in 1604 (*v. ante*, p. 88, n. 7) whereupon they were nevertheless collected, together with the imposts, "solely in virtue of the Crown's prerogative." The king maintained the right of dictating what colonial products should pay until forced to relinquish his authority in this regard to the Long Parliament in 1641. (Beer, pp. 103 and 105, citing *Parl. Hist.*, I, p. 1507, and II, p. 6, etc.)

Charles I, as had his father (*v. ante*, p. 90, conclusion of n. 3), also profited from the retail trade. In *The Earl of Strafford's Letters & Dispatches* (W. Knowles ed., 1739, i, p. 206) is a letter from one Garrard, 27 Feb. 1633/4, remarking upon the commission then afoot for granting life-leases to tobacco sellers at a fine of £15 and as much rent by the year. None of the vendors in the smaller towns yielded the king less than £5 fine and rent. ". . . three or four [are] allowed in great Market Towns and thorough Fares; I hear Plymouth hath yielded one hundred Pounds, and as much yearly rent." Under June, 1634 (*ibid.*, i, p. 263), it is stated: "The Tobacco Licences go on apace, they yield a good Fine, and a constant yearly rent." *V.*, too, nos. 178, 183, 190, 215, and Beer, pp. 160–165. In 1636, the revenue derived from these licenses was £12,490 (*C.S.P., Dom.*, 1635–1636, p. 551, June 11, 1636).

³ *V. C.S.P., Col.*, 1574–1660, p. 83, Apr. 7, 1626, "Answer to the proclamation of Car. I" (Feb. 17, *ibid.*), in which the planters "with one voice refused" the propositions made by the king for the amount of tobacco they were permitted to export and the price allowed them as "not . . . sufficient to support them," and in which they asked for freedom

to dispose of their tobacco as they liked. The Virginian colonists, "hating all contracts," persistently refused to enter into any of the agreements with the king or the monopolists for the wholesale purchase of their tobacco which were several times proposed.

In one of their replies to the tenders made by the home government relating to the sale of their tobacco the burgesses remarked "Many and unspeakable are the miseries of a contract." (*Colonial Papers*, IX, 96 v, cited by Beer, p. 156, n. 4.) *V. Beer*, pp. 148–149, 151, n. 1, 152–159, Gray, p. 24 and references in his note 130.

⁴ The lessees of the tobacco impost were frequently and bitterly assailed by members of Parliament during the reign of Charles I, and the method of renting duties began to disappear with the establishment of an excise, instituted 1643 (*v. n.* 222; Beer, pp. 341–344). The retail license system was continued, however, but as Beer remarks, it is unlikely that it could have been enforced in the disturbed conditions then prevailing (p. 346, n. 3). After the Restoration the system of farming imposts collapsed, for the monopolists were then largely in a bankrupt state partly owing to the quarantine of England during the Great Plague.

⁵ *V. C.S.P., Col.*, 1574–1660, April, 1627, p. 84; *Acts*, i, nos. 148, 149, *et passim*. The Virginia burgesses, in 1638, insisted upon "the free use and benefit in the trade of our tobaccoe w^{ch} will much encourage p^{sons} of quality to adventure themselves and estates hither when they shall have free correspondence wth their friends and other adventurers in England to bee furnished wth yearly supplies. And to make the best profit in the case of their owne comodities." (*Colonial Papers*, IX, 96 v, cited by Beer, p. 156, n. 4.) Cf. *supra*, n. 3.

The chief monopolies, contracts and proposals for

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mitigate the restrictions of the monopoly agents or to reduce the imposts demanded;¹ they often disobeyed the regulations which required them to send all their tobacco directly to England;² and, when these expedients failed, many of them abetted smugglers and defrauders of the customs.³

In face of the rapidly increasing and profitable colonial commerce in tobacco, James I⁴ and successive English rulers⁵ continued to express their moral disapproval of the cultivation of the plant in Virginia, maintaining that no successful colony could be "built upon smoke."⁶ They sought instead to promote the culture of silk, grape-vines, cotton, etc., etc., and corn (*i.e.*, wheat and other cereals). The London Company, under the influence of James I, on several occasions insisted that the colonists relinquish their devotion to that "base weed," tobacco.⁷ But the rich and fecund soil of Virginia was peculiarly adapted to tobacco; this commodity had an assured and valuable market abroad and, in relation to bulk, could be shipped cheaper than any other agricultural product; the colonists were already accustomed to its culture,⁸ and its production required less labor and less acreage

contracts, during the reigns of James I and Charles I, have been dealt with in these pages. For further details see Kingsbury (Index: Tobacco, Contract), Beer, *passim*, and Gray, pp. 23-24, and his references.

¹ *V. Acts*, i, nos. 275, 1077, 1083 (1676), *et passim*.

Statistics of the proceeds from the tobacco impost from 1615 to 1624 (with some intervals) will be found in Beer, p. 170, n. 5; and *v. ibid.*, p. 171, for rents paid for this lease in 1632 and 1637.

The government's revenue in 1636 from various duties on tobacco was officially set at about £42,000 ("Proceedings of a Committee for Trade," June 11, 1636, in *C.S.P. Dom.*, 1635-1636, p. 551).

² *V. infra*, p. 100, n. 6 and n. 9; p. 110, n. 4.

³ *V. infra*, pp. 121 ff.

⁴ Beer expressed the opinion that had James I been able to foresee the future economic development of Virginia through its concentration upon tobacco it is practically certain that he would never have issued a charter to the colonizing company (p. 86).

Prior to 1624 James continued his policy of hampering the colonial tobacco trade by various restrictive measures. The Lord Treasurer, in 1622, when the privilege of sole importation was offered the two colonizing companies (*v. ante*, p. 91, n. 5) remarked to Sandys: "It is a misfortune . . . not to be avoided, that whilst the Plantations in their present infancy have their whole subsistence by the trade of tobacco, the King's necessities should cast him upon all and any ways for advancement of his revenue." (Brown—*op. cit.* *ante*, p. 89, n. 7—p. 483.)

⁵ *V. Acts*, i, nos. 154, 162 (13), 211 (13), *et passim*; *C.S.P., Col.*, 1574-1660, Nov. 1627, p. 86; *AAS.*, pp. 64, 82; Beer, pp. 90 ff., 149-153, *et passim*.

⁶ The Spaniards, according to Bennett (*v. ante*, p. 90, n. 11) and others, were exporting coffee, hides, sugar, balsam, etc., to the mother country by 1622. The Virginian settlers had made some attempts to meet the royal demands, for by 1616 various natural

products of their colony had been shipped to England (Bruce, i, pp. 218-219) and by 1619-1621 they had made some small returns of "sturgeon, caveare, sope and pottashes, pipe-staves, pitch and tar, and silk," etc., and larger quantities of sassafras (*v. Kingsbury*, i, pp. 266, 528, and ii, p. 396). French vigneron were brought to the colony in 1619. The great quantities of sassafras imported into England soon rendered it commercially of little worth (*v. Kingsbury*, i, p. 433) and in 1625 the partisans of the colonizing company admitted that "the Attempts of setting up other stapell Comodities as the Iron Workes, Silke, Wines & many the like (though persued wth great constancy charge & care, have hereunto failed by sundry mis-accedences." (Quoted by Beer, p. 246, from *Colonial Papers*, III, 32.) *V. Bruce*, i, pp. 260-262.

⁷ *V. Kingsbury*, i, pp. 266-267, 329, 413, and 480. In 1619 the Company had proposed that a new covenant be inserted in all future patents of land in Virginia, requiring that the patentee should not apply himself "wholly or chiefly to Tobacco, but to other Comodities specified in the said Covenant." Members of the Company were occasionally aroused to indignation by the persistence with which the colonists produced tobacco. One of them, at the meeting July 16, 1621, in reference to the attacks being made upon the Company, suggested that the price of tobacco in Virginia be abated "for that Comoditie is become [the colonists'] monny and is valued att 3s. the pound . . . (be itt good or badd) wherby they are nourished in that thirstles [insatiable] and p[er]nicious humor of plantinge Tobacco: and the evill returns they make they attribute . . . to [us] here never consideringe the basenes of their Comodities . . ." (Kingsbury, i, p. 519.)

⁸ In their cultivation of tobacco the colonists largely continued those agricultural methods to which they had been accustomed in England with vegetables. Little information is available as to the methods employed by the aborigines in this hus-

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than did most essential cereals.¹ Corn, it is true, did grow in Virginia,² but as Capt. Smith (no friend to the weed!) pointed out, in terms of labor-value the ratio was six to one in favor of tobacco.³ Under the government of Sir Francis Wyatt, 1621, each cultivator was restricted to a hundred pounds of tobacco, to prevent immoderate planting;⁴ and while this order was soon rescinded, similar regulations were issued in Virginia and other Anglo-American colonies from time to time.⁵ (It was apparent to the colonists, however, that neither James I nor his successor could logically maintain the policy of restraining this cultivation in face of their increasing financial interest in the colonial tobacco traffic.) The prolific plant remained almost the exclusive product of Virginia;⁶ and the trade in it, surmounting all obstacles, grew with such rapidity that in 1629, less than two decades after the first experimental shipment of tobacco, 1,500,000 pounds were exported.⁷

Through the agency of the Company in London the colonial planters were soon competing with the Spanish trade on the Continent. "Virginia" leaf was in particular demand in the Netherlands. Amsterdam and Rotterdam had become the two principal Continental ports of entry for tobacco by 1620,⁸ although the commercial cultivation of the plant was already established in the Netherlands.⁹

bandry but it is known that they used fire or the heat of the sun to cure the leaf, whereas the English merely hung up the leaves in barns where they were exposed to a free circulation of air. The tobacco produced by the colonists, despite imperfections in curing, was so superior in quality to that of the aborigines that it soon became unnecessary for the natives close to the white settlements to continue cultivation of the plant. *V. Bruce*, i, pp. 162-163, 165 (and authorities cited), 252-253, 303.

N. rustica continued to be grown by the natives, however, in small quantities for ceremonial purposes.

What is apparently the earliest account of tobacco-production methods in Virginia is that written (1671) by Thomas Glover in *An Account of Virginia* [etc.] (London, 1704, reprinted from the *Philosophical Trans. of the Royal Soc.*, June 20, 1676).

¹ Later only the abandoned tobacco fields were given up to the cultivation of wheat or corn (Jacobstein, p. 16, citing *American Husbandry*, 1775, i, chap. 15). *V. n.* 235 [F₁].

² *V. n.* 164. Production was uncertain, however (*v. Beer*, pp. 249-250, citing several authorities).

³ *N.* 164 [Y₃]. Wheat then sold for 2 shillings 6 pence per bushel, tobacco for 3 shillings the pound; or the equivalent in labor value of £10 for grain, £50-£60 for tobacco.

⁴ *N.* 164 [T₂], and *v. Neill*, p. 282.

⁵ In 1629, the crop of each individual cultivator was limited to 3,000 plants (but an additional 1,000 plants the poll were allowed for non-laboring women and children); in 1630, the quantity permitted was 2,000 per capita; in 1633, this was restricted to 1,500 the poll. (Hening, I, pp. 142, 152, 205, and *v. Bruce*, i, pp. 301-302.) The earlier restrictive measures were partly based on a desire to improve the quality of the tobacco, and in 1632 legislation with that especial object in view had been enacted.

(Hening, I, pp. 164, Ch. XXII, 165, and *cf.* pp. 188-190.) No person was then to tend more than 14 leaves upon a plant nor gather more than 9 leaves. But like many of the similar laws of the period it was largely ignored or circumvented. (*V. B. C.* Washington, "Tobacco Laws of the Old Dominion," in *The Green Bag*, Vol. XVII, 1905, pp. 479 ff. Washington's legislative data are derived from Hening.) *Cp. infra*, p. 102, and *ibid.*, n. 6.

The first Bermuda Assembly (1620) had provided for the inspection of tobacco and the destruction of "rotten trash and unvendible ware." Six years later it restricted its planting in the islands, a measure which also came into effect in the English colonies in the West Indies (1631, 1634, etc.). But up to the period when they had developed an export trade in commodities other than tobacco the colonists in these settlements largely ignored the tobacco inspection and stinting laws. *V. Beer*, pp. 97-100, and authorities cited there.

⁶ *V. ante*, p. 96, n. 7, and n. 164 of this history. Several attempts were made to plant cotton, from the earliest period of the settlement (Bruce, i, pp. 194, 246, 262, n. 1, citing several authorities), and these experiments were revived in 1692 on a larger scale (*ibid.*, i, pp. 466-467). But this industry remained insignificant in North America before the end of the XVIIIth century. *V. Bishop*, *A History of American Manufactures, from 1608 to 1800* (1868), pp. 351 ff.

⁷ Rive, p. 58. By this period the Virginian tobacco had largely displaced the Spanish leaf legally imported into England.

⁸ *V. n.* 148 [H₃-b], and Billings, pp. 42, 479.

⁹ The reference to domestic cultivation in Dodoens' work (n. 88, n. 5) indicates that this industry had begun there before 1608. The chief tobacco farms centered about Amersfoort, and by 1615 the quality of the leaf produced there had begun to be in de-

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The Dutch were most active in transporting tobacco from America by this time, and they maintained that supremacy until English merchantmen, favored by North American colonists, assumed control of this carrying trade after the middle of the XVIIth century.¹ Virginia became a port of call for the Dutch before 1619,² and in the latter year³ they deposited the first cargo of negro slaves (from Guinea), receiving the only payment the colonists could make—the coveted leaf-tobacco. Rolfe briefly recorded this important incident, saying “About the last of Auguft came in a dutch man of warre that fold vs twenty Negars.”⁴ Thus, inauspiciously, there was instituted in the English colonies of North America that degrading commerce in an alien people which finally stirred the conscience of a nation and became one of the chief causes of a great civil war. The traffic in slaves progressed slowly for the succeeding fifty years in Virginia and Maryland because of the greater importance of white indented or apprentice labor.⁵ Each succeeding cargo of bewildered blacks brought into the colonies was paid for with tobacco⁶ even after the slave-trade to the Anglo-American colonies was monopolized by the English.⁷

From 1621 on, more precious importations were received from England, for a letter of the Virginia Company, Aug. 21, 1621, states in part, “We send you in this shipp one widdow and eleven maids for wives for the people in Virginia; there hath been especiall care had in the choise of them for there hath not any one of them beene received but uppon good comendations . . . the Plantation can never flourish till families be planted and the respect of wives and children fix the people in the soyle; therefore have given this faire beginninge for the reimbursinge^[8] of

mand. Tobacco cultivation soon spread to other parts of the Netherlands (*v. n.* 881, and Comes, p. 81, citing several authorities). Huguenot émigrés seem to have been the first to have planted tobacco in the Netherlands (at Friesland) for their own use (*ibid.*).

¹ *V. n.* 148 [H₃^{b-4}] for the value to the state (*c.* 1622) of the import duty on tobacco.

² *Cf. infra*, p. 121.

³ Brown (*op. cit. ante*, p. 87, *n.* 1), p. 772, from the De la Warr MS.

⁴ Most historians now concur in this date (1619) and accept Rolfe's testimony (*v. infra*, *n.* 4) that a Dutch privateer, and not an English vessel, the *Treasurer*, brought in these negroes. *V. Bruce*, ii, pp. 66–68; Beer, p. 266, citing *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, VIII, 2, pp. 34, 35. Negro slaves were introduced into Bermuda in the same year.

⁵ In Smith's *Virginia* (*n.* 164), sig. R₃^b.

⁶ In the replies of Gov. Berkeley (1671) to the lords of the committee of colonies he stated that “We suppose . . . that there is in Virginia above 40,000 perfons, men, women, and children: Of which there are 2000 black slaves; 6000 Chriftian fervants for a short time; and the rest have been born in the country, or have come in to fettle or serve, in hope of bettering their condition in a growing country. Yearly we suppose there comes in of fervants about 1500; of which moft are English, few Scotch, and fewer Irish; and not above two or three ships of negroes in seven years.” (Chalmers, p. 327, from *Virginia Papers*, 75B.

p. 4; *v. C.S.P., Col.*, 1669–1674, June 20, 1671.)

There were then, therefore, three white indented apprentices to each slave. Jacobstein (pp. 17–19), who discusses the economic value of slavery to the colonists, remarks that cheap negro labor became of great importance to the planters when the supply of white servants was cut off by the increased demand for them in the skilled mechanical trades in England. The exploitation of slave labor was extremely profitable, and by lowering the cost of tobacco production and the price to the consumer it increased consumption and cultivation. (But *v.* Lord Culpeper's complaint, *infra*, pp. 130–131.) *Cp.* Bruce, ii, chap. XI.

⁶ *Cf.* Bruce, i, p. 295.

⁷ The “Company of Royall Adventurers of England” (Royal African Company) engaged heavily in the slave-trade (*v. Acts*, i, nos. 629, 1011, 1065, 1121, *et passim*, and vol. ii, nos. 10, 467 (7), *et passim*) and other English traders were also involved (*v. Acts*, i, Index: Negroes). By an act of the first year of William and Mary all subjects of the crown were permitted to engage in this commerce, even though the Royal African Company continued in existence and obtained large parliamentary grants.

⁸ Neill, pp. 234–235. The transportation charge was increased to 150 lbs. in the following month (*ibid.*, p. 246). It was justly established, as a fundamental law, “that the price of a wife shall have precedence of all other debts in recovery and payment, becaufe this merchandife of all other was deemed the most defirable.” (Chalmers, p. 46.)

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whose charges, itt is ordered that every man that marries them give 120 lb. waight of best leafe Tobacco for each of them . . .”

The prices for tobacco fixed by the monopolists in London in 1619–1620 and the high duty then imposed had impressed upon the planters and members of the Virginia Company the necessity of finding more favorable markets than the mother country provided. When, therefore, James I issued his proclamation, 1620, regulating the import trade, appointing licensed agents, etc., etc.,¹ the Company, while opposing the new privilege of sole importation,² recognized an opportunity to institute a direct trade between its colony and foreign importers. Upon the complaint of the Companies that they were restrained from importing the staple of their colonies into England by the patentees of the tobacco impost, the king “was pleased to affirme that itt was never his meaninge to graunt any thinge that might be preiudicall to any of both those Plantaçons”³ and referred the matter to the Privy Council. The Companies were thereupon permitted to bring in 55,000 pounds of tobacco.⁴ Having agreed among themselves that it was not possible to divide the quantity permitted “amongst such a multitude of people wth any shaddow of Content,” and on the plea that the Bermudas had no other means of subsistence, the Companies proposed (July 18, 1620) that the “wholl 55000 waight of Tobacco allowed to be vented in this Realme by both the Plantaçons shalbe appropryated to that of the Somer Ilands alone, And themselvs shall humbly submitt themselvs to his Ma^{ties}: royall pleasure declared in his last Proclamã^[5] and forbear to bringe any Tobacco att all this yeare . . . from Virginia . . . butt to send the same to flushing, Middlebrough [Netherlands] or any other parts to be vented there . . .”⁶

The entire English colonial crop permitted to be imported in 1621,⁷ viz. 55,000 pounds,⁸ was therefore sent to the Dutch.⁹ These shipments,¹⁰ which directly contravened the economic principles underlying the English colonial system and interfered with the grants obtained by the monopolists, caused the Companies to be reprimanded by the Privy Council.¹¹ During the dispute between the Council

¹ *N.* 142.

² *V. ante*, p. 90. The Virginia Company decided (July 7, 1620) to petition the king and, later, the Commons, “vtterly to extinguish” the monopoly granted in 1620 for the sole importation of tobacco to certain patentees as “tendinge to the vtter destruction and overthrowe of both . . . Plantaçons.” (Kingsbury, i, pp. 398, 442–443.) The planters in Virginia, including Governor Yeardley, John Rolfe and others, forwarded a petition to the king (Jan. 21, 1621) to “revoke y^t Proclamaçon & || so || restore us to ou^r antient liberty or otherwise to send for vs all home & not suffer y^e heathen to triumph ouer vs . . .” and assailed the “sinister practises of some principall p[er]sonns of our Company . . .” but the Virginia Company withheld this document on the ground that prior to its receipt Parliament had granted them the desired liberty to bring in their tobacco. (Kingsbury, ii, pp. 298, 307–309.)

³ *Ibid.*, i, pp. 402, 403.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, p. 406; ii, p. 68.

⁵ *N.* 142.

⁶ Kingsbury, i, p. 406.

⁷ *V. Kingsbury*, i, pp. 504–505 and 526.

⁸ Brock, p. 215, Jacobstein, p. 23, *et al.* The recorded importation of Virginia and Bermuda tobacco for the year beginning Sept. 29, 1621, was 61,637 pounds. In the two succeeding years the amounts were respectively 134,607 and 202,962 pounds. (*Customs Rolls*, 913, 914, 915; cited by Beer, p. 120, *n.* 5.) No estimate can now be made of the amount of colonial tobacco smuggled in, but it may be safely assumed that it was considerable.

⁹ The Virginia Company's attempt to have the import or export duty on their tobacco fixed by the State of Middleborough at $\frac{1}{2}d.$ (Kingsbury, i, p. 422) appears to have been unsuccessful, for according to Chalmers (p. 52) these duties at Middleborough and at Flushing were set at 1d. the pound each. *V. Kingsbury*, i, pp. 482 and 504–505, regarding shipments of tobacco to the Netherlands.

¹⁰ *V. Bruce*, i, p. 266.

¹¹ On 24 October, 1621, the Privy Council had ordered that all the commodities produced in Virginia should be brought first to England (*Acts*, i, *n.* 77), after examining members of the Virginia

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and the Companies the matter came before Parliament,¹ but the only direct result (as has already been indicated)² was the futile Act passed by the House of Commons which sought to debar Spanish tobacco.³ In December of the same year a compromise was effected whereby the two Companies were permitted to bring in whatever quantity of colonial tobacco they desired, and the importations of the monopolists were limited to 60,000 pounds.⁴ This settlement was, however, abandoned the following year, when the Companies were awarded the sole right to import tobacco.⁵ The demand from the Dutch for Virginian tobacco increased and, despite the regulations which ordered that all colonial products be first landed in England,⁶ from 1624 on, such considerable quantities of the leaf began to be sent to Holland directly on Dutch vessels that in that same year Parliament petitioned James I "not to permit the sale of any tobacco to the Hollanders, who are now freighting ships for that trade."⁷ The prohibition against shipping tobacco in "forreigne Bottomes" was incorporated in James' proclamation, 1624,⁸ but as this regulation became ineffective upon his death in 1625, the Dutch were not prevented from trafficking with Virginia in tobacco during the beginning of Charles I's reign. The Privy Council soon took steps tending to eliminate these aliens from the carrying trade.⁹ But the resentment of the planters against the monopolists for the prices allowed for their tobacco and their strained relations with the "avaricious and predatory" English importers¹⁰ clearly expressed itself in their continued evasion of the orders from home, for they loaded Dutch vessels with cargoes of tobacco whenever possible. The prohibited exportations increased, especially during the unsettled Interregnum (1649-1659). The home administration was determined, however, to eliminate foreign interlopers from the conveyance of colonial products. Virginia acquiesced in this patriotic cause by voluntarily imposing a heavy additional levy on any tobacco exported thence but to England,¹¹

Company on the 12th (Kingsbury, i, pp. 526 ff., 531, 537). The Company had protested (Oct. 17, 1621) against this restraint imposed at the first meeting before the Council (*ibid.*, pp. 528, 529). *V. infra*, n. 6, and Beer, pp. 190-192.

¹ The decision to memorialize the Commons against the tobacco monopoly patent and that of garbling (*v. n.* 139) was made at a meeting of the Virginia Company, Feb. 22, 1621. The matter came before the house in the form of a petition from two Virginia planters (Ralph Hamor—*v. n.* 112—and Capt. William Tucker) and the cause of the petitioners and the Companies was argued by Sir Edwin Sandys. (Kingsbury, i, pp. 442-443, and Beer, pp. 121-122.)

² *V. ante*, p. 91.

³ *Ibid.*, and n. 2 there.

⁴ Brown (*op. cit. supra*, p. 89, n. 7), p. 434.

⁵ *V. ante*, p. 91.

⁶ *Acts*, i, nos. 77 (1621) and 96 (1623). On March 4, 1623, the Council renewed its order in strict terms to the Company (Kingsbury, ii, pp. 321-322). To this the Company replied in almost the same manner as they had in October, 1621 (*v. supra*, n. 11): that they had control over only one-third of the tobacco produced in Virginia; that the "meaner sort of Tobacco" could be profitably sold abroad but would hardly pay the customs-duty

in England, etc., etc. (*ibid.*, ii, pp. 315, 317, 325-327).

⁷ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1623-1625, July, 1624, p. 290.

⁸ *N.* 154-A.

⁹ In 1626 the Privy Council informed the Governor of Virginia that the king was much displeased at the continuance of the "greate abuse practized, by those of that Plantation in transporting and venting (much more frequently then heretofore) their Tobacco into the Lowe Countries, and elswher . . ." *Acts*, i, n. 165. *Ibid.*, nos. 202, 270, 280, 332, 334, 346, and 601 (1663), relate to the same matter. *Acts*, i, n. 312, deals with the case of a detained cargo of tobacco, the owner of which offered to pay the king's custom and duties if it were released for Holland. *V. Beer*, pp. 232 ff., 356-359, 401-402; Bruce, i, pp. 290-293, 357-359; and Mac, p. 165.

¹⁰ Sir John Harvey (then Governor of Virginia) in a letter to the home government, 1632, wrote, in part, "I beseech your honours to take unto your grave considerations why Mr. Stone, Maurice Thompson, and Captain Tucker [all English traders], cannot afford for to allowe a pennye p. pound for Tobacco when our intruding neighbors, the Dutch, doe allowe us' immeasurably better prices." (Beer, pp. 232-233, quoting *Va. Mag.*, VIII, p. 149.) *V. infra*, p. 103 (and n. 9 there) and p. 109, n. 6.

¹¹ The plan of requiring shipmasters to deliver their

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Ireland, etc., and Maryland furthered this policy of restricting shippers in 1639.¹

Many of the early Virginia planters, through carelessness, indifference or inexperience, frequently exported tobacco of mean quality or imperfect condition. The first Assembly, in 1619, had instituted a form of general inspection law² but it seems not to have been effective. In September, 1621, the Company complained bitterly that of the 40,000 pounds sent home (1620), the better half did not yield eightpence the pound and the rest only two shillings the pound. The Company refused to "maintaine the collony in their overweening esteeme of their darlinge Tobacco, to the overthrow of all other Staple comodities,"³ and they demanded an abatement of the price of three shillings the pound expected by the planters.⁴ They also earnestly prayed that "ill-conditioned" tobacco be burnt and not again exported, as their factor in Holland⁵ had assured them that he could not dispose of such trash again. In 1622 they again protested about the quality of tobacco sent, which could not be sold, though offered at 3 shillings the pound.⁶ The law of 1619 was widened in scope in 1623/4 by the appointment of sworn inspectors who were required to condemn poor tobacco.⁷ But like many of the measures of the period,

cargoes first to England appears to have been instituted in Virginia, 1627 (*Va. Mag.*, IV, p. 379). *V. Beer*, pp. 205-208 and the numerous references cited there, and *infra*, p. 111, n. 4, for later English legislation reaffirming this system.

The duty was 10s. the hogshead on all tobacco consigned to other places than England and its European dominions (Act LXXIV, 1658). The same Assembly imposed an export tax of 2s. the hogshead on tobacco because of "the burthensom and vnequall waie of layinge taxes by the pole [poll]" (Act CXXVIII) which was, however, voided in the following year (Act XIX), it having previously been enacted (1655) that no Virginian was to be "liable to the payment of any (export) taxe or custome what soever . . ." (Act III). (Hening, I, pp. 469, 491-492, and *cf.* 498, 523 and 410.) The ten-shilling Act was renewed in 1660, but tobacco exported in vessels owned by Virginians and consigned to England or to other English colonies was exempted from this imposition (Act X), as was tobacco paid to foreigners for slaves brought to the colony (Act XVI). (Hening, I, pp. 536-537, 540.) In 1662 the export tax on tobacco intended for England, etc., was again made 2s. the hogshead (Acts CXXVIII, 1661/2, and *cf.* XVII of 1662) and the ten-shilling Act was renewed (CXXXI). (Hening, II, pp. 130-132, and *cf.* 176-177, 133-134.) In 1665 the latter tax was repealed (Act VII), as the heavy levy had drawn much trade into Maryland where the duties were lower (Hening, II, p. 218). (For summaries and discussions of this legislation, see Ripley, *Financial History of Virginia*, 1893-1894, p. 58, Bruce, i, pp. 353-356, Bruce, *Institutional History of Virginia*, I, 1910, ii, pp. 584 ff., Beer, pp. 402, 411.)

The prohibitive tariffs of 1658 and 1660 were political rather than fiscal, being directed chiefly against the Dutch.

¹ Five pounds the hundredweight were to be charged for the Proprietor's benefit on all tobacco

not exported to England, Ireland or Virginia, by a bill of the Assembly (*Archives of Maryland, Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, 1637/8-1664*, 1883, pp. 80-81; *cf.* p. xlviii and p. 39), but this Act was not passed until 1642 (*ibid.*, pp. 146-147 and 182).

² "The Proceedings of the First Assembly of Virginia," in *Colonial Records of Va., Senate Document (Extra)*, 1874, pp. 22-23.

³ Neill, pp. 243-244.

⁴ *V. ante*, p. 88, n. 4, ¶2. The best Virginia tobacco, up to January, 1620, had never sold for more than five shillings a pound (Kingsbury, i, p. 291), but the average price was below three shillings (*ibid.*, i, pp. 289, 342).

The syndicate which handled the commercial operations of the Virginia Company had been instructed by them (1618) to dispose of European goods to the colonists at a 25 per cent. profit ("Proceedings," *Col. Rec. of Va.—ut sup.*, n. 2—pp. 17-18) and to receive in exchange tobacco at the fixed prices (*ibid.*, p. 23). But as the value of tobacco depreciated, the prices of barter goods were raised in proportion. It was officially noticed in 1625 that ". . . of long time by agreement betweene the Companys & Collonys the Tobacco in Virginia itselfe is valued at three shillings the pound & in Sumer Islands at Two shillings & sixpence w^{ch} price the Planters there refusing to abatte & the Adventurers & Merchant heere not able to give hath occasioned the selling of wares unto them at double the vallew by some men, they haveing there no money but paying for all in Tobacco." (*Colonial Papers*, III, 32, cited by Beer, p. 93, n. 1.)

⁵ Neill, p. 244, and *v. supra*, p. 99.

⁶ Neill, p. 306.

⁷ Bruce, i, p. 254, and references cited. The Assembly enacted "that there be some men in every plantation to censure the tobacco." (Sec. 21, Session of March 1623/4, Hening, I, p. 126.)

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the enforcement of this regulation was so lax that the law itself fell into discard, and up to 1630 no authority appears to have checked the unscrupulous or careless tobacco exporter. In that year the General Assembly passed further legislation intended to prevent the exportation of bad tobacco¹ but its regulations in this regard were so defective that they were often amended. Warehouses were established, 1632/3, to which tobacco was to be brought for inspection.² While the administration of these measures was hindered by various factors, chief of which was the general attitude of *laissez faire* on the planters' part, their operation eventually became effective through the soundness of their fundamental principles.³

In 1639/40 the Assembly, because of the excessive quantity of tobacco planted⁴ (and its consequent reduction in money-value),⁵ the poor condition⁶ of a large part

¹ Act VII, Hening, I, p. 152. This was part of the Act which reduced the crop permitted individual cultivators to 2000 plants the poll (*v. ante*, p. 97, n. 5). *V. Bruce*, i, pp. 304-307.

² Acts I, 1632/33, and I, 1633, Hening, I, pp. 204-205, 211-212. *V. infra*, n. 3.

³ Gray (p. 32) states that the beginning of a permanently effective system was the Virginia warehouse Act of 1730 "which marks an important milestone in the evolution of agricultural marketing machinery and practice." The Act of 1712 had required that warehouses be built at suitable places within a mile of navigable water. This was followed by an inspection law (1713) which instituted a system whereby licensed inspectors enforced rules of minimum standards and gave receipts for tobacco stored in warehouses. This measure was so strongly opposed by influential planters and merchants that it was vetoed by George I, in 1717. The warehouse Act of 1712 was amended in 1720. Owing to the depressed economic state of Virginia in the period beginning 1725 the Act of 1730 won public support in Virginia though it was still objected to by various customs officials and merchants in England. It was frequently amended (*v. n.* 784 [5B₂]) but remained in force throughout the rest of the colonial period. *V. Gray*, pp. 32-33 and notes 165-170 (citing various authorities), and Tatham, Part III, pp. 69 ff. (The warehouse Acts of 1712 and 1730 are more fully considered by Brock, pp. 219-220.)

The warehouse and inspection laws expired by limitation Oct. 1, 1775, but in October 1776 they were temporarily revived (Hening, IX, pp. 153-163).

⁴ A little more than twice the average of crop yields for the years 1637-1640 inclusive was produced in 1638 (Hardwicke MSS., B.M., Add. MSS., 35865, f. 248, cited by Gray, p. 3, n. 15).

⁵ The price of Virginian tobacco fell from 3s. the pound in 1620 (*v. ante*, p. 88, n. 4; p. 101) to around 3d. the pound in 1639-1640. This depreciation seems to have commenced about 1623, reaching its lowest level for the period in 1630, when it was about 2d. the pound, and consequently below the cost of production (Beer, pp. 93-94, citing several authorities). Gov. Harvey, on May 29, 1630, addressed the Privy Council, saying in part "This yeare the Marchantes here have bought our tobacco wth theire comodities at less then a penny the pounce, and have not

shamed to make the planters pay twelve poundes Sterlinge the tunn freight home, and a tunn is fower hogsheds in boulcke, w^{ch} doth containe about a thousand pound weight of Tobacco." (*Va. Mag.* VII, p. 382.)

During the middle years of the fourth decade tobacco prices in Virginia seem to have revolved chiefly about 6d. the lb. for the best and 4d. for the medium grade. (Beer, p. 94, n. 2, referring to several sources.) For some of the later prices in Virginia during the colonial period, *v. infra*, pp. 128, 130, n. 3, 133, 135, 138, n. 2.

It should be noticed in passing that the student of this phase of economic history will find many puzzling discrepancies in the tobacco prices and collateral details given by several writers who have dealt with the early colonial period. It has been very difficult, in numerous cases, to correlate the statistics presented by some authorities—not cited here—of prices, production quantities, etc., of tobacco during the XVIIth and part of the XVIIIth centuries.

The difficulty of tracing the behavior of prices during the colonial period is due chiefly to the lack of centralized exchanges (in the modern sense), the haphazard mechanism of trading, etc. (In this regard consult Gray, note 13.)

⁶ The measures which had sought to effect an improvement in the quality of tobacco (*v. ante*, p. 97, n. 5) obviously not only failed of their purpose, but had actually a contrary effect. When the regulation which restricted their crops to fifteen hundred plants each was put into force, most of the cultivators abandoned their old fields and sowed in virgin soil. There, though tobacco grew abundantly and was of larger growth, it was of a distinctly inferior grade. Experienced planters of Virginia stated (in 1638) "to our knowledge old grounds beare better tobacco though not soe much in quantity" (*Colonial Papers*, IX, 100, cited by Beer, p. 96, n. 2). The burgesses also noticed that "for some few yeares past the restraynt and limitaçon hath bene very p[re]judiciall to the goodnes of most Tobaccos in the Colony by the gatheringe of leaves neere the ground wantinge substance and of an earthie sent and tast and the makeinge of second croppes. The planters for theire present subsistance striveinge to make the most tobacco of soe manie plants p[er]

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of it, and the necessity for relief of the cultivators, enacted¹ that but 1,500,000 pounds of "perfect" tobacco (in leaf) for that year, and 1,200,000 pounds for 1641 and 1642,² be permitted to be exported or sold, and appointed "viewers" (inspectors) to destroy all tobacco which failed to meet the required conditions of quality.³ (Despite the plea of the Governor and Assembly of Virginia, Maryland refused to join in this stinting.)⁴ The debts of the nearly bankrupt planters were ordered legally cancelled upon payment of 40 pounds of "best Tobacco . . . stripped and smoothed in full satisfaction of every hundred pound weight of Tobacco then due . . . the principall Marchants and most considerable number of Adventurers to the . . . Colony."⁵ Only two-thirds of their obligations were required to be met by the debtors during the period of the stint⁶ and "noe man [was] obliged to perform above half his covenants about freighting tobacco" made in 1639.⁷ In addition to these measures the Assembly again sought to adjust the monetary value of tobacco and fixed the rate at twelvence the pound for that grown in 1640 and two shillings the pound for the crop of 1641. At the instigation of the merchants, however, the authorities in England ordered Governor Berkeley not to force traders to submit to the prices set by the Assembly and opposed the plan of debt settlements.⁸ These instructions resulted in a renewal of the antagonism between the Virginia planters and the English merchants.⁹ The economic tension which existed in the colony for the next few years was relieved by the short crop of 1644.¹⁰ The civil war in England brought about a reduction in the value of tobacco but it rose again when the Dutch renewed their visits to the tobacco colonies. It was only after the Restoration that Virginia began to suffer from periodic depressions due to the over-production of its staple.¹¹

The completeness with which tobacco dominated the lives of the Virginians

poll although they have thereby hazarded the spoyleinge of their whole cropps." (*Ibid.*, IX, 96 iv, cited by Beer, p. 96, n. 2.) *V. Bruce*, i, pp. 321-322.

¹ *Acts*, i, n. 380, deals (1638) with the matter of regulating the import trade in London by reducing the "vast quantities of Tobaccos, which now are planted vpon euery severall plantation, to some reasonable proportion . . ." *V. ibid.*, n. 473, which reviews (1640) the Act of 1639/40 and records its ratification as applied to Virginia. *Cf. infra*, n. 4.

² It was the intention of the Assembly to reduce the amount of tobacco for sale in 1640 to the same proportion permitted for the two ensuing years, but because of the brief notice given the planters the additional 300,000 pounds were allowed in 1640 (*v. Tatham*, pp. 151 ff.). 1,500,000 lbs. were exported from Virginia in 1639 (Brock, Table, p. 224, *et al.*). In addition to the total amount legally permitted, 100,000 pounds were allowed to defray public expenses (*v. Tatham*, p. 175).

³ The inferior tobacco produced in 1640 having been burned, it was found that the harvest remaining far exceeded the amount permitted for that year, whereupon half the good tobacco was likewise destroyed (*Acts*, i, n. 473, p. 287).

⁴ The Privy Council upheld Lord Baltimore's objections against restraining the tobacco planters in Maryland but ordered that if the regulations en-

acted in Virginia remained in force for longer than the two-year period, Maryland should be required to join in the restrictions on tobacco cultivation (*Acts*, i, n. 473, pp. 287-288). The tobacco planters of Virginia had opposed (but futilely) the granting of a charter to Lord Baltimore, as they foresaw that his colonists would become rivals in the export trade (Jacobstein, p. 28).

⁵ *Acts*, i, n. 473, p. 286. The proportion was to be increased to 50 pounds of best tobacco for 1640 if not stripped and smoothed (*v. Tatham*, p. 153).

⁶ *V. Tatham*, p. 178. ⁷ Hening, I, p. 225.

⁸ "Instructions to Berkeley" (1641), in *Va. Mag.*, II, pp. 281 ff.; *v. Beer*, p. 257.

⁹ "Fundamentally," Beer observes, "this was due to the inherent opposition of interests, which is always present when two communities, one agricultural, the other trading and manufacturing, are in close political and economic relations." (*P.* 257) *V. ibid.*, pp. 251-255, and *infra*, p. 109, n. 6.

¹⁰ The Burgesses were required to revise the tavern rates in this year owing to the increased prices of tobacco. The highest charge which could be made "for a meales diett . . . [a] sufficient, good and wholesom diett," was 10 lbs. of tobacco. The cost of a gallon of "strong beer" was 8 lbs. of tobacco (Hening, I, p. 287).

¹¹ *V. infra*, pp. 126 ff.

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is obvious enough,¹ but some of the manifestations of that nearly absolute control may be briefly noticed here.² In consequence of the frequent legislative efforts to fix the value of their staple in terms of English money, it later became "the standard in barter, the measure of values"—in fact, the alternative basis of currency.³ The inefficiency of this system may readily be imagined from the instability of current tobacco prices.⁴ But this commodity continued, nevertheless, to remain the medium of exchange, and served to pay taxes or fines, the wages of soldiers, *et al.*, and was accepted as legal tender by tavern keepers.⁵ Tobacco notes issued at the government warehouses in the later periods served as coin. These were of two kinds: specific, which stated the amount, a given quality of a given crop of tobacco; and general, which called for quantity, and a certain grade of any crop.⁶

In the Assembly Act of 1639/40 noticed above, it was provided that the clergy, who were already being paid in the "best Virginia-leaf,"⁷ should have their salaries adjusted to "ten pounds of tobacco per poll for every titheable person, out of which proportion the ministers to maintain their clerks and sextons."⁸ This interesting phase of the economic system which prevailed in Virginia and other Anglo-American colonies⁹ where tobacco was the staple, deserves brief attention here. In most parishes the clergy found this remuneration to be ample for their needs and they seem not to have objected to payment in a commodity which had been bitterly attacked by many of their ecclesiastical forbears. Their salaries were later fixed at 16,000 pounds of tobacco per annum,¹⁰ less essential deductions

¹ Bruce observed that "In no similar instance has an agricultural product entered so deeply and so extensively into the spirit and framework of any modern community" (ii, p. 496). *V. ibid.*, pp. 496 ff. The fact that the chief taxes were paid in tobacco intensified the importance of this commodity in the public eye.

² *V. infra*, pp. 141-143. From time to time attempts were made to reserve tobacco agriculture for farmers, landholders and merchants. The House of Burgesses in 1632 ordered that experienced workers, such as gunsmiths, carpenters, brickmakers, *et al.*, be kept at their respective trades "and not suffered to plant tobacco." In relation to this law Washington observed that the chief agricultural industry in Virginia began to take on the aspects of "a most exclusive and aristocratic engagement" (*op. cit. ante*, p. 97, n. 5—p. 479).

³ *Cf. Acts*, iv, pp. 104-107, Henning, *passim*, Beer, pp. 252-256. Tobacco also became the standard of value in Maryland and in several of the English colonies in the West Indies. *V. nos.* 466, 653, and Beer, pp. 258 and 90.

⁴ The Assembly in 1633 legally demonetized tobacco (Act IV), but this Act became almost at once a dead-letter law, its purpose being defeated by the commercial habits to which the colonists were then generally accustomed. Indeed, in 1642 (Act XXXVII), tobacco legally resumed its monetary functions as it was enacted in that year that debts thereafter contracted in money should not be recoverable by law. (Henning, I, pp. 216, 262.) *V. ibid.*, pp. 162-163, *et passim*, for legislative price-fixings and *cf.* Washington, *ut sup.*, pp. 481-482.

⁵ Recorded by Tatham, p. 180. *V. Bruce*, ii, pp. 203-205, citing Henning, *passim*.

⁶ Ripley (*op. cit. ante*, p. 100, n. 11), pp. 145-162.

⁷ It had been enacted in 1624 "That no man dispose of any of his tobacco before the minister be satisfied . . ." (Washington, *ut sup.*, p. 483.) The same writer remarked earlier that legislative regulations continually stressed the necessity for maintaining a high standard of quality of this commodity, and that the "raising and curing of good tobacco" was enjoined from every pulpit. The burgesses and all important officials, as well as the clergy and lesser servants of the colony, received their pay in tobacco (p. 480).

⁸ Tatham, pp. 175-176.

⁹ *V. n.* 653, first excerpt.

¹⁰ Beverley (n. 456), *et al.*

From the "Proposal" to the General Assembly of Virginia by William Byrd (Receiver-General of the royal revenues, 1687-1704) it appears that the tobacco paid the clergy was intended by law to yield the value of £80. Byrd proposed that they be thereafter paid in money to be met by a further export duty (*v. ante*, p. 100, n. 11) of 3 shillings the hogshead. "It will give the Clergy," he concludes, "more leisure to apply themselves to the duty of their Function, whereas now both their time & their thoughts are too much taken up in Collecting managing & Shipping their Tobacco & besides it will beget in the common People a great Love for their Ministers when they believe them to be no charge or burden to them." (*History of the Dividing Line* . . . William Byrd, †, 1866, Vol. II, pp. 198-199.)

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for assorting, casking, etc., and afterwards further compensation was made for shrinkage, etc. "We perceive in this law," wrote Tatham,¹ "that the custom of passing tobacco current in payments had so far obtained ground, that the parson made no scruple of receiving this luxurious article for preaching; or the clerk for bawling out amen! And that the military officer thought it no way dishonourable to his profession to draw his pay in this specific article of traffic." There were differences in the value of these benefices, of course. Ministers naturally preferred those parishes where tobacco crops were distinguished for their good quality, and, as Beverley (n. 456) pointed out, there were more marriages to be performed in these rich communities—and more funeral services to be conducted.² Four hundred pounds of tobacco (or forty shillings) was the fee fixed by law for a funeral sermon; only half the amount was required for the performance of the marriage ceremony. This condition existed in many places until past the end of the XVIIIth century. Burnaby (n. 879) recorded a disagreement between the clergy and laity because the Assembly, in 1758, when tobacco crops had failed, and the commodity was consequently scarce, ordered ministers as well as others to accept payment in money in place of tobacco.³ "This the clergy remonstrated against, alledging the hardship of being obliged to take a small price for their tobacco, when it bore an extravagant one; seeing they never had any kind of compensation allowed, when it was so plentiful as to be almost a drug. They sent over an agent to England, and the law was repealed."⁴ This greatly exasperated the people; and such is their mutual animosity at this time, that, I fear, it will not easily subside, or be forgotten."

IN the colonies in North America above Virginia and Maryland the settlers also turned to tobacco agriculture as a ready means of livelihood. This husbandry had begun in the Massachusetts Bay Colony shortly after its founding, in New Amsterdam, by the Dutch, apparently before 1638,⁵ and in New Sweden by 1644.⁶ The native tobacco (*N. rustica*) was already available in these communities, but it had no commercial value in markets supplied by the fragrant "Spanish" or Virginia leaf.

¹ P. 179.

² In the petition of a minister (1765) to the Privy Council, he asked for his year's salary of 17,280 lbs. and placed the value in Virginian currency (as of 31 May 1759) at £432 (*Acts*, iv, p. 699).

³ This law became popularly known as the "Two-Penny Act" from the fact that by its provisions tobacco debts for any obligations could be discharged at the rate of twopence the pound. It was to be in force for a year. (Henning, VII, pp. 240-241, 1758, ch. 6, cited by Beer, *British Colonial Policy*, ed. N. Y., 1922, p. 183, n. 3.)

Upon the strenuous complaints of the London tobacco merchants this law was disallowed by an order in council, Aug. 10, 1759. *V. Acts*, iv, pp. 420-421, and Beer (*op. cit.*), pp. 184-185, and references cited there.

The Assembly had previously (1755) enacted the "Option Act" whereby the clergy could be paid either in money or tobacco. This had occasioned a

strong protest on the part of the ministers, who petitioned the bishop of London in the matter. *V. Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Virginia*, ed. W. S. Perry, 1870, pp. 434-446, 465 (for the Act of 1758), and 482.

⁴ *Cf. supra*, n. 3, ¶3.

⁵ Letter of Hawley to Sec. Windebanke, 8 May, 1638, in *Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York*, 1853-1887, Vol. III, p. 20.

⁶ *V.* the report of Gov. Printz in *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, 1630-1707*, ed. A. C. Myers, 1912, pp. 96-97, 111, 113, and 120.

"Fourteen cargoes of tobacco" were said to have been exported from Pennsylvania in 1689 (Killebrew, *Rept.*, p. 147), but the bulk of this must have been produced in the neighboring colony of Maryland, or perhaps brought in from Virginia for transshipment.

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The production in the northern colonies of a tobacco which could compete in quality with that of Virginia (and later Maryland)¹ was rendered hopeless, before the advent of scientific fertilizers, etc., chiefly by the condition of their soil and climate. The planters of the Massachusetts Bay Colony soon found themselves further beset by the opposition on the part of the charter Company to this already profitless husbandry, while smokers and vendors in New England were restricted or hampered by legislation enacted through moral disapproval of tobacco.² In the first General Letter of the Governor of the Company to the colony's Governor and Council (April 17, 1629) occurs an illuminating passage: ". . . And as touching the old planters their earnest desire for [the] p[re]sent to continue the planting of tobacco, (a trade by the Companie gen[er]ally disavowed & vtterly disclaymed by some [of the] greatest adventurers amongst vs, who absolutely declared themselves vnwilling to haue any hand in this plantacon if wee intend to cherish or p[er]mitt the planting thereof, or any other kinde than for a mans private vse for meere necessitie,) wee are of opinion the old planters will haue small encouragem[en]t to that employm[en]t, for wee fynde heere, by late experience, that it doth hardly p[ro]duce the freight and custome; neither is there hope [of] amendm[en]t, there being such great quantities made in other p[ar]ts that ere long it is like to bee little worth. Nevertheless, if the old planters (for wee exclude all others) conceive that they cannot otherwise p[ro]vyde for their livelyhood, wee leave it to the descretion of yorselke & the counsell there to giue way for the p[re]sent to their planting of it in such mann[er], and w[i]th such restriccons, [as] yo[u] and the said counsell shall thinke fittinge, hauing an espetiall care, w[i]th as much conuenyence as may bee, vtterly [to] suppress the planting of it, except for meere necessitie; but, however, wee absolutely forbidd the sale of it, or the vse of [it], by any of o[u]r owne or p[ar]ticuler mens servants, vnless vpon vrgent occasion for the benefitt of health, & taken privately."³

In Connecticut the tobacco farmer fared somewhat better and continued throughout the colonial period to produce small quantities of tobacco chiefly for domestic consumption.⁴ But whatever tobacco was produced in the New England colonies,⁵ in New York, etc., and later in Pennsylvania,⁶ was insignificant in the export trade in that commodity.⁷ In most of these communities the planters abandoned the uneven struggle during the XVIIth century because of the natural

¹ *V. infra*, p. 107, n. 2, and n. 112, n. 10.

² *V. ante*, p. 78, n. 12.

³ Shurtleff (*op. cit. ante*, p. 78, n. 12), I, p. 388, and *cf. ibid.*, pp. 180, *et passim*.

⁴ *V. Ramsey*, pp. 113-115.

⁵ The Act of 20 June, 1650 (n. 237) passed by Parliament, for charging the same duties upon tobacco brought in from New England (heretofore free) as applied to that from other colonial plantations, recites that great quantities of this commodity "of the growth of New-England" were being imported. While determined farmers undoubtedly continued to cultivate tobacco in New England and adjacent parts, the agricultural conditions then prevailing there would alone have prevented production in such quantities as this Act indicates. This Parliamentary regulation seems rather to have been in-

spired by the fact that cargoes of dutiable tobacco from Virginia and Maryland were being entered at London as "New-England leaf," as there was then no duty on importations "of the growth of New-England," by virtue of the Parliamentary ordinance of Nov. 26, 1644. (*V. Beer*, pp. 344-345.) Before 1650 merchantmen from these colonies were vying with the Dutch in smuggling tobacco into England (*v. infra*, p. 121). The Act of 1650 was but part of the government's program against smugglers and defrauders of the customs, closing a channel of entry which had been taken advantage of since 1644.

⁶ *Cf.* the letter of Col. Quarry, *infra*, p. 122, n. 5.

⁷ As late as 1801 the entire New England crop was estimated as only 20,000 lbs. (Killebrew, p. 237, *et al.*) *Cp. Ramsey*, pp. 113-122.

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difficulties with which they had to contend. Not until the early part of the XIXth century were some of these experiments renewed, when, with the aid of enlightened agricultural methods they eventually produced results of a highly satisfactory nature in the Connecticut Valley, in New York, and in Pennsylvania.¹

BY the third quarter of the XVIIth century, England and several Continental states were dependent upon Virginia and Maryland² as their main sources of tobacco supply. Consumption was increasing at a steady rate and vast tracts of land in the two English settlements were being newly cultivated to supply the European demand for tobacco.³ The planters in these Anglo-American colonies would appear, therefore, to have been in a favored economic position. But several factors were interfering with the stability of their trade, and some of these continued throughout the colonial period. A number of them were dominated by internal conditions or by the policies of the home government; others developed from external forces. The economic factors which affected the colonial planters may be confined to five main elements, of varying degrees of importance. A review, under these five heads, of the Anglo-American tobacco trade up to the close of the XVIIIth century (with an occasional excursion into the XIXth) will best indicate the conditions prevailing in the most conspicuous and active market of the period.

The quintet of economic conditions mentioned comprises (I) foreign competition (together with the rivalry of other colonial English planters); (II) the high and various imposts placed upon tobacco by the home government joined with the restrictions imposed by the Navigation Acts, etc.; (III) the domestic cultivation of tobacco in England; (IV) the widespread activities of smugglers, adulterators, defrauders of the customs, and of interlopers in the carrying trade; and (V), most inimical to the planters of Virginia and Maryland, the feverish competition among themselves.

I. The commercial cultivation of tobacco was being successfully practised in several countries of Europe and Asia by 1675, mainly for home consumption, but in some places for export.⁴ The Spanish and Portuguese planters in America and

¹ Killebrew, pp. 103, 147, 237, *et al.*

² The production of tobacco in Maryland never equalled that of Virginia but its participation in this commerce came to be about one-fourth of the total colonial export trade (Jacobstein, p. 28).

After their initial experiments with varieties of tobacco the planters of Maryland devoted themselves almost entirely to the kind called "Oronoko," etc. (*v. Oronoque* in the *Glossary*), cultivated chiefly about the Chesapeake Bay regions. This tobacco came to be highly popular and it was especially in demand among the "northern nations of Europe" according to Anderson (n. 959 [Vol. II, Xx^b-Yy^a] and *cf.* Burke, n. 801). It was a more strongly flavored tobacco—and less expensive—than the famous "Sweet-scented" leaf of Virginia (*cf.* n. 713, and *v. infra*, p. 137, n. 10). A contemporary account of the culture of both these tobaccos is given by Sir Dalby Thomas (n. 410).

Much of the early economic and social history of Maryland was dominated (as was Virginia's) by tobacco. *V.* nos. 652, 653; Bozman, *History of Maryland* (†, 1837); Brock, *passim*; Scharf, *Hist. of Maryland*, 1879; and Jacobstein, pp. 27-28.

³ The growth of tobacco cultivation in Virginia is clearly demonstrated by a comparison of the exportation figures for 1628 and 1688. In the former year 500,000 lbs. were exported; in the latter more than 18,000,000 lbs. (Brock, Table, p. 224). (There appear to be no records available which give the figures of colonial tobacco exportation for at least four decades prior to 1688. *V. Brock*.)

⁴ *V. ante*, p. 83. W. Foster (*The English Factories in India, 1618-1660*, Oxford, 1906-1927) states that by the end of the first quarter of the XVIIth century homeward-bound East Indiamen were conveying tobacco as part of their cargoes (1624-1629, pp. 286, 309, 350, 351; 1634-1636, pp. 9, 42).

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the Dutch in Asia had considerably extended their operations in this industry, and the Spanish especially were eagerly seeking new European outlets to compensate for the diminishing English trade.¹ Virginians having settled in Carolina and what is now Kentucky engaged in the agriculture to which they were best accustomed (in the former colony before 1665,² in the latter shortly thereafter³), and were soon offering their cheaper leaf in the same markets as their colonial rivals.⁴

Before the end of the XVIIth century, however, the market in England was practically closed to foreign producers because of the differential duties established by the home government in favor of the colonies,⁵ and the scene of rivalry thereafter shifted to the Continent. Fortunately for the pioneer planters in the English colonies, the consumption of tobacco in most of Europe took the form of pipe-smoking or snuff. For these purposes the "Sweet-scented" tobacco of Virginia and the kind⁶ of "Oronoko" chiefly produced in Maryland were peculiarly fitted, and despite the domestic productions of several Continental countries the demand for these two English colonial tobaccos increased rapidly. Where the cigar was in use or where more strongly flavored pipe tobaccos were in demand, it was the Spanish and Portuguese leaf grown in the West Indies and South America which supplied consumers. By the end of the XVIIth century, therefore, the competition of both foreign and other English colonial cultivators of tobacco assumed less importance as adverse factors in the growing European trade of Virginia and Mary-

By the Act of 13 & 14 Car. II, c. 11, §23 (1662), the importation of tobacco from the Netherlands and from Germany was prohibited.

(The Pickering [etc.] edition of the *Statutes at Large* is the authority used in this history. For the text of Acts before 1713 not given in full in Pickering, v. *Statutes of the Realm*.)

¹ *V. ante*, pp. 91-93.

² When it was proposed that Carolina be planted one of the arguments advanced was that it would produce other commodities than tobacco and that it would not, therefore, interfere with the trade of Virginia and Maryland (*C.S.P., Col., 1661-1668*, Sept. 9, 1663, p. 161). But within a decade (*v. ibid.*, 1669-1674, Nov. 20, 1674, p. 620), the Lords Proprietors announced that a considerable quantity of tobacco was then being produced. A little later Carolina's annual crop amounted to at least 800,000 lbs. (*The Colonial Records of North Carolina, 1662-1712*, 1886, pp. 265-266.)

³ Billings, p. 332; Killebrew, p. 7; Comes, Chart, pp. 60-61, and his *Razze*, p. 55.

⁴ The English colonies in the West Indies had ceased to be important competitors in the home tobacco market as sugar, by this time, had become their chief export. Cf. *ante*, p. 87, n. 2, conclusion.

⁵ This policy (which continued throughout the colonial period) began with the rates established in 1631 (*v. ante*, p. 94, n. 7). In 1641, colonial tobacco was to pay no impost and a duty of only 2d. the lb. (Act of 16 Car. I, c. 8, §7; and cf. *Commons Journal*, II, pp. 234, 255, 273), one half of which was entitled to the drawback (16 Car. I, c. 36, §11). In 1642 Parliament enacted that "Spanish Tobacco brought into this Kingdom before Michaelmas next,

shall be rated . . . at 40s., and afterwards at £3 the lb." (*Commons Journal*, II, p. 482, and *Lords Journal*, IV, p. 658.) See Beer, p. 342, n. 3, on the continuation of this Act and the retention of the drawback system. *V. ante*, p. 94, n. 7. In 1643, colonial tobacco was to pay 4d. the lb. (v. n. 222), but when it was recognized by Parliament that the duties were too heavy on both colonial and foreign tobacco they were adjusted in 1644 to 2d. the lb. excise and 1d. custom on the former, and 1s. and 6d., respectively, on the latter (n. 225). The Parliamentary duties of 1657 placed one penny the lb. on English plantations tobacco, and 1s. on the Spanish product (n. 263). The first Restoration Parliament did not apply the excise to colonial tobacco, but in the "Book of Rates" (1660)—an integral part of the tariff statute of that year—English tobacco was valued at 1s. 8d. the lb.; Spanish and Brazil tobacco, at 10s. the lb. (12 Car. II, c. 4 and "Book of Rates" following). At the usual *ad valorem* poundage rate of 5% this made the duty on the former 1d. and on the latter 6d., but an additional 1d. was charged on English colonial tobacco, to be paid nine months after importation. This last imposition was entitled to the drawback (if reexportation took place within a year) together with one-half the poundage duty (*ibid.*). In 1685 (n. 387) 3d. and 6d. the lb. additional were laid on colonial and foreign tobacco respectively, making then a total duty of 5d. the lb. on colonial and 1s. the lb. on foreign tobacco. These amounts of duty were continued during the reign of William and Mary (n. 408). *V. infra*, p. 110, n. 2.

⁶ *V. infra*, p. 137, n. 10.

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land. Spain and Portugal were then even importing English colonial tobacco for pipe smokers and snuffers.¹

II. The most insistent of the recurrent complaints made by the colonists to the home government in regard to fiscal and other matters concerned the duties placed upon their staple. Despite the tariff preferences shown English colonial tobacco the total import taxes on this commodity were often excessive, usually displaying no consistent relation to the actual market value. At a time, for instance (*circa* 1660-1662), when this product was selling at the source for a penny or two the pound, it was rated at one shilling eightpence.² The arbitrary appraisals set down in the "Book of Rates" were seldom subsequently adjusted to meet the frequent (and sometimes extreme) fluctuations of colonial tobacco prices after the Restoration and during the early part of the XVIIIth century.

It was obvious that these unbalanced duties gave impetus to several conditions in England which, to a greater or lesser degree, adversely affected the colonial tobacco export trade. As frequently stated by the colonists themselves, these were the domestic cultivation of the plant,³ increased smuggling of foreign tobacco and defrauding of the customs by various methods,⁴ and considerable adulteration of tobacco in the larger cities of England.⁵ Furthermore, the disaffected planters charged the home government with interfering with the principles of "free trade" through the restrictions imposed upon shipping by the Navigation Acts, and with failure to control the merchants and factors in London who occasionally combined to depress prices and who demanded excessive commission rates, etc., etc.⁶

¹ According to *Records of Board of Customs and Excise*, P.R.O., London (*Customs* 2/2), for the period between Michaelmas, 1696, and March 1697, nearly 1,300,000 lbs. were sent to Spain and more than 5,500 lbs. to Portugal. (These importations were later prohibited.) Holland was then the largest importer of English colonial tobacco, receiving more than 8,000,000 lbs.

The value to the colonies of the preferential tariffs maintained by the home government had clearly demonstrated itself by this time. In the year 1697-1698 Virginia and Maryland sent into England more than 22,500,000 lbs. while only 27,058 lbs. of Spanish tobacco were officially entered. For the year 1709-1710 the records show importations totalling 23,350,735 lbs. from Virginia and Maryland while no Spanish tobacco was entered at all. (*Customs* 3/1, *Ledger Book of Imports and Exports, Michaelmas, 1697, to Michaelmas, 1698, and ibid., 3112, 1709-1710*—part of *Records*, cited *supra*.)

² *V. ante*, p. 108, n. 5.

³ *V. infra*, pp. 113 ff.

⁴ *V. infra*, pp. 120 ff.

⁵ *V. infra*, pp. 123 ff.

⁶ Cf. *ante*, p. 100, n. 10; v. Bruce, i, p. 443, ii, p. 339; Jacobstein, pp. 23, 24; Letter of Gov. Nicholson (of Maryland), in *C.S.P., Col., 1693-1696*, June 14, 1695, pp. 508-510; *et al.* Earlier complaints against the merchant-importers were chiefly based upon their unreasonable charges for European goods shipped to the colonies (*v. Beer*, pp. 151, n. 1, 152, 153, 254, and 255, n. 1). In his proclamation of

March 14, 1638, Charles I took note of this condition, remarking, "... Our Merchants working upon the necessities of the Planters, have from time to time bought their Tobacco at low and small prices, thereby occasioning the said Planters to grow negligent and careless of the well ordering their Tobacco..." (*AAS.*, p. 82.)

Some of the sharp or illegal practises (including the prohibited acts of engrossing or forestalling) of the tobacco traders are considered in the chapter "Mechanism of Marketing" in Gray, pp. 13 ff. In defense of the merchant during the earlier periods of colonial traffic, Gray observes that he was forced to engage in a dangerous and tedious voyage without the certainty that he would obtain a cargo; was occasionally put to heavy expenses during a protracted search for a shipment; rendered himself liable to serious losses by required credit advances to planters unknown to him; and had no assurance of a market when he returned to England (p. 15). The chief of these risks to the trader tended to disappear with the growth of the consignment system and improved marketing practices. *V. infra*, pp. 136-137.

In a letter of Gov. Calvert to Lord Baltimore, Oct. 26, 1729, occur further indications of the popular sentiment in the colonies toward the English importer and factor: "When All is done, and our Tobacco sent home, it is perchance the most uncertain Commodity that Comes to Markett; and the management of it there is of such a nature and method, that it seems to be of all other, most lyable and Subject to frauds, in prejudice to the poor Planters.

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To the grievances of the planters, in so far as they related to the import duties, the government turned a deaf ear, arguing that the burden of these taxes fell upon the "Retailer, Confumptioner or Shop-Keeper,"¹ etc., etc., and indeed, increased the imposts on tobacco whenever occasion seemed to warrant it.² During the reign of Queen Anne, however, temporary relief was accorded the trade by a relaxation of the customs regulations and by various allowances.³

In 1651 the Commonwealth Parliament had passed the first effectual⁴ Navigation Act. This statute, designed to eliminate chiefly Dutch competition in the carrying trade, was elaborated upon and its principles reaffirmed in the more comprehensive Navigation Act of 1660.⁵ Jointly, the chief regulations of these imperialistic measures were that all enumerated commodities⁶ carried to and from the

Tobacco Merchants, who deal in Consignments, get great Estates, run no risque, and Labour only with the pen; the Planter can scarce get a living, Runs all the risques attendant upon trade, both as to his negroes and Tobacco, and must work in variety of Labour . . ." (*The Calvert Papers, Number Two, Md. Hist. Soc. Fund-Publication*, No. 34, 1894, p. 70.) *V. Gov.* Berkeley's memorial, *infra*, p. 111; *ibid.*, n. 3; Bruce, ii, pp. 373-376; and Gray, p. 14.
¹ By the Act of 1685 (n. 387) the additional duties were charged upon the first buyer, not the importer. This scheme was abandoned in 1696 (7 & 8 Wm. III, c. 10, §5). *Cf. C.S.P., Col., 1685-1688*, p. 59, June 26, 1685.

The system of drawbacks adopted by England (*v. infra*, p. 111, n. 1) operated to place a high duty on tobacco consumed at home while encouraging the export trade.

² *V. ante*, p. 108, n. 5. In 1697 (n. 424) and 1703 (2 & 3 Anne, c. 9) further increases brought the duty to 6½ d. the lb. until 1748 (21 Geo. II, c. 2) when an additional 1 d. was placed upon tobacco. In 1759 (32 Geo. II, c. 10) it was raised to 8½ d. the lb. The taxes on tobacco, therefore, after 1685, were from three to seven times the value of this commodity at the source. *Cf. Gray*, pp. 22-23 and Jacobstein, pp. 28-29.

These duties were, however, greatly mitigated for the English exporters by the drawback policy of the customs (begun 1631—*v. ante*, p. 94, n. 7). From 1685, all but ½ d. was repaid upon exportation (n. 424); from 1723 on, the refund of the entire duty was allowed when colonial tobacco was reexported (n. 534). Of the tobacco imported into England, by far the larger amount was reexported (*v. ante*, p. 109, first part of n. 1, and nos. 423 and 756).

The duties on the quantity of tobacco retained in England between 1688 and 1692 averaged £90,000 annually. (Beer, *OCS.*, i, p. 166, citing several manuscript sources.) No other colonial product contributed so much to the customs revenue during this period as tobacco (*cf. C.S.P., Col., 1669-1674*, pp. 508, 530, etc., cited by Beer, *OCS.*, ii, p. 105). It is of interest to note that the value of all the duties in England in 1590 was only about £50,000 sterling (Bishop—*op. cit.*, *ante*, p. 97, n. 6—p. 322).
³ *V. n.* 495. The *Commons Journal* (1711-1714, p. 558) contains a petition (April 8, 1714) of the

London merchants which stated that they and the planters in Virginia would be ruined if the customs duty of 6½ d. per lb. were not reduced (Siemssen, pp. 8-9; and also nos. 477, 479, 481).

⁴ The forerunner of the colonial clauses of the Navigation Acts was contained in the order of the Privy Council, 24 Oct., 1621 (*v. ante*, p. 99, n. 11). This required that "all Tobacco and other commodities . . . [from Virginia] shall not be carried into any forraigne partes vntill the same haue bene first landed here and his Majesties Customes paid therefore." (*Acts*, i, n. 77; reaffirmed 4 Mar., 1623, n. 96.) It was incorporated in the proclamation, 1624 (n. 154-A of this history), but it was difficult for some time to enforce it (*cf. Acts*, i, nos. 280, 292, 334, 335, and 346). In a report made to the Lords of the Council in 1633 it is indicated that the economic value of the restrictions set upon the carrying trade was then clearly understood and Spain was cited as an example of a nation which had successfully (and to its advantage) instituted similar regulations (*C.S.P., Col., 1574-1660*, p. 171, Aug. 14, 1633; *Acts*, i, n. 321). The rates imposed by Parliament, in 1649 (n. 236 of this history), specifically set a higher duty on colonial tobacco imported in foreign vessels.

On Oct. 3, 1650, Parliament passed the punitive act which denied the colonies still sympathetic to the royal party the privileges of commerce. This contained a clause which again enunciated the principles of the earlier regulations excluding foreign ships from the colonial traffic. (Beer, pp. 362, 384, citing several authorities.) The prior orders of the government had referred only to Virginia and Bermuda, but all the English colonies were comprehended in the later regulations.

The principles underlying the Navigation Acts had been implied at a considerably earlier period by the commercial regulations of 1381, during the reign of Richard II, but it was only with the development of the colonies that they were put into operation.

⁵ 12 Car. II, cap. 18.

⁶ These were chiefly tobacco and sugar and also cotton-wool, indigo, ginger, etc. All the commodities except tobacco were produced in the Anglo-West Indian colonies. The enumeration clause did not appear in the Act of 1651. (Beer, *OCS.*, i, pp. 71-72.)

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Anglo-American colonies (or in intercolonial trade) be conveyed in English or colonial ships and that outgoing colonial cargoes be landed first in England or some other English settlement.¹ These Acts were especially obnoxious to the exporters in America, who were of the opinion that the entire European market should be open to them by direct contact. By far the larger part of the tobacco which they were required to send directly to England was reshipped to the Continent so that they derived little or no monetary advantage from this part of the trade.² Dependent as the colonists of Virginia and Maryland were upon a single staple, with a consequent tendency toward overproduction, it was but to be expected that they should be opposed to a system which denied them the opportunity of developing the lucrative Continental markets themselves.

It was generally agreed among the planter-exporters that this restrictive legislation had been originated and fostered, out of selfish motives, by the English merchants and monopolists.³ As a class they seem, at first, to have had no clear comprehension of the broader aspects of the government's political and commercial policy and no prescience of the advantages certain to accrue to them were it successfully established. Their traditional suspicion of their "natural enemies" at home, the merchants and the farmers of the customs, tended completely to warp their viewpoint of the system. But whatever pressure had been brought to bear upon Parliament by the importers and the monopolists (and it is undoubted that they did exert some influence), fundamentally the Navigation Acts were the practical expression of England's determined policy to consolidate the colonies into an integral part of the empire, to control the avenues of commerce between its American settlements and itself, and to eliminate aliens in the colonial traffic by developing a national merchant marine.

The legislatures of both Maryland and Virginia had by various acts⁴ supported the principles of the government's policy, but the colonists there were either not in agreement with their Assemblies or had had a change of sentiment by 1660. Gov. Berkeley expressed the colonial viewpoint in his memorial, "A Discourse and View of Virginia" (1662), in which he remarked that the colony's growth was hindered by its enforced trade solely with England. Were this restrictive measure of benefit to the king or the government no true subject would oppose it, "but if it shall appear that neither of those are advantaged by it, then wee cannot but resent, that forty thousand people should bee empoverished to enrich little more then forty merchts, who being the onely buyers of our Tobacco, giues us what they please for it, and after it is here Sell how they please, and indeed haue forty

¹ While the policy of restricting colonial exports to England had been clearly adopted by the first Stuarts (*v. ante*, p. 110, n. 4) it had not been specifically enunciated in the Act of 1651. Furthermore, during the Civil War and the Interregnum the earlier regulations had been largely disregarded by the colonists, and the Dutch had, in consequence, built up a strong trans-Atlantic trade. (Beer, pp. 356-357.)

During the first decade of the Restoration numerous exceptions from the provisions of the Navigation Acts were allowed by the Privy Council, indicating a liberal interpretation of these regulations. *V. Acts*, i, Index, s. v. Navigation Acts, suspensions of,

dispensations from.

² *V. n.* 845 [K⁴]; *cf. Ripley (op. cit. ante*, p. 100, n. 11), p. 163; Jacobstein, p. 24. Colonial tobacco landed in England was reexported even to American colonies, such as Newfoundland (*v. official Records cited ante* in first part of note 1, p. 109).

³ *V. John Bland's "Humble Remonstrance" (in Va. Mag., I, pp. 142 et seq.). Cf. ante*, p. 109, n. 6.

⁴ *V. ante*, p. 100, n. 11, and p. 101, n. 1. Bonds of £1000 or of £2000, according to value, were required from outgoing ships to insure the delivery of their cargoes in England and (up to 1671—*v. infra*, p. 121, n. 4) Ireland.

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thousand Servants in us at cheaper rates, then any other Men haue Slaues, for they find them meat, drink and Clothes, wee furnish ourselves and their Seamen with meat and drink, and all our Sweat and labour, as they order vs, will hardly procure vs course clothes to keep vs from the extremities of heat and cold: yett if these pressures of vs did advance the Custome, or benefitt the Nation, wee should not repine; but that it does the Contrary to both I shall easily evidence when Com-manded."¹ Out of resentment against their confinement to a single market many planters and exporters did not scruple to circumvent the government's mercantile regulations.² Many years were to pass before these disaffected colonists accepted the limitations imposed upon them by these Acts, and then chiefly because the carrying trade in tobacco, etc., was almost entirely controlled by English mer-chantmen.

It should be understood that the bulk of the protests made against the gov-ernment's policies by the exporting element in the tobacco colonies, and the usually unsympathetic reactions to these complaints by the official class in England, arose largely from the antithetical psychologies of these two groups within the empire. To the protesting colonists the government's mercantile regulations imposed a series of restraints which, in essence, delivered them into the hands of the hated merchants or monopolists, while its fiscal system hampered their trade through excessive taxation. To the government the mercantile system adopted held po-tentialities which, if successfully developed, would guarantee supplies otherwise obtainable only from aliens and insure the maintenance of its American outposts by a vigorous national navy. Quite apart, too, from their revenue value the Navi-gation Acts expressed a cardinal principle of contemporary statecraft—that the empire was to remain rigidly centralized. The government's fiscal policy eventu-ally justified itself even in colonial eyes when it became understood that the greater part of the duties collected was paid by the consumer and that it had no deterrent effect upon the development of foreign markets.

Further consideration of the complex subject of the Navigation Acts would be beside the purpose of this *Introduction*.³ It should be observed in conclusion, however, that the enforcement of these regulations gave the colonists a practical monopoly of the home market by the beginning of the XVIIIth century, reduced the freight charges on their exported commodities because of the thriving merchant marine, etc., etc., and produced some invaluable benefits to the government itself, not the least of which was the greatly increased customs revenue. It was the prospect of these mutual gains which, in the eyes of English statesmen, offered sufficient compensation to the colonies for the sacrifices they were required to make by reason of the Navigation Acts.

To a later observer the various English governments of the second half of the XVIIth century were manifestly not negligent of the tobacco colonies' interests, although they seem to have done little to eliminate profiteering by the merchants at the planters' expense or to control other aspects of the internal trade highly

¹ Brit. Mus. Egerton MSS. 2395, ff. 354 *et seq.*, cited by Beer, *OCS.*, ii, pp. 112-113.

² *V. infra*, pp. 120-122, and *Acts*, i and ii, Index, *s.v.* Navigation Acts, breaches of.

³ The subject has been most ably treated by Beer

in *The Old Colonial System*, vol. i, chap. ii, and, in relation to Virginia and Maryland, in vol. ii, pp. 104 ff., *et passim*. *V. Bruce*, i, pp. 349 *et seq.* and Preface to *Acts*, i, pp. xviii-xxi.

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irritating to the colonists.¹ Some of the moral antipathy of the previous reigns to the traffic in tobacco still persisted in the Cromwellian era (and lingered even in the Restoration period)² but there was practically no official attempt to hamper this colonial industry. The ability of tobacco to enrich the government's treasury and to maintain an ever-increasing commerce had by then won the esteem of statesmen. Obviously any interference with the growth of this rich trade would have been economically unsound, and such measures would have conflicted with the principles of that imperialism upon which England had vigorously embarked.

The commercial and political policies of the Cromwell government continued the encouraging preferential tariff system of the Stuarts and sought to eliminate the domestic cultivation of the plant in England. The Restoration government maintained the policy of protective tariffs for the enumerated commodities while demanding complete obedience to the Navigation Acts. Colonial exporters soon found it expedient to ship their products to the home market, from which foreign competition had been practically eliminated.

Although it had at first made efforts to discourage the complete dependence of Virginia and Maryland upon tobacco, the Restoration government soon aban-doned any further attempts in this direction and, indeed, later rejected oppor-tunities to reduce the staple crop of these colonies.³ Instead, the English statesmen of the period sought to improve the economic structure of its tobacco colonies by encouraging the growth of supplementary products there,⁴ but later even these attempts were discarded.⁵ The colonial regulations instituted by the home govern-ments, chiefly during the second half of the XVIIth century, were obviously moti-vated by political and economic self-interest, but they eventually served to strengthen the colonies and to consolidate them into a self-sufficient union.

III. The cultivation of tobacco in England, which had begun there before the close of the XVIth century,⁶ was inconspicuous as an agricultural industry up to 1615 or thereabouts. Within the next few years, however, many farmers of small tracts had found it commercially profitable to engage in that culture chiefly because of the high retail price of imported tobacco upon which duty had been paid. De-spite the well-known aversion of the king to this "Indian weed" they did not hesitate to grow it openly in and about London and Westminster, as well as in the rural districts. In 1619, therefore, the Privy Council (directed thereto by the king)⁷ issued an order requiring the urban planters to discontinue their farms and to move further off.⁸ This injunction, which applied solely to the metropolitan section, was the first of a long series to be issued by the Council,⁹ the majority of which were of

¹ *V. ante*, p. 109, n. 6, and *infra*, pp. 125, 136.

² Gov. Berkeley gave vent to this aversion in a letter to Lord Clarendon (1666), saying, "From my soul I wish it, and so doe al good men, that his Matie and the Parliament would impose more cus-tomes and greater on this vild weed and imploy some part of it in building forts where they are necessary." (Bodleian, Clarendon MSS. 84, ff. 230, 231, cited by Beer, *OCS.*, ii, p. 119, n. 2.)

³ *V. infra*, pp. 126-127, and n. 2 there.

⁴ In 1662, the government offered Gov. Berkeley of Virginia the privilege of free entry to a ship of

300 tons burden laden with tobacco, provided that he first return a ship of equal tonnage freighted with silk, hemp, flax, pitch and potashes. (*C.S.P., Col.*, 1661-1668, p. 110, Sept. 12, 1662.) In 1664 a similar offer was made (*v. infra*, pp. 127-128 and n. 1 there).

⁵ *V. infra*, p. 132 and n. 2 there.

⁶ *V. ante*, p. 45, and p. 47, n. 2.

⁷ *V. introduction* to n. 140. ⁸ *Acts*, i, n. 40.

⁹ *V. C.S.P., Dom.*, 1619-1623, *et seq.*, Index, *s.v.* Tobacco; Preface to *Acts*, i, pp. xxii ff., and *ibid.*, nos. 71, 183, 197, 278, 331, 337, 345, 361, *et passim*, and ii, nos. 38, 81 ff., 299, *et passim*.

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general application. At the urging of the tobacco impost patentees¹ (shortly joined by the Virginia Company)² James I issued a proclamation against that tillage which he deemed an "abuse and (mis)employment of) the soile of this fruitfull Kingdome."³ Tobacco crops then existing in any part of England or Wales were to be destroyed.

Despite the king's statement that "English Tobacco . . . is certainly in it selfe more crude, poyfonous and dangerous for the bodies and healths of Our Subjects, then that that comes from hotter Climates . . ."⁴ the demand for it even then seemed to disprove the royal statements. To smokers with cultivated tastes and the "sophisticates" of London accustomed to the imported varieties, English tobacco was indeed pungent.⁵ But the chief defect of this domestic commodity lay in the imperfect methods of curing it rather than in the leaf itself, for it was well received by those who knew how to treat it.⁶ This product of the local farms, despite its strong flavor, had numerous purchasers, chiefly among the poor, to whom it was offered as smuggled "Spanish"⁷ or "Virginia" leaf, etc.

Nothing in the climate or soil of England, then, prevented the cultivation of salable tobacco,⁸ but there were economic factors which necessarily thwarted its free development as a commodity there. Commerce in tobacco of domestic growth reduced the value of the king's rent of the tobacco imposts, depressed the price of the colonial product, and, therefore, interfered with the advancement of the Anglo-American colonies. The farmers of the tobacco revenue, the Virginia Company and the colonial planters were behind all the persistent legislation which made the planting of tobacco in England illegal, except in "phisick gardens."⁹ As their insistence upon the strict enforcement of these agricultural prohibitions coincided with the economic interest of James I and succeeding rulers, and, later, with the colonial and financial policies of the government, it was inevitable that the domestic cultivation of tobacco should be doomed.

But the government was not to triumph easily in the struggle which ensued from 1620 on. Agents were appointed to destroy or seize crops and to hale offenders before the courts.¹⁰ Their activities caused great bitterness among the planters, particularly among those in the counties of Gloucester and Worcester,¹¹ the centers of the industry. With increased demand the prohibited agriculture spread far afield and in 1628 it appeared even in the Channel Islands. In that year Charles I, in imitation of his father,¹² asked the College of Physicians for an opinion on English tobacco, which they again pronounced to be "hurtful."¹³ The king, in 1631, partly because of the vast quantities of poor tobacco with which the market was then flooded, issued another proclamation, stating that despite his former injunctions,

bacco had been seized. In 1625 he petitioned that a moiety of his confiscated crops be returned to him as he had exhausted his entire estate in an effort to discover how to plant and cure tobacco and he also asked for a warrant to seize tobacco of English growth. (*C.S.P., Dom., 1625-1626*, May, 1625, p. 32.) The warrant was issued as requested the following year (*Acts*, i, n. 176).

¹¹ Later chiefly at Winchcombe and Cheltenham in the former county and at Evesham in the latter.

¹² *V. introduction* to n. 140.

¹³ *V. Acts*, i, n. 218.

¹ *V. ante*, p. 88.

² *Ibid.*, n. 5, and p. 89.

³ N. 140.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *V.* n. 327, *et al.*

⁶ Raleigh himself is said to have preferred English tobacco. *V. ante*, p. 47, and n. 9 there.

⁷ Nos. 327 and 334.

⁸ *V.* n. 959 (under 1652), and *infra*, p. 119, n. 2.

⁹ *V.* nos. 245, 281, etc., and *cf. Acts*, i, n. 172.

¹⁰ *Acts*, i, nos. 71, 176, 183, 188, *et passim*. One of these men had himself been a planter whose to-

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"We finde the unlimited desire of gaine, and the inordinate appetite of taking Tobacco, hath so farre prevailed, that Tobacco hath been continued to bee planted in great quantities, in severall parts of this Our Realme, and a vast proportion of unserviceable Tobacco made and brought from Our Colonies of Virginia, Summer Ilands, and other Our Forreigne Plantations, besides an incredible quantity of Brasill and Spanish Tobacco imported hither, and secretly conveyed on Land. And it is now come to passe, That those Our Forreigne Plantations, that might become usefull to this Kingdome, lingering onely upon Tobacco, are in apparant danger to be utterly ruined, unlesse Wee speedily provide for their subsistence; The bodies and manners of Our people are also in danger to bee corrupted, and the wealth of this Kingdome exhausted by so uselesse a Weede as Tobacco is; which beeing represented unto Us by the humble Petition of Our loving Subjects the Planters and Adventurers in Virginia,¹ and also by the like humble Petition of the Retailers and Sellers of Tobacco in and about Our Cities of London and Westminster," the domestic cultivation is again prohibited, and the provisions of earlier proclamations renewed.² This was in January; in July of that year the Council addressed an indignant letter to the justices of the peace in the counties of Gloucester and Worcester, demanding immediate action in compliance with their former orders. But even though some offenders were brought before the dreaded Star Chamber, tobacco planters continued their activities, selling their product secretly in the larger cities, usually as foreign tobacco.

Succeeding proclamations³ continued to stress the unwholesome quality of English tobacco,⁴ and some also stated (without basis in scientific fact) that the soil in places adjacent to these illegal plantations was rendered useless. For about a year or so the Council's agents in Worcester seem to have been successful in their endeavors to stamp out the cultivation, for the returns required to be made by the constables in several parishes of this county stated (1634) that no tobacco was then being grown.⁵ But in 1635 the industry again displayed itself in several parts of Gloucestershire and elsewhere, and when one of the most active and hated officers appointed by the Privy Council attempted to discharge his duties in the former county the temper of the harassed planters demonstrated itself, for he was "violently resisted."⁶ As these Midland (and neighboring) farmers stubbornly continued in their forbidden occupation they were joined by others; for the trade began to become lucrative, inviting the participation of petty officials, tradesmen, *et al.*, so that by 1639, despite official opposition, tobacco was being planted in at least twelve counties.

Growing resentment of the persisting state interference put these determined farmers and their numerous local adherents in practical opposition to the king, so that they welcomed the advent of Cromwell. During the period of civil war the

¹ *V. Va. Mag.*, VII, p. 375, cited by Beer, p. 166, n. 1.

² *AAS.*, p. 68.

³ May 19, 1634; Mar. 14, 1638; Mar. 25, 1639.

⁴ As it was frequently charged that this commodity was heavily adulterated by the dealers, mixed with spoiled fruit and other "corrupt ingredients," the complaint that it was "unwholesome" was apparently not an exaggeration.

⁵ "The Records of the County of Worcester," in *Hist. MSS. Comm., Report on MSS. in Various Collections*, London, 1901, Vol. I, pp. 309 ff.

⁶ *Acts*, i, n. 347. Violence was threatened again in 1636 by the inhabitants of various places in Gloucestershire to anyone who should interfere with their tobacco crops (*Mac.*, p. 89, and *v. Acts*, i, nos. 392, 433, *et passim*).

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planters' crops remained almost entirely undisturbed,¹ and not before 1652 was the contest renewed. In that year Parliament enacted that no tobacco should be grown in England and that existing crops could be destroyed by anyone;² but upon receipt of numerous petitions, cultivators were permitted to "enjoy the Tobacco . . . by them planted, set, grown, made and cured . . . for this year [1653] onely . . ." upon payment of an excise of threepence the pound, chargeable on the first purchaser.³ While Cromwell recognized the economic necessity of encouraging the colonial tobacco trade, political expediency also dictated that he conciliate the English planters. The result of the leniency shown in 1653 was a larger harvest than ever before, in 1654. Indignant merchants (overstocked with tobacco imported from the colonies), especially in Bristol and London, and the colonial agents, urged that decisive action be now taken against the recalcitrant farmers. The members sent up to Parliament from Bristol were instructed to legislate for the immediate suppression of an agriculture which seriously menaced the great import trade of their city.⁴ A joint petition was presented to the Privy Council by all those concerned in the colonial trade and the domestic cultivators were bitterly assailed. An ordinance of Parliament⁵ empowered special commissioners to put into execution the Act prohibiting tobacco-planting in England, but when these officers proceeded to do so, the citizens of Winchcombe raised a force of three hundred horse and foot to resist the official troops⁶ and awakened the spirit of insurrection elsewhere. The embattled farmers vowed that, being bred to the trade of cultivating tobacco, they would protect the results of their labors though "they . . . lose their lives." Coincidentally a group of inhabitants there, less rebellious to authority, sent an embassy to London with a petition⁷ to Cromwell not to destroy that year's crops at Winchcombe. They pled that the industry had been practised at home for forty years, but that if clemency were again granted they would thereafter submit to the regulations of the government. The Lord Protector once more waived the strict interpretation of the Act against tobacco-planting,⁸ for Royalist enemies were everywhere prepared to take advantage of the increasing spirit of discontent displayed by English tobacco growers.⁹ Year

¹ The merchants of London and Bristol, acting on behalf of the colonial planters, petitioned Parliament, about 1650, asking for the immediate suppression of tobacco cultivation in England, stating that it was to "the great prejudice of this Commonwealth" if this "unwholesome" tobacco continued to be grown. (Fragment of a pamphlet in B. M., 816 m 14(12), cited by Mac., pp. 93-94.) But Parliament was then occupied with more serious matters and two years passed before the petition came up for consideration.

² V. n. 245. That there was a strong opposition element in Parliament to these prohibitive measures is indicated by the fact that this act passed by 28 yeas over 22 nays. (*Commons Journal*, VII, 1651-1659, pp. 106, 112, 130.)

³ N. 250. This indulgence was granted despite the petition, May 28, 1653 (renewed on July 20, 1653), addressed to the Council by Samuel Mathews (agent for Virginia) and a considerable number of merchants, urging the complete destruction of the

English crop in order to protect the colonies and the import trade. *C.S.P., Col.*, 1574-1660, pp. 403, 405.

⁴ "Vast quantities having been planted this year, and daily brought into the city, to the great prejudice of the local [retail] trade . . ." Latimer, *Annals of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century*, 1900, p. 251.

⁵ N. 253.

⁶ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1654, pp. 211-212.

⁷ *Ibid.*, June 30, pp. 229-230.

⁸ *C.S.P., Dom.*, Mar. 27, 1655, pp. 100-101. For the petitions addressed to the government in 1655 objecting to any further suspension of the Act, v. Beer, p. 408 and references cited there.

Lionel Gatford, in *Publick Good without Private Interest* (London, 1657, p. 13), stated that a charge was placed on each hogshead of tobacco imported by the English merchants, to meet the costs of destroying the domestic tobacco (Gray, p. 8, n. 56).

⁹ Charles II's secretary, then in exile with his master, was the recipient of several letters indicating the disaffection of English tobacco planters and

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after year these planters tacitly defied the Council, which unavailingly continued to order the destruction of their crops. One of the government's agents, in a letter to a commissioner (1658), reported a situation by then become a common occurrence, saying, ". . . this morning I got together 36 horse, and went to Cheltenham early, and found an armed multitude guarding the tobacco field. We broke through them and went into the town, but found no peace officer, but a rabble of men and women calling for blood for the tobacco, so that had there been any action, blood would have been spilt. The soldiers stood firm, and with cocked pistols, bade the multitude disperse, but they would not, and 200 more came from Winchcombe. Maj. Clarke is not come, and I want advice. Ten men could not in 4 days destroy the good tobacco about Cheltenham. The cornet would not act and some of the county troop are dealers and planters. I was forced to retreat; the justices [of the peace] rather hinder than help us.

"The soldiers say if this be suffered, farewell all levies and taxes, and farewell the Virginia trade for tobacco. I can do nothing till I hear from you."¹

Upon the establishment of the Restoration, the government at once displayed its determination to suppress this forbidden husbandry, for in 1660 an Act of Parliament renewed the earlier interdictions.² Again only "physic gardens" were excluded from the regulations against planting tobacco in England, Ireland, Wales, etc. The introduction to this Act clearly indicated its economic *raison d'être*.³ In 1662 Governor Berkeley and others interested in Virginia and in Maryland petitioned that the sheriffs of the tobacco-growing counties in England be required to enforce this Act;⁴ and the farmers of the tobacco customs joined with him in vigorous complaints, as the impost receipts for this commodity were being affected.⁵

But despite all injunctions, pleas and a show of military, tobacco-planting not only continued but spread to several other counties.⁶ The orders of the Council became but wearying repetitions of their earlier commands, and while year after year the government harassed the farmers, it succeeded in destroying only small crops here and there.⁷ The sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other officials (who

avowing that should the king return these citizens were ready to march to his aid. Latimer (*op. cit. ante*, p. 116, n. 4), p. 266.

¹ *C.S.P., Dom.*, 1658-1659, July 31, 1658, pp. 104-105.

² N. 274. Upon the petition of several merchants and colonial planters (Feb. 28, 1661) the Attorney General was instructed to draw up a proclamation ordering the execution of this Act (*Acts*, i, n. 503 and note there). The proclamation was issued on Mar. 29, 1661 (v. n. 281). The Act was renewed by Parliament, with more severe penalties for disobedience, in 1663 (15 Car. II, c. 7, §§18-20), again in 1671 (n. 311 of this history), and continued in 1692 (n. 412).

³ The Speaker of the House of Commons, addressing the king at the conclusion of the December session, 1660, in reference to this Act, emphasized the "unwholesome" quality of English tobacco which never came, he said, to maturity and which rotted quickly after being manufactured. Furthermore he remarked that this domestic cultivation of tobacco would reduce the customs revenue, injure the wel-

fare of the plantations and adversely affect navigation and shipping "which are the walls and bulwarks of your majesty's kingdom." (*Parl. Hist.*, IV, 164 *et seq.*, cited by Beer, *OCS.*, i, p. 139, n. 2.)

⁴ *C.S.P., Col.*, 1661-1668, p. 106.

⁵ Mac., pp. 107-108, and Beer, *OCS.*, i, p. 141. *V. Acts*, i, nos. 602, 623, *et passim*, for commissions issued to the "Surveyor[s] Generall to the farmers of his Majestys Customs" empowering them to demand assistance from all local civil as well as military officers in the destruction of English tobacco.

⁶ By 1668 orders had been issued by the various Councils to justices, sheriffs, *et al.*, of at least 22 counties to destroy tobacco grown in their districts (*v. Acts*, i, Preface, p. xxiii and note † there). Reynell (n. 327) in 1674 wrote that there were reputed to have been 6000 plantations in the counties of Gloucester, Devon, Somerset and Oxford, but if this estimate even approximated accuracy, it must have included every tobacco garden, however small.

⁷ Pepys records, 1667, that ". . . the life guard, which we thought a little while since was sent down into the country about some insurrection, was sent

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were themselves often actually or indirectly interested in this domestic tobacco production) were occasionally charged before the Council with hampering the king's officers in their work of destruction.¹ It was obviously useless for the government to depend upon cooperation from the local authorities, some of whom were owners of the lands upon which tobacco was grown, and whenever the officers of the state set about to carry out the Council's orders they were faced with a hostile countryside. The general attitude of those interested in this domestic industry was expressed by a writer on economics, Reynell, in 1674,² who wrote that "Some say [planting here] would spoil Virginia, what though it should, we are bound to look to our selves at home first," who enthusiastically indicated the profits to be derived from home-grown tobacco, the increased values of land and rents, etc., and who suggested that it would be better were Virginia to plant "Mulberry trees, vines and olives."³

The uneven struggle continued throughout the reigns of Charles II and James II, and almost regularly during the summer months, when the harvest season began, troops of horse or foot-soldiers, under direct orders for a time of the Surveyors-General to the customs-farmers, and later under the Duke of Albermarle or other noblemen,⁴ trampled down or burned what tobacco they could find. Had it not been for the political dissensions which disturbed England during the middle period of the XVIIth century and up to the end of James II's reign, 1688, it is highly probable that the industry, so irksome to the colonial planters, tobacco importers, and others, would have been completely destroyed earlier than it was. But in any event, this domestic agriculture began to decline about 1680 and practically disappeared within a decade or so thereafter.⁵ "Seventy years of Orders in Council, Parliamentary prosecution, and military visitations had at last borne fruit," writes MacInnes,⁶ but it was not the efforts of the government alone which

to Winchcombe, to spoil the tobacco there, which it seems the people there do plant contrary to law, and have always done, and still been under force and danger of having it spoiled, as it hath been oftentimes, and yet they will continue to plant it." (*Diary*, ed. Wheatley, 1923, Vol. VII, pp. 110-111.) *V. Acts*, i, n. 673.

¹ The negligence of the sheriff of Gloucester (for which he, together with the justices of peace there, was reprimanded by the Council, 14 Aug., 1667) was only apparent. In attempting to carry out the commands of that board in regard to the destruction of tobacco (6 Mar., 1666—*Acts*, i, n. 670) he had been roughly handled. In 1666 the inhabitants of Winchcombe and Cheltenham "did not only offer Violence but had like to have slain the Sheriff, Giving out, that they would loose their Liues rather than obey the Lawes in that case provided . . ." (*Acts*, i, n. 673.) *V. ibid.*, nos. 563, n. (in which the High Sheriff of Gloucester is accused of neglect, 1662), 602, 673, 682, 710, 712, 713, 714, 715, *et passim*, for various orders of the Council reproving remiss officials, commanding their appearance before them, requiring them to assist the Council's agents, etc., etc.

² *V.*, too, n. 334.

³ N. 327.

⁴ *Acts*, i, nos. 602, 616, 623, 673, 925 *et passim*.

⁵ *V. Acts*, ii, nos. 38, 81 *ff.* (referring to the last commission, 20 Feb., 1690), 299, and the last Parliamentary Act (n. 412 of this history). The *Sheriff's Court Rolls, Gloucester City*, 1690 (cited by Mac., p. 122), and *Cal. Treas. Papers*, May 16, 1691, p. 176, indicate that the usual orders continued for at least a year after those which emanated directly from the Council. The final entry in *Acts*, ii, relating to the English tobacco agriculture is no. 535 (1694) in which one John Gray prays for some allowance for his past services in destroying tobacco planted about Bristol. (The petition of Gray's widow, in *Acts*, vi, n. 99, indicates that efforts to receive the remuneration due were still unsuccessful by 1703.)

The last entry in the *Cal. Treas. Papers* (1697-1701/2, p. 45) occurs under May 18, 1697, in which the specially appointed prosecutor of the tobacco growers, Giles Dowle, who had carried on his duties for 23 years (*v. Cal. Treas. Books*, 1672-1675, p. 482, Feb. 23, 1673/4), makes a like petition. *V. Acts*, ii, n. 81.

⁶ Pp. 123-124. This author supplies (Chaps. IV-V) the fullest account of the struggle between the English farmers and the government. *V.*, too, Beer, pp. 165-168; 403-408, and Beer, *OCS.*, i, pp. 138-147.

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had eliminated this English industry. From about 1675 on the value of tobacco from the Anglo-American colonies had fallen so low in England that importers could successfully compete with the price asked for the domestic product.¹ Furthermore, when it became generally apparent that the colonial leaf (now available to the poorest consumers) was of a flavor far superior to the English-grown variety, the demand for the latter decreased to a point where it became unprofitable to continue its production. Thereafter, the taste for tobacco in England coincided largely with the financial and colonial policies of the state. To the domestic planters the official efforts to suppress their industry had been ruthless and arbitrary, but they had no perspective on the economic scheme which saw the colonies as a prized possession of the English crown. When the stubborn provincials had finally capitulated, they returned to the agricultural routines of their forbears and peace settled on the Midland farms and their neighbors.²

IV. While the drama of opposing causes was being played on English soil the government and the colonial planters were contending against other factors inimical to the rule of state and to the welfare of the colonies. Smuggling of tobacco on a large scale, and Dutch and Scotch interlopers, etc., in the carrying trade, at times seriously affected the customs revenue from imports of this commodity; while the quantities of illicit tobacco poured into the market (together with the extensive adulterations practised by unscrupulous dealers) operated to the disadvantage of the colonial exporters and the honest English merchants.

The initial external³ causes which instituted the smuggling of tobacco in

¹ It had been low at the source for more than a decade earlier (*v. infra*, p. 126) but had had few consumers in the neighborhoods where English tobacco was being sold cheaply.

² During the period of the American Revolution the growing of tobacco was permitted in Ireland, 1779, for sole exportation to the United Kingdom (Act of 19 Geo. III, c. 35). Just prior to 1782, the plant was extensively cultivated in the vales of York and Ryedale, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. In the latter district it seems to have escaped the attention of the authorities, or was ignored by them, but in the former the tobacco was seized and publicly burned and the growers were fined or imprisoned. Brodigan (p. 91) remarked that fines said to amount to £30,000 were imposed upon the farmers. In the neighborhoods of Kelso, Jedburgh, and elsewhere in Scotland, tobacco of a good quality was raised during this same period. In 1782, however, the Acts prohibiting the cultivation of this plant in England were applied to Scotland (n. 926). *V. Fairholt*, pp. 143-144.

By 1830 there were many acres under cultivation in Ireland. A committee of Parliament advised that the prohibitions against growing tobacco should be extended to Ireland (*Report from the Select Committee on the Growth and Cultivation of Tobacco*, ¶, June, 1830, §11). A law to that effect was passed in 1831 (1 & 2 Wm. IV, c. 13). *V. Brodigan*, p. 118, Siemssen, pp. 21-22.

Several attempts were made in the XIXth century to overcome the government's objections to

this agriculture in England. E. J. Beale (ed. of *English Tobacco Culture*, ¶, 1887) deals with the crops experimentally produced in England and Ireland in 1886 in an effort to prove that tobacco could be profitably grown in the British Isles and thus induce favorable Parliamentary legislation. But not before 1910 were the prohibitory Acts repealed, since which time tobacco has been successfully produced in England, although in comparatively small quantities. *V. Report of the Committee appointed by the Treasury to Enquire into the Industry of Tobacco Growing in Great Britain*, 1923.

³ The business of smuggling was, of course, no new thing in England or elsewhere in the XVIIth century, for it was an inevitable consequent of revenue laws. But there were distinctions even in this profession. Those who regularly engaged in evading the regulations which interfered with the ready satisfaction of the two great appetites of man, for spirits and for tobacco, not only had the co-operation of the commonalty but often had their gratitude. The imposts which made tobacco expensive were looked upon as especially unjust and harsh in all countries, and in the outlying districts of England the natives were sympathetic to smugglers to a degree which the government was to find most troublesome later. In an age of monopolies and extravagant rulers the smuggler acquired a kind of virtue as a benefactor of the poor. Adam Smith undoubtedly had this type in mind when he wrote of him as "a person who, though no doubt highly blamable for violating the laws of his country, is

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England before the middle of the XVIIth century were the high imposts exacted there (under the supervision of the customs-farmers), the provisional limitation of tobacco imports to the port of London, and the tariff restrictions on the Spanish leaf. Later, the strict application of the Navigation Acts,¹ the exclusion of the Scotch from the privileges of these Acts,² the elimination of Ireland as a port of entry for colonial tobacco,³ etc., gave further stimulus to evasions of the English revenue and maritime laws.

In James I's proclamation of 1624 (n. 154-A) London was designated as the sole port of entry for tobacco, an order reaffirmed by Charles I.⁴ The mayor and burgesses of Portsmouth, in 1625, petitioned the king that their city be made the tobacco staple, etc., of the realm,⁵ but were unsuccessful, for early in 1627 the restriction of these imports to London was renewed.⁶ Despite the fact that London was again stipulated in the proclamation of January 6, 1631,⁷ permission was granted by the king, February 24, 1632, for the landing of tobacco in any port of the kingdom where there was a custom-house with attendant officers.⁸ This freedom was revoked, however, by a provision in the proclamation of May 19, 1634,⁹ whereby the metropolis was reestablished as the sole legal city at which colonial tobacco could be landed. However, in 1639, upon the petition of the customs-farmers, the Privy Council allowed tobacco to be entered at several other ports, including Bristol, prefacing this action by stating that "The ffarmers of his Majesties Customes and Imposts fynd, that the restriction of bringing Tobacco shipps, directly to the Porte of London, turnes to very many inconveniences and losse to them. for notwithstanding that vpon pretences of Distress of Weather or other occasion, the Masters make to some other of the Out portes.^[10] And the Officers not presuming to take any entry, or land their Tobacco without Order, In the meane while the shipps Company doe steale night and day notwithstanding all the Watch the Officers and ffarmers Deputies can doe, That thereby the ffarmers receiue excessiue losse in their particulars As also the Lycences^[11] are likely to bee vndone by the secrett serving of the Country by theise practises."¹² It was typical of that unsettled period, however, that just a month later this new regulation¹³ was amended and London again made the sole port of entry for tobacco "unless by

frequently incapable of violating those of natural justice, and would have been in every respect an excellent citizen had not the laws of his country made that a crime which nature never meant to be so."

¹ *V. ante*, pp. 110-111.

² *V. infra*, p. 122.

³ *V. infra*, p. 121, n. 4.

⁴ Proclamation of March 2, 1625. *V. AAS.*, p. 46.

⁵ *Acts*, i, n. 151.

⁶ Proclamation of Feb. 17, 1627. *V. AAS.*, p. 58; *Acts*, i, n. 198.

⁷ *V. AAS.*, p. 70.

⁸ *V. Acts*, n. 291, p. 175.

⁹ *V. AAS.*, p. 76. This regulation was included again in the proclamation of Mar. 14, 1638 (*v. AAS.*, p. 85) and, in essence, Mar. 25, 1639 (*v. infra*, in n. 13). These proclamations, as well as those cited above, were usually also concerned with various other phases of the importation, planting, and retailing of tobacco. *V. Beer*, pp. 197-201.

In the official figures of imports of tobacco to the port of London 3,100,000 lbs. (including 93,000 lbs. of Spanish tobacco) are recorded for 1638. This amount was more than twice that for 1637 or for 1639. (Hardwicke MSS., B.M., 35865, f. 248, cited by Rive, p. 60.) Rive ascribes this increase of imports partially to the presence of a man-of-war in the Channel which took bond of masters to take their ships to London. The vessels of the navy assigned to meet all incoming ships freighted with colonial goods and to require them to land their cargoes in England must, therefore, have been unusually active and alert in 1638, as admiralty orders in this regard had been issued several years before. *V. Beer*, pp. 199-201.

¹⁰ *Cf. Acts*, i, n. 271, *et passim*.

¹¹ *V. ante*, p. 95, n. 2, ¶2.

¹² *Acts*, i, n. 415.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 250, note; and proclamation of 25 March, 1639 (*v. AAS.*, p. 91).

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dispensation from the Lord Treasurer directions bee given to the contrary." Nevertheless such numerous exceptions were allowed by the time England was involved in civil war that the import trade in tobacco was established at several cities other than London, and it thrived especially at Bristol. The plan to make London the tobacco staple of the kingdom was occasionally advanced thereafter,¹ particularly by the merchants of that city, but it was not adopted again.

While these revenue restrictions were in effect, the smuggling traffic in tobacco grew into a fairly lucrative business.² Before the third quarter of the XVIIth century a vast quantity of leaf in bulk was regularly run into England, chiefly through Scotland and the Isle of Man,³ etc.; into England (and France) from the Channel Islands; and into Ireland⁴ by the Scotch, New England merchantmen and other British traders.⁵ While most of the participants in these activities plied their trade only from the colonies to the mother country and its European dominions, some of them also evaded that provision of the Navigation Acts which required that colonial exports be landed first in England.⁶

In this latter phase of prohibited traffic the Dutch regularly engaged,⁷ operating chiefly from their stronghold at New Amsterdam; and it was this implied defiance of English commercial policy which was a cause of the second Dutch War.⁸

Despite the political and social relations with the Scotch, and the increasing

¹ *V. infra*, p. 123, n. 8.

² Several of the proclamations issued early in the reign of Charles I refer to the "great parcels of (Spanish or forreine) Tobacco . . . secretly and cunningly stollen in." *V. AAS.*, pp. 43, 50, 56.

³ *Mac.*, p. 150. Smuggling operations had assumed such considerable proportions in the Isle of Man that in 1765 the Crown purchased the sovereign and manorial rights, customs revenues, etc., of the Isle in order to prevent its use as a smugglers' base.

⁴ The Irish had been heavy purchasers of colonial tobacco, but in the Act of Parliament, effective 1671 (n. 311), a regulatory clause was inserted which specifically denied Ireland the right to import directly from the colonies articles enumerated in the Navigation Act of 1660 (*v. ante*, p. 110). The Staple Act of 1663 (15 Car. II, c. 7, §§5-6) had omitted Ireland from the list of ports where such entries were permitted, the intention being to prohibit colonial shipments to Ireland, but merchantmen had continued to land tobacco there (*v. n. 311*, §11). After 1671, therefore, the smuggling of this commodity into Ireland became very extensive, as is evidenced by numerous references in the State Papers and other official documents. The Act of 1671 was to be in force only nine years, but before its expiration the Plantation Duties Act of 1673 (25 Car. II, c. 7, §2) was passed, which imposed export duties on all enumerated commodities not bonded to be shipped directly to England. While, therefore, colonial exporters were assumedly free in 1680 to send their goods directly to Ireland they were required to pay an extra duty on such shipments. Various steps were adopted by the government to meet this situation but in 1685 Parliament revived the Act of 1671, a law which the Lords of Trade decided to enforce. See *Beer*, *OCS.*, i, pp.

91-104, for a full survey of this subject based chiefly on official records; and *cf. Mac.*, pp. 147-148, *Acts*, i, nos. 1077, 1083, 1287.

Despite the considerable amount of tobacco smuggled into Ireland after the revival Act of 1685, large quantities were imported directly from England. More than four million lbs. were legally entered there in 1696-1697 (*op. cit. ante*, first paragraph of n. 1, p. 109).

⁵ Small ships conveyed this loose tobacco into convenient harbors in England whence it was peddled at extremely low prices over the countryside by means of pack-horses. *V. W. Byrd* (in *op. cit. ante*, p. 104, n. 10), "An Essay on Bulk Tobacco," pp. 143 ff., and Bruce, i, pp. 452-453, for a summary of this essay. *Cf. Gray*, pp. 30-31.

The shipping of tobacco in bulk was prohibited after Sept. 29, 1700 (10 & 11 Wm. III, c. 21, §29, 1699), but there were constant evasions of this law until the establishment of an effective inspection system in Virginia (*v. ante*, p. 102, n. 3) and elsewhere in the colonies.

⁶ The usual method of evasion was to ship the tobacco to New England or New Netherland for transshipment to the Netherlands, or to ship it directly to the latter country. It was estimated in 1663 that the English customs lost annually £10,000 sterling because of these illegal exportations. (Bruce, i, pp. 357-359, citing several authorities; *Beer*, *OCS.*, ii, pp. 160, 163, and additional references cited in the same, vol. i, p. 272, n. 1, and p. 273, n. 1.) Breaches of the Navigation Acts were only intermittent by the end of the XVIIth century and were extremely rare by the middle of the next century.

⁷ *V. ante*, p. 100, n. 9; p. 111, n. 1, ¶1; and *cf. Beer*, *OCS.*, i, pp. 60-61, 272-273.

⁸ One of the earliest objectives of the English

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number of their emigrants in the English settlements in North America, Scotland was regarded as an alien nation up to the period of the Union (1707). Under the Navigation Acts, therefore, its ships were "unfree." Upon the protests of the Scotch the Privy Council (August 30, 1661)¹ exempted them from the maritime restrictions of the Acts, pending an investigation of the situation by the commissioners of the customs. The latter presented their report on November 6, 1661, stating that much harm would be done the customs were the Scots permitted to trade as did the English: "The Plantations . . . employ above 200 sail of good ships every year, breed abundance of mariners . . . and though some of [the plantations] continue in tobacco, yet upon the return, it smells well, and pays more custom to his Majesty than the East Indies four times over. The Scotch would . . . overthrow the essence of the Act of Navigation, and they must not be allowed to trade from port to port, for they are strangers and their bond is not sufficient security."² The Council, on November 22, thereupon revoked its order which had temporarily suspended the application of the Navigation Acts to the Scotch, and referred them to Parliament for redress.³

But unlike many of the British merchants (who had taken advantage of the privileges derived through the Navigation Acts to abuse the colonial trade⁴ and underpay the planters for their tobacco), the Scotch skippers offered fair prices for the staple product of Virginia and Maryland. The planters in these colonies and elsewhere⁵ had no scruples, therefore, in dealing with friendly interlopers (or smugglers), for they bitterly resented the predatory English merchants and the restrictive maritime laws. In a period between 1689 and 1692, for instance, a considerable quantity of tobacco was sent out of one county in Maryland alone, mainly to Scotland,⁶ and similar illegal exportations unquestionably occurred from other parts of Maryland, Virginia, and elsewhere in the Anglo-American colonies of North America.

The English merchants and the colonial exporters who did not participate in

forces was the seizure of the New Netherland colony. (Cf. *C.S.P., Col., 1661-1668*, p. 106, Aug. 25, 1662.) It was expected that the Dutch would join with the Dutch West India Company "next Spring to recover what they have lost this autumn—which is, the whole trade of tobacco; and their neighbours of Maryland are much bribed with the trade with the Dutch." (*Ibid.*, p. 236, Oct. 1664.)

¹ *V. Acts*, i, n. 536.

² *C.S.P., Col., 1661-1668*, p. 58.

³ *Acts*, i, n. 537 (conclusion). *V. Beer, OCS.*, i, pp. 85-91.

⁴ *Mac.*, pp. 142-143; and *v. ante*, p. 109, n. 6.

⁵ Col. Robert Quarry (Judge of the Admiralty in the province of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys) wrote that "Four times the tobacco was made there that year than had been made before, and all of it engrossed by the Scotch, as almost all other trade there was. No one who designed to trade fairly could give the extravagant rates they did, being not less than double what was given in Maryland." (*Cal. of Treas. Papers*, Vol. LXXIII, No. 43, p. 480, April 8, 1701.)

⁶ Frequent references to the intrusions of Scotch

and other skippers in the tobacco-carrying trade occur in the letters of the collector of customs, Edward Randolph, to his chief. (*Randolph to the Commissioners of Customs on the Virginia Collectors*, Prince Soc., Vol. VII, Sec. CVIII, pp. 356-372.) In one he wrote:

"I find yt in these 3 years last past there has not been above 5 ships trading legally in all those rivers and nigh 30 Sayle of Scotch, Irish and New Eng^ld men. I humbly inclose to yo^r Hon^{rs} A forgd Certificate (No. 4) produced to Maj^r King by Will^m Hall of Boston allowed of by Mr. Layfield he clear'd his ship having 110 hds. aboard ye 7th Apr^l 1689 and went to Scotland since w^{ch} time to ye 25th May 1692 above 1644 hds has been shipt off by Interlopers out of yt one Co^{ty} besides what Makay & Crookshanks are now loading severall Illegale traders are designed this Winter to come to Som^{set} Co^{ty} and Potomoke River their loadings of Tobb^o being already agreed for, above 20 Scotch Irish and New Eng^ld Vessells within these 8 months have sayld out of ye Cape with their loading of tobbs^o for Scotland and Holland & ye man of warr had not discover'd one of them." (*Ibid.*, p. 365.)

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this trade made frequent and bitter protests over the success of the Scotch interlopers and the cheaper prices at which they were able to sell tobacco. The retailers at Bristol and other English cities became especially indignant because the Scotch, when they heard of the proposed union with England, had brought in great quantities of tobacco at the lower duties imposed in Scotland and then sent it overland later, underselling the English at every point. Parliament was frequently memorialized by the dealers in England "to settle the tobacco trade,"¹ and a commission was finally appointed in November, 1722,² to examine into the matter. Glasgow soon became the tobacco center of the world,³ and the elaborately clad tobacco lords of Scotland were familiar figures on the English scene. The long-continued struggle between the rival merchants need not concern us here; it came to an end with the opening of the American Revolution and the consequent ruin of the tobacco trade in Glasgow.⁴

Early in the XVIIIth century the government, now seriously concerned over the depredations of tobacco smugglers, began to combat this menace with earnestness.⁵ But it faced no simple task. By that time the illicit commerce in tobacco had become highly organized; and experienced smugglers controlled swift ships, expertly manned and heavily armed, connived with local populations at the smaller outports, intimidated magistrates and terrorized the inhabitants of countrysides unfriendly to them, successfully resisted the attacks of the king's officers on several occasions, and secured the cooperation of customs forces, by wholesale bribery, in the larger cities. In London, tobacco on which no duty had been paid was openly on sale for two-thirds the price (and in the country, often at one-half the price) of the legally imported tobacco.⁶ Joined with these evasions of the customs were elaborate systems of frauds, committed on an extensive scale, by importers in Scotland and in England. The chief of these deceptions concerned the recording of less than actual weights on imported tobaccos, drawbacks on damaged, overweighted, or adulterated tobacco exported to the Continent, and relanding after having obtained debentures for the drawback, etc., etc. (as indicated in several works in this collection)⁷—all of which depressed the price⁸ of legitimate tobacco in

¹ In one of these petitions (read 27 Nov., 1722) it was charged that large quantities of tobacco had been reimported into Scotland from Holland, Norway and the Isle of Man without payment of proper duties (*Commons Journal*, XX, 1722-1727, p. 64).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64. The committee reported on 24 Jan., 1723, that the English merchants were being undersold by the Scotch in London and elsewhere. The lowest price for which tobacco could be imported, with duty paid, was 7d. (the duty then being 5½d. with the discount), but tobacco from Scotland was sold for 6d. or less. The Scotch, in rebuttal, attempted to explain away this fact by stating that all the low-priced tobacco had been sold in London by a member of their trade who had become insolvent through the practice, etc., etc. (*Ibid.*, pp. 102 ff., and *v. n.* 533 of this history.) A bill to have but one commission of the customs for Great Britain, and to prevent revenue frauds, etc., was introduced in Parliament, 22 Mar., 1723

(*ibid.*, p. 176, and cf. pp. 110, 163, 197, 203, 212, 220). For the Act, see n. 534 of this history.

³ About one-half of the consignments of tobacco to Great Britain were handled by the Scotch by 1775. See the comparative table in Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, 1805, III, p. 583.

⁴ Dowell, *History of Taxation and Taxes in England* (1, 1884), Vol. IV, p. 275.

⁵ It was only in 1698 that the first force of customs agents, the "riding officers" of the southwest, was organized. (Shore, *Smuggling Days and Smuggling Ways*, 1892, pp. 140-141.) *V. Rive*, "A Short History of Tobacco Smuggling" (in *The Economic Journal*, Supp.), Jan., 1929.

⁶ A considerable amount of Spanish tobacco continued to be run in throughout the period under review.

⁷ *V. nos.* 436, 533, 534, 648, 667, 754, etc., and cf. *Rive*, pp. 67-69, citing several authorities.

⁸ Many of the frauds practised had their inception

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London and further affected the economic condition of the colonies. It was estimated by government officials that the loss sustained in its revenue by these practises amounted to one-third of the duty on tobacco, but the merchants most largely concerned in frauds implied that only by such practises could they compete with the smugglers and the dealers whom the latter supplied with tobacco.¹

One other form of commercial abuse which affected the retail trade is still to be considered, and that is the unwholesome adulteration of tobacco by unscrupulous dealers. The "sophisticating" of the leaf, etc., practised in England from the later years of Elizabeth's reign,² grew to such proportions within half a century that in 1644 the mayor of London was several times petitioned by numerous vendors to represent to Parliament their grievances against the "counterfeiters" in the tobacco trade.³ Starch, "dyer's liquor, oil and spike" were mixed with tobacco stalks and offered as the pure product. The leaf itself was compounded with small coal, dust, etc., etc., and sold as unadulterated tobacco, at about a quarter to half the prices required by the honest dealers.⁴ But no remedial action was taken,⁵ and abuses continued to flourish. In 1686 a bill was proposed designed to eliminate these dangerous and corrupt practises, make London the tobacco staple of the kingdom again, regulate the carrying trade, etc., etc.⁶ It failed to become a law, however. Parliament had imposed a new duty on tobacco, 1685,⁷ and the mal-

in the later Restoration period. In the Harleian MSS. (1238, Sec. 12, ff. 20 *et seq.*, 1671, April 1) is "an elaborate scheme," says MacInnes (p. 67) "put forward by a writer who appears to have been not only an enthusiastic but an unscrupulous Londoner." As it gives a valuable indication of the conditions then existing in the tobacco trade it may be briefly reviewed here. The author proposed that London should again be made the tobacco staple of the kingdom and have a monopoly of tobacco manufacture, etc., on the grounds that such concentration would tend to eliminate the abuses then flourishing in the less virtuous outports and the countrysides! He indicated that the chief ingredient of the adulterated or impure tobaccos then sold came from the worthless stalks of which vast stacks were kept in the neighborhood of London. Stalks should, therefore, be ordered destroyed, together with English-grown tobacco, etc., etc. In the outports, duty was paid on only small quantities of the tobacco imported, and even more flagrant frauds existed in the export trade. "Forswearing was common, some men having adopted the custom of letting their nails grow, so that, when they took oaths, their fingers would not touch the Book; they would then cut their nails and thus deprive the oath of its validity, or they would drink a glass of sack to wash the oaths away. Bribery and corruption were rampant. For example, in Liverpool in the previous year, which was their first year for tobacco, a ship had brought in 300 hogsheads and paid duty only on 60 with the full knowledge of the local official." (Mac., p. 68.) Although this writer, who had obviously an intimate knowledge of the trade, would have had the Virginian planters paid only ½d. per lb. for their tobacco, its price in London was to have been fixed at 16d. to 20d. the lb.! London tobacco

sellers should be incorporated so that they could prevent the depredations of hawkers and peddlers who were the chief vendors of adulterated tobacco in the countrysides, etc., etc.

It is of interest to note that many of these suggestions were repeated in the abstract of the tobacco bill, 1686 (*v. infra*, n. 6).

¹ *V.* n. 667. Dowell (in *op. cit. ante*, p. 123, n. 4) IV, pp. 272-274, provides a summary of the principal frauds practised to evade the tobacco duties.

² *V. ante*, p. 50, n. 4.

³ Harleian MSS., 1238, Sec. 9, f. 12, Aug. 6, 1644. Cf. *ibid.*, Sec. 4, f. 4; and Sec. 8, ff. 9 *et seq.* *V. Mac.*, pp. 64 ff.

⁴ Good tobacco could not then be profitably sold under 12d. the lb., but the dishonest dealers offered their dross as the sound commodity for 3½d., 4d. and 6d. the lb. (Mac., p. 65). Cf. *ante*, p. 123, n. 2.

⁵ By a paragraph in the Act of 14 August, 1649 (n. 243), officers were to be appointed to "view" tobacco in order to prevent overweighting by the use of sand, dirt, etc. This was a measure designed to eliminate a form of excise fraud, however, and not created to protect the consumer.

⁶ Harleian MSS., 1238, Sec. 18, ff. 37-62. This bill was designed to control the tobacco trade in all its divisions. A good part of it was obviously based on the scheme advanced in 1671 (*v. ante*, p. 123, n. 8, and Mac., pp. 70-72). Several of its sounder provisions were later incorporated into the English laws relating to revenue and the general tobacco trade. *V.* nos. 505, 534, 769, etc., and cf. nos. 667, 668.

⁷ N. 387. The bill was successfully brought through the House of Commons by its originator, the economist, Sir Dudley North (then a commis-

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practises in the trade became even more flagrant thereafter.¹ The lack of government control in this industry was partly due to indifference to matters of public hygiene, and it was not until the revenue began to be affected (partly through diminution of purchase by retailers) that measures were taken to restrain the "sophisticators." James I, by his proclamation of 1619 (n. 139), had established official supervision of the internal trade in this matter, but succeeding administrations almost completely ignored the necessity of protecting the retail purchaser from adulterators. When the government investigators discovered at long last that a thriving trade was being carried on by those who manufactured various leaves to resemble tobacco, that ochre, umber, fustic and other ingredients were regularly employed in the making of snuff, Parliament passed the first "pure tobacco" bill, 1716 (n. 505). Many years were to elapse, however, before the evils which it sought to suppress were eliminated, and whenever good tobacco became scarce, especially during the period of the American Revolution, the old adulterations were again attempted.²

It was the combination of these factors (smuggling, customs frauds and adulterations) so menacing to the government's revenue and the stability of the tobacco trade, which induced Prime Minister Walpole, in 1733, to introduce his famous Excise Bill.³ This measure was, however, withdrawn because of the turbulent popular antagonism based on misinterpretation and ignorance of its economically sound purposes, an "opposition more factious and unprincipled than has ever disgraced English politics."⁴ The Pelham ministry succeeded in having a bill adopted (n. 769)⁵ aimed at smuggling and the illicit practises of importers. But the depredations of smugglers and adulterators continued, despite the efforts of the government to cope with them; and the Parliamentary committee appointed by Pitt, 1783-1784, disclosed an astonishingly extensive system of illicit importations and other frauds.⁶ Pitt, in 1789 (n. 966), adopted Walpole's rejected scheme,

sioner of the customs), despite the storm of protest its presentation aroused from members of Parliament, merchants, and the public. It "made a greater stir, and had more opposition in parliament, than any later revenue or supply bill ever had; and, upon voting the supply, and charging it so to be levied, it was cried out upon, as if it had been a surrender of liberty and property." (Roger North, *Lives of the Norths*, 1826, II, p. 122; and *v. Beer*, *OCS.*, I, p. 160, n. 2, citing the same.)

But even greater Parliamentary and public opposition than North remarks upon was evoked by the attempt to pass the excise bill of 1733. *V. text, supra.*

² Tobacco stalks were employed to a considerable degree in the manufacture of tobacco fraudently offered as "pure." About a million pounds of the five million then (c. 1695) supposed to be consumed annually in England were said to be composed largely of stalks (Mac., p. 73).

Mac. (p. 72, citing Harleian MSS., 1238, Sec. 17, f. 36 and others) records the fact that in 1694 "stalks, when soaked, pressed, cured and cut, were sold as 'old Spanish' at between £1 10s. and £1 13s. per cwt." It was proposed in that year that the government should make a fair allowance for the

stalks, which were supposed to be destroyed. *V.*, too, Harleian MSS., 1238, Secs. 1, 3, 7, 13-15, and for an account of "Old Spanish" made from stalks, etc., n. 654 of this history.

³ Tanner, p. 9: "The gathering, cutting, and curing of leaves from the English woods and gardens became a system, and to facilitate the deception the shag was dyed and stained. To impart an agreeable odour and colour to the snuff used at this time, various woods were imported from South America and ground up and mixed with earth, clay . . . Even the finest snuffs were impure." *V. ibid.*, pp. 10 ff., for the adulterations practised by the English manufacturers up to the passage of the Pure Tobacco Act, 1842. Cf. Rive, p. 70, and Steinmetz, p. 73.

⁴ N. 668. Cf. n. 667, and *v. Siemssen*, pp. 11 ff., Tanner, p. 7, Rive, pp. 61-62.

⁵ Quoted by Tanner (p. 7) from an unmentioned source. *V.* nos. 670 to 698 inclusive, for the pamphlet war aroused by Walpole's bill.

⁶ Cf. nos. 740, 744, 745, 754-A, 754-B, 770, and 771.

⁷ "Everybody from the pedlar to the merchant, seemed possessed with the common desire of defrauding the revenue. Relanding of goods, fraudulent drawbacks, collusions between underpaid offi-

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and the government proceeded with such determination in putting it into practise that within a comparatively short time its value to the revenue was demonstrated. Importers and retailers came under the supervision of the excise department and the smugglers were everywhere harried by the king's forces. But the ramifications of the smuggling industry were so extensive and its participants so ingenious that a very considerable period of time was to elapse before the government was able to feel that the suppression of this once thriving prohibited traffic was a *fait accompli*.¹

V. Our survey of the chief conditions which affected the colonial tobacco trade during the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries has now comprehended all but one of the elements before named.² We come, therefore, to the concluding portion of this division: the status of the commerce at its source.

As has been previously remarked, the factor which operated most seriously to the disadvantage of the colonial tobacco planters was the competition existing among themselves.³ During the earlier periods of economic adjustments this fact had, on several occasions, made itself acutely evident to the more discerning producers, as well as to several high officials in Virginia. But whatever steps were proposed or taken to eliminate this dangerous element in the colony's economic life were at first defeated by the sheer force of mass inertia. Virginia's reliance upon a single staple of fluctuating value had finally brought it to such a condition that its representatives in London asked for an order restraining any ship from leaving the tobacco colonies before May 1, 1662.⁴ Such an order was issued by the Privy Council but it was shortly thereafter revoked because of the hardship its enforcement would entail upon vessels which had already left England.⁵ The king was petitioned again in 1662,⁶ on the same score, with the added request that the growing of tobacco be prohibited in Virginia after June 10 (a month earlier than the usual final date)⁷ of any year until the production of flax, hemp, silk, pitch, tar, etc., had had some encouragement there. This appeal was supported by an influential representative of Virginia (its governor, Berkeley), who was then in London on a mission for improving the economic structure of the colony. He proclaimed⁸ that Virginia had great resources apart from "the vicious

cers and illicit traders, bands of armed ruffians escorting smuggled goods inland and openly defying the revenue officers, every coast town a nest of robbers, were notorious facts; whilst inland, distillers and such other traders as the makers of starch, soap, candles, etc., were vying with each other in their efforts at illicit gain. The quantity of tobacco smuggled is not computed, probably the modesty of the committee stood in the way of stating the amount. The duty was 1s. 3d. per lb., its value apart from duty 3d. per lb. As the inducement was in the proportion of five to one, success in smuggling two hogsheads amply compensated for the loss of the other three." (Tanner, p. 8.)

¹ Rive, p. 71, and references cited there.

² *V. ante*, p. 107.

³ This had been intensified, after the fourth decade, by the rapid emigration from England occasioned by the disturbances there of the Civil War and Protectorate periods.

⁴ *Acts*, i, nos. 531, 532.

⁵ *Ibid.*, n. 534. *V. infra*, p. 128, n. 4.

⁶ *Acts*, i, n. 564.

⁷ *V. Bruce*, i, p. 383. As tobacco planted subsequent to July 10 could ordinarily not reach its maturity before the first frost, and such late crops only added to the already abundant stocks of inferior tobacco, these tardy sowings were prohibited in Virginia in 1662 (Hening, II, p. 119). This law was repealed in the following year (*ibid.*, II, p. 202).

The Virginia Assembly had already (1661) tentatively set the date limit back to June 30, provided Maryland would concur (*ibid.*, II, p. 32), but as it did not, the legal limit remained at July 10 for the time being. *V. infra*, p. 131, n. 10.

⁸ In his *Discourse . . . 1662* (*v. ante*, pp. 111-112). It was Berkeley's opinion, expressed in a letter to the Secretary of State, 1663, that the English merchants were secretly opposed to any stint of tobacco, for obvious reasons (Brit. Mus., Egerton MSS. 2395, ff. 362 *et seq.*, cited by Beer, *OCS.*, ii, p. 125, n. 4). *Cf. infra*, p. 127, n. 5.

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ruinous plant of Tobacco" which had at length brought the colonists to "that extremity, that they can neither handsomely subsist with it, nor without it."¹ Despite the urgency of the colonists' plea it was summarily rejected by the Privy Council, its members declaring "that they henceforth would not receive any Petition of that nature."² The refusal to consider the plea favorably was based on the belief that its acceptance would diminish the import revenue, promote the planting of tobacco in England and in those foreign countries which then purchased large quantities of this commodity from Virginia and Maryland, render a good part of the growing merchant marine idle, etc., etc.³ This hasty decision of the Council was reconsidered by them⁴ in so far as it related to the stinting of tobacco crops, for later in the following month they ordered Berkeley to repair to his colony and consult with the planters of Virginia and with Maryland's representatives in regard to curtailment of production. No restraint was to be made upon shipping unless so directed by the respective governors and Assemblies of Virginia and Maryland.⁵

The commissioners of the two colonies having met (May, 1663)⁶ to consider joint action which would lessen the "great quantities [of tobacco] now made which glutts all marketts," recommended that no planting be permitted after June 20 for the year 1664. This proposal the Virginia Assembly accepted and enacted into a law, but again Maryland refused to concur.⁷ The objection arose chiefly from the fact that Virginia's more moderate climate would give it the advantage of the stint if the prohibition were in effect after the same day in both colonies. The Virginians had, on several occasions, limited their production of tobacco⁸ but they could not now, they insisted, reduce their crops without penalizing themselves in the export trade,⁹ unless Maryland cooperated. All restrictions upon planting in Virginia were, therefore, rescinded in 1664 upon Maryland's definite refusal to conform.¹⁰

The increasing surplus of tobacco in Virginia was especially disturbing to the established planter-exporters¹¹ there, and again Charles II was officially petitioned¹² to place some restraint upon tobacco production. The consequent meetings in London of the representatives of the two tobacco colonies with the farmers of the customs and the colonial committee appointed by the Privy Council¹³ produced a result highly unsatisfactory to the Virginians, for the special committee reported to the Council (November 25, 1664) that any "Cessation, Stint or Limitation of

¹ Quoted by Beer, *ibid.*, pp. 118, 119. *V. ante*, p. 113, n. 2.

² *Acts*, i, n. 564.

³ *Cf. infra*, p. 130, n. 5, and *v. Mac.*, p. 140.

⁴ *Acts*, i, n. 566. *Cf. ante*, p. 113, n. 4.

⁵ Nevertheless Gov. Berkeley and others associated with Virginia or its interests again petitioned that this restraining order be issued. A counter-petition was thereupon filed by a considerable group of English traders to the tobacco colonies. (*C.S.P., Col.*, 1661-1668, pp. 106, 109, and *cf.* Beer, *OCS.*, ii, p. 120, n. 2.) The government maintained its decision not to restrict the merchantmen.

⁶ *Bruce*, i, p. 390.

⁷ *V. ante*, p. 103, and *ibid.*, n. 4.

⁸ *V. ante*, p. 97, and notes 4 and 5 there; p. 102,

n. 6; p. 103, notes 1 and 2.

⁹ The imports of tobacco into England for the year ending Sept. 29, 1663, were officially recorded at 7,367,140 lbs. (Board of Trade Papers, 4, in the London Record Office, cited by Beer, *OCS.*, i, p. 40, n. 2.)

¹⁰ Hening, II, pp. 209-210.

¹¹ There were two well-defined classes that were the chief producers of tobacco in Virginia, the large-scale planter employing labor with an attendant organization for marketing, etc., and the farmer-laborer who grew tobacco chiefly for himself or to sell for his immediate necessities. *V. Gray*, pp. 21-22, and *infra*, pp. 142-143 of this *Introduction*.

¹² *Acts*, i, n. 627, and *Bruce*, i, pp. 391-392.

¹³ *Acts*, i, nos. 627 and 636.

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planting Tobacco" in Virginia and Maryland would be prejudicial to both the planters and his majesty's customs. As an alternative they proposed that if either of the two colonies would export hemp, pitch and tar of their own growth or manufacture, such commodities would be permitted entry free of duty for the space of five years.¹ Lord Baltimore's insistence² (at the meetings ordered by the Council) that the tobacco colonies were not in the parlous state indicated by the petitioners carried considerable weight with the committee, but the fear again expressed by the customs-farmers that the proposed restraint would reduce the government's revenue was the chief determining factor in their decision.

When the second Dutch-English war³ broke out, the stocks of tobacco accumulated rapidly for part of its duration owing to reduced markets and the smaller number of visiting merchant ships. Because of the plague the tobacco fleet⁴ did not call at the colonies, and the price of tobacco in Virginia and Maryland again fell to one penny the pound in 1665.⁵ In 1666⁶ it was agreed between Maryland and Virginia (joined by Carolina)⁷ to abstain from planting tobacco for a year, commencing February 1, 1667,⁸ and Virginia seems to have enforced this law.⁹ The Maryland regulation to this effect was voided by Lord Baltimore upon the complaint of the poorer planters in his colony, etc.¹⁰ Thereupon Virginia again appealed to the home government, charging Baltimore with being "an obstructor of the publique Good of those Collonies."¹¹ In defense of his action Lord Baltimore¹²

¹ *Acts*, i, n. 639. Cf. *ante*, p. 113, n. 4.

² Bruce, i, p. 392. As part of Lord Baltimore's proprietary revenue was derived from the tobacco export-duties, etc., any stint would have affected his income. (Jacobstein, p. 22; *The Calvert Papers, Number One, Md. Hist. Soc. Fund-Publication*, No. 28, 1889, pp. 231, 245; *C.S.P., Col., 1681-1685*, pp. 211, 212, cited by Beer, *OCS.*, ii, p. 168.)

³ 1664/5-1667. *V. ante*, p. 121, n. 8.

⁴ During the earlier colonial period the colonists had been dependent upon itinerant merchantmen which visited their settlements only irregularly. By the middle of the third decade, however, English vessels to a considerable number were trading to the colonies (Beer, pp. 209, 235, 356, citing several sources; and *v. n.* 235 of this history). The Dutch, too, were making frequent calls. The Navigation Acts greatly stimulated English shipping; and beginning about 1666, owing to the depredations of the Dutch, the larger part of the "smokers' fleet" came to the colonies under convoy. There was no continuity in this practice, however, except during times of war or when pirates proved too menacing. The colonists objected to mass visits by the fleet, as the system promoted methods which tended to demoralize the market, stifle competition, etc. (Gray, pp. 13-14 and references in his notes 86-89.)

⁵ Jacobstein (table), p. 23. In London the price rose from 4½d. to 8d. per lb. (Harleian MSS., 1238, Sec. 12, f. 20.)

In Virginia the price of tobacco fluctuated between ½d. and 3d. the lb. from 1649 to 1662. It was but 1d. the lb. at the latter date according to Gov. Berkeley (Beer, *OCS.*, ii, p. 116, citing several authorities). *V. Bruce*, i, p. 389, Beer, p. 417,

conclusion of n. 4, and Beer, *OCS.*, i, p. 17, n. 1 (each referring to several official sources and others). Virginia tobacco brought 3 to 3½d. in London in 1664 (Brock, table, p. 224).

⁶ *Acts*, i, n. 733, and Henning, II, pp. 224-226.

⁷ *V. ante*, p. 108, n. 2. The majority of the settlers in Carolina had come from Virginia, and continued there the agriculture of tobacco, with which they were most familiar. Chalmers states that the New England traders "who, in a great measure, governed the colony [Carolina] and directed the pursuits of the planter to their own advantage . . ." sent the tobacco there produced first to New England "whence it was carried all over Europe . . ." (pp. 534, 558, citing *Carolina Papers*, pp. 224-246). *V. Beer, OCS.*, ii, pp. 194-195.

Tobacco from Carolina and other colonies was prohibited entry into Virginia by an Act (1679) except in payment of debts due. (Henning, II, pp. 445-446.) The Act was renewed in 1705 and again in 1726 (*ibid.*, III, pp. 253-254, and IV, pp. 175-177). These Acts were disapproved by the Board of Trade and the Privy Council (1731) whereupon they were repealed (Nov. 25, 1731). (*Acts*, iii, n. 245.)

⁸ Henning, II, p. 230.

⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 231.

¹⁰ *Archives of Maryland, Proceedings of the Council, 1636-1667* (Md. Hist. Soc., 1885), pp. 560-561, and cf. Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province* (1901), pp. 108-109, citing official sources.

¹¹ Col. Office Records, 1/21, 133, cited by Beer, *OCS.*, ii, p. 124, n. 3, and cf. *C.S.P., Col., 1661-1668*, pp. 474, 475, 515.

¹² *V. supra*, in text.

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referred to the Council's order of 1664, and after consultation with the farmers of the customs the Council again refused to uphold the Cessation Act.¹

Despite their depressed economic state the body of planters in Virginia were unwilling or unable to forsake their wonted occupation. Thus, in 1666, Berkeley and the Virginia Council announced that a greater quantity of tobacco was under cultivation that year than could possibly be exported in three years.² A storm of unrivalled severity in 1667, which destroyed at least two-thirds of the crop in Virginia,³ and the destruction by the Dutch of twenty vessels freighted with tobacco,⁴ together temporarily advanced prices in the colony. Efforts were made by the planters' representatives to continue the agreement of 1666 but mutual suspicions, jealousies, and the unwillingness of impoverished growers to cooperate each year prevented any unanimity of cessation. Added to the abundance of good tobacco⁵ were large stocks of inferior leaf which were set aside as unfit for consumption abroad, but which were nevertheless offered by the growers in payment of taxes, salaries of officials, etc. This "trash," which finally even the soldiers refused to accept as pay,⁶ further increased the instability of the trade at its source.

The history of Virginia for the initial decade of the Restoration period is almost entirely concerned with its efforts to limit the production of tobacco and to encourage other commodities for which a definite market existed in England. A law of 1656⁷ required that all Virginian landholders plant ten mulberry trees for every hundred acres, and though repealed in 1659,⁸ it was revived in 1661.⁹ In the following year the Assembly held out tempting bounties to encourage the production of silk, of cloth from home-grown flax and the construction of ships in the colony.¹⁰ The results of these legislative acts were such as to arouse the enthusiasm of Governor Berkeley and other officials of Virginia.¹¹ Though the tobacco crop of 1666 was excessive, the apparently successful establishment of other home industries¹² influenced the Assembly to believe that the cultivation of silk, etc., was no longer in need of the state's support. That body therefore again repealed the mandatory-industries laws. At the same time, in order to conserve the tobacco then being distributed as bounties (which came from the public stores) it withdrew its offers of premiums for silk, cloth and ships of home manufacture.¹³ That this action of the Assembly was precipitant is clear from the fact that in 1669¹⁴ it

¹ *Acts*, i, n. 733.

² *C.S.P., Col., 1661-1668*, July 13, 1666, p. 396.

³ *C.S.P., Col., 1661-1668*, pp. 515-516, and Bruce, i, pp. 394-396.

⁴ *C.S.P., Col., 1661-1668*, p. 516.

⁵ More than 9,000,000 lbs. of tobacco were imported into England for the year ending September 29, 1669. (From the same source cited *ante*, p. 127, n. 9.)

⁶ It was stated in a petition from Virginia that "soldiers will not serve for tobacco, because the merchants give them so little for it, as a year's salary will hardly clothe them." (*C.S.P., Col., 1669-1674*, July 16, 1673, p. 508.)

⁷ Henning, I, p. 420. Similar attempts to diversify the colony's agricultural life had been made since 1619. *V. ante*, p. 96 and n. 7 there, and cf. Henning, I, p. 126, §18.

⁸ It was stated at the time that this law "seemes

rather troublesome and burthensome then any waies advantageous." (Henning, I, p. 520.) *V. Bruce*, i, pp. 240-241, 368-369, 396-397.

⁹ Henning, II, p. 30, and cf. *ibid.*, p. 191.

¹⁰ Henning, II, pp. 120-121.

¹¹ Beer, *OCS.*, ii, pp. 125-127, and Bruce, i, pp. 397 ff., both referring to several official sources.

¹² In 1666 Virginia planned to make a gift of 300 lbs. of silk of colonial production to Charles II, but by the time (1668) these "first fruites of their labours in that kind" were actually sent, the "infant industry already showed alarming signs of premature extinction." (Beer, *OCS.*, ii, p. 127 and n. 3 there, citing several sources.)

¹³ Bruce, i, pp. 398-399, and Henning, II, p. 241. Cf. *Va. Mag.*, XVII, pp. 227, 228, cited by Beer, *OCS.*, ii, p. 127, n. 2.

¹⁴ Henning, II, p. 272. The bounty was regarded as very generous, being 50 lbs. of tobacco for each

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revived the bounties on silk as the only means of renewing the rapidly declining industry. But all attempts to diversify the industrial life of the colony ended in failure, despite the serious efforts of Governor Berkeley¹ and other officials in this regard. When their experiments with other articles of commerce were not immediately profitable, the Virginia planters stubbornly fell back upon their most familiar husbandry.

In 1680² Virginia was once more in the throes of one of its periodic crises³ owing to its hugely overstocked staple market. The Assembly in that year again implored the king to order a cessation of tobacco-planting,⁴ and though the government rejected this plea, too,⁵ as it had done twice before, it was nevertheless renewed by the Virginia Council and Burgesses in 1681.⁶ Plans for reducing tobacco production were proposed in the colonies in these years and in 1682⁷ as well, but, as usual, failed annually to be put into operation. The Governor of Virginia, Lord Culpeper, stated that "... that which is more to us than all other things put together, and will be the speedy and certain ruin of the colony, is the low price of tobacco. The thing is so fatal and desperate that there is no remedy; the market is overstocked and every crop overstocks it more. It is commonly said that there is tobacco enough now in London to last all England for five years; too much

lb. of silk produced. Laws obliging landholders to cultivate flax, hemp and other staple commodities continued to appear on the statute books of Virginia, fall into desuetude, and be revived. *V. Henning*, II, p. 306 (1673), pp. 503-506 (1682), *et passim*.

¹ In his replies to the lords of the committee of colonies (1671) Gov. Berkeley inferentially admitted Virginia's failure to produce merchandise other than tobacco although he expressed some optimism, saying (*inter alia*) "Commodities of the growth of this country, we never had any, till of late, but tobacco; which yet is considerable, and yields his majesty a great revenue. But of late we have begun to make filk; and so many mulberry-trees are planted, that, if we had skilful men from Naples or Sicily to teach us the art of making it, in less than half an age we should make as much filk, in a year, as England did yearly expend three-score years since; but now we hear it is grown to a greater excess, and of more common and vulgar usage."

"English ships, near eighty, come out of England and Ireland every year for tobacco; some few New-England ketches; but of our own we never yet had more than two at a time, and those not more than twenty tons burden." (Chalmers, pp. 326-327, quoting the *Virginia Papers*, 75B, p. 4; *v. C.S.P., Col., 1669-1674*, June 20, 1671.)

² When the new governor, Lord Culpeper, arrived in Virginia, May, 1680, "he found the country in peace, all things in good order; except the low price of its staple, which bade fair to defoliate the colony." (Chalmers, p. 340, quoting *Virginia Ent.* 2v. 379-385; *v. C.S.P., Col., 1677-1680*, June, 1680.)

³ In the preceding decade the tobacco prices had been intermittently high but they dropped especially in the years following large crop yields.

Owing to the severity of the weather in 1675 and 1676 tobacco crops (as well as corn) were meagre

and of inferior quality. Prices rose as a consequence; in 1676 tobacco brought 15s. the cwt. in Virginia. (*C.S.P., Dom., 1675-1676*, pp. 5, 81, 85 etc.; *ibid.*, 1676-1677, pp. 74, 216, cited by Beer, *OCS.*, ii, p. 145, n. 3.) This induced increased cultivation of this staple, and the amount produced in Virginia in 1679 was stated to equal that of three normal years, while in Maryland it was the greatest known. (*The Calvert Papers, Number One—op. cit. ante*, p. 128, n. 2—p. 319.) *Cf. C.S.P., Col., 1677-1680*, pp. 568, 569.

⁴ *Va. Mag.*, XIV, pp. 369-371, cited by Beer, *OCS.*, ii, p. 149, n. 2.

⁵ The Treasury having referred this matter to the commissioners of the customs for consideration, the latter reported, early in 1681, that while the proposal "might be of advantage to the wealthier men in Virginia, and still more to the merchants who are engrossers here and have large stocks on their hands," it could hardly appeal to the indigent planters. The English customs derived an average of £100,000 from tobacco alone for the preceding years; a year's cessation would, therefore, considerably reduce this revenue. Such a step would also enforce idleness upon the carrying trade and, as most markets were then being supplied by Virginian tobacco, if there should be a suspension of planting "the Spaniards, Dutch, and French may grow a greater quantity in their plantations and take the trade from us, to say nothing of the stimulus that would be given to the production of tobacco in England." (*C.S.P., Col., 1677-1680*, p. 637, and 1681-1685, p. 2, cited by Beer, *OCS.*, ii, p. 150.)

⁶ *C.S.P., Col., 1681-1685*, p. 94, and *cf. ibid.*, pp. 47, 48, cited by Beer, *OCS.*, ii, p. 151.

⁷ *C.S.P., Col., 1677-1680*, July 9, 1680, p. 569; 1681-1685, July 26, 1681, p. 94; *ibid.*, Mar. 26, 1682, p. 212.

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plenty would make gold itself a drug. Our thriving is our undoing, and our purchase of negroes, by increasing the supply of tobacco, has greatly contributed thereto."¹

At last driven to impatient despair by their apparently hopeless situation,² and determined to force the attention of the authorities upon their distress, the more aggressive planters, chiefly in the counties of Gloucester and New Kent,³ decided (1682) upon radical measures as a way out of the economic impasse. Having agreed among themselves to destroy their growing crops and having put this plan promptly into execution,⁴ they proceeded to trample down the tobacco of those neighbors who had refused to join them.⁵ The tobacco-cutting riots spread to the adjoining districts, and a considerable quantity was destroyed⁶ before the militia interceded. Several of the participants were executed, and in 1684 the Assembly made the "treasonable act" of destroying tobacco punishable by death.⁷ The severity of this law acted as a sufficient deterrent for there seems to have been no recurrence of these violent attempts on the part of the Virginians to overcome their "inveterate evil."

It was characteristic of the fluctuating tendency of the tobacco market that by the beginning of the next year (1683) the price had increased and the industry was once again remunerative.⁸ The quantity of tobacco destroyed during the minor rebellion of 1682 must have been a factor in the upward trend of the market, and it may have been that the echo of the riots struck a disturbing note in London which made the merchants there more eager purchasers. In any event, though the tobacco planters themselves admitted that their steady application to their usual husbandry "exhausted man, soil, and beast,"⁹ they had obviously learned nothing from their recent experiences. The greatest crop ever known in the colony was under cultivation in 1683.¹⁰ A prominent Virginian, Nicholas Spencer,¹¹ expressed the opinion of the more thoughtful colonists when he wrote that the increased value of tobacco had "quieted the minds of our unthrifty inhabitants, who cannot be persuaded to undertake some new industry, but prefer to live miserably by tobacco. The pleasing thought of a cessation of planting they have for

¹ *C.S.P., Col., 1681-1685*, Dec. 12, 1681, p. 156. In the following year Lord Baltimore wrote that "It is certainly thought, unless some expedient can be found to raise the price of tobacco, ruin is well-nigh certain" (*ibid.*, Mar. 26, 1682, p. 212).

² In London, concern was expressed (1681) that the poverty of the colony would induce an uprising. (Bruce, i, p. 404, citing official sources.)

³ *C.S.P., Col., 1681-1685*, pp. 228, 229 (and *cf. pp. 231-233*). There had been occasional outbreaks of similar nature on an incipient scale in 1680 (*v. C.S.P., Col., 1677-1680*, pp. 587, 588). The references are cited by Beer, *OCS.*, ii, p. 153, n. 2. *V. too*, Bruce, i, p. 405, who includes Middlesex county.

⁴ *Acts*, ii, nos. 79, 80, and 84; *C.S.P., Col., 1681-1685*, pp. 566, 567, and 612-613; Chalmers, p. 344; and Beer, *OCS.*, ii, p. 153.

⁵ Bruce, i, p. 405. ⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 405-406. The varying estimates of the amount ruined range from six or seven to ten thousand hogsheads. The lesser figures were supplied by Lord Baltimore, May 31, 1682, by which

time the colonial government had practically suppressed the movement, though sympathizers continued to destroy large amounts of tobacco at night for a brief further period. *C.S.P., Col., 1681-1685*, pp. 241, 275, 276 (and *cf. ibid.*, p. 424), cited by Beer, *OCS.*, ii, p. 153, n. 4; Bruce, i, p. 406, and references in n. 3 there.

⁷ Henning, III, pp. 10-12.

⁸ Bruce, i, p. 407; Beer, *OCS.*, ii, p. 154.

⁹ This sentiment was frequently expressed at this period and continued to be voiced even in the latter part of the XVIIIth century—*v. n. 928* [U¹].

¹⁰ Bruce, i, p. 407; Beer, *OCS.*, ii, p. 154. The Virginia Council in this year again proposed to forbid tobacco-planting (this time after June 24—*v. ante*, p. 126, n. 7) and petitioned the king to enforce a similar regulation upon Maryland and Carolina. (Henning, II, pp. 561-563, cited by Beer, *OCS.*, ii, p. 158, n. 1.) The law was not enacted, however, before 1686 (*v. infra*, p. 132, and n. 7 there).

¹¹ Then Secretary of Virginia.

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the present laid aside, but when the market is again cloyed with tobacco (as it probably will be in two years' time, for never was greater promise of a crop than this spring), then they will cry out again for a cessation, which, if granted, would only serve to enrich some few and make the generality far more miserable. By my observation I cannot persuade myself that either a cessation or a stint in the number of plants will effect what is intended. The work must do itself; the crop must grow to such vast quantities that no one will come to fetch it, and then the law of necessity will force them to new industries."¹

But for more than seventy years each governor of Virginia, upon setting out from England, had been ordered to encourage the production of commodities other than tobacco in the colony, and the legislative body there had furthered these plans to diversify the industrial life of Virginia. All such efforts had failed, for Virginia had remained almost entirely concerned with its one staple, tobacco. By 1685 the home government had clearly accepted this fact, for in the instructions given the new governor, Lord Howard of Effingham, the usual clause was conspicuously absent, and thereafter the government refrained from any further efforts to divert the tobacco colonies from their staple.² The great revenue already derived from the imports of this product³ was about to be increased by the new duties of 1685,⁴ and this was sufficient reason for the confirmation of a policy implied by the government's attitude since 1662.⁵

The harvests of 1685 and 1686 being abundant,⁶ the Assembly, as a precautionary measure, enacted (1686) that no tobacco be planted after June 30 in any year.⁷ It was hoped that this Act would prevent overproduction in 1687 and thereafter. Lord Howard having hesitatingly assented to this measure,⁸ it was sent to London for approval, where the commissioners of the customs (to whom the government now regularly turned in such matters) opposed it. Their arguments were along familiar lines, but in addition they objected to it because of "the greatness of the new impost on tobacco . . ."⁹ But as the Virginia Assembly was convinced that this measure was logically based on conditions peculiar to the colony, it refused to rescind the law.¹⁰

¹To Sir Leoline Jenkins, Secretary of State, March 25, 1683. (C.S.P., Col., 1681-1685, pp. 410, 411, cited by Beer, OCS., ii, pp. 154-155.) Lord Culpeper held the same views (C.S.P., Col., *ibid.*, pp. 496-499, and *Va. Mag.*, III, pp. 225-238, cited by Beer, *ibid.*, p. 155, n. 1).

²Bruce, i, pp. 407-409.

³*V.* the figure given *ante*, p. 130, n. 5.

⁴*V. ante*, p. 108, conclusion of n. 5.

⁵*V. ante*, pp. 126-127.

⁶The tobacco crop of 1684 was less than had been expected owing to the unusually heavy rainfalls. (C.S.P., Col., 1681-1685, pp. 665, 669.) *V. ibid.*, 1685-1688, p. 168, and Beer, OCS., ii, p. 157-158.

⁷Henings, III, p. 35. *Cf. ante*, p. 131, n. 10. The exportation of stalks alone was also prohibited in this year (*ibid.*). *V. infra*, p. 135 and n. 3.

⁸C.S.P., Col., 1685-1688, pp. 313, 324, cited by Beer, OCS., ii, p. 158, n. 2.

⁹1685—*v. ante*, p. 108, conclusion of n. 5. The quotation occurs in Beer, OCS., ii, p. 158, citing C.S.P., Col., 1685-1688, p. 391.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, citing the same source, pp. 539, 547-549.

Although there appears to be no further Virginia legislation ordering stinting (or any form of it) in Henings, Gray (p. 28 and notes 141, 142) adduces evidence which indicates that such regulations were occasionally in force at the latter part of the XVIIth century and the first quarter of the next century.

The Maryland Assembly attempted to pass a stinting Act in 1726 (and again in 1727) but such legislation was opposed by the Council or the Proprietor until the outbreak of tobacco-cutting riots, owing to the distress occasioned by over-production. This led to the stinting Act of 1730 which was in effect only two years, but the currency Act of 1733 required that 150 pounds per taxable be destroyed for the two succeeding years. (Gray, p. 29, and references cited in notes 143-147 inclusive.)

In many of the acts passed in both tobacco colonies the idea of stinting was inherent, as these regulations prohibited the export or vending of inferior tobaccos, the gathering of suckers or "seconds," etc., etc.

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By 1690 the price of tobacco in Virginia had risen to twopence the pound¹ and the trade in this commodity entered into a period of comparative stability for a little more than a decade. Virginia appeared to be in an unusually prosperous state.² The upward trend in the value of its staple³ and the maintenance of the higher levels during these years were undoubtedly due to several external factors. Chief among these were the steadily expanding markets in the Netherlands, France, Germany, etc., the practical elimination of Spanish competition in England,⁴ the suppression of tobacco-planting in the mother country⁵ and the development of new foreign markets, such as Russia.⁶

Russia had long been eagerly looked upon by the planters of Virginia and Maryland as a great potential purchaser. In 1681 Lord Culpeper had suggested that the "free importation (of tobacco) into Russia would revive our drooping spirits, for we want nothing but a vent."⁷ The Commissioner of Trade⁸ was presented with a petition to the king, signed by the inhabitants of and traders to the plantations of Virginia and Maryland, 1697, urging that he use his influence to have the prohibitions against tobacco in Russia⁹ revoked and its importation permitted.¹⁰ The king acted upon the plea in the course of a meeting with the czar at Utrecht, and as a result the requests were granted. Various privileges were thereupon awarded to English contractors,¹¹ non-members of the monopolistic Russia Company.¹² This new outlet did not, however, prove to be so successful a stimulant to the colonial commerce as had been hoped, because of the manner in which the concessionaires handled the trade to Russia.¹³ Their operations aroused

¹Jacobstein (Table), p. 23, and *v. Bruce*, ii, p. 247, n. 5.

²*Va. Mag.*, II, p. 137, cited by Beer, OCS., ii, p. 159, n. 1; Bruce, i, p. 409, referring to official sources; and Gray, p. 4, n. 27.

Objections to the colony's dependence upon a commercially uncertain staple continued to be voiced however. *V. Bruce*, i, pp. 458-459.

³During this period the average price of tobacco was from 1-1½d. to 2d. the lb. (Byrd, *Essay—op. cit. ante*, p. 121, n. 5—p. 141; Bruce, i, p. 457, ii, p. 247, n. 5).

⁴*V. ante*, p. 109, and conclusion of n. 1 there.

⁵*V. ante*, p. 118.

⁶The Dutch were then the chief European traders to Russia and supplied whatever tobacco could be sold, despite the secular and ecclesiastical prohibitions (*v. ante*, p. 75, and n. 14) against its use there. *Cf. n. 428.*

⁷C.S.P., Col., 1681-1685, p. 156, Dec. 12, 1681.

⁸William Blathwayt, Commissioner from 1696 to 1706.

⁹*V. ante*, p. 75, and notes 9-14 there.

¹⁰*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, MSS. of Marquis of Bath, Vol. III (*Prior Papers*), p. 149 (*cf. ibid.*, pp. 148-151, 155, 157, 161, 181-182); C.S.P., Col., 1696-1697, p. 576, Aug. 10, 1697; Mac., pp. 172, 174-175; and Bruce, i, p. 404.

¹¹A joint-stock company of 70 individuals was formed in 1698, who lent the czar £12,000, for the monopoly of importing tobacco into Russia. (Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720, 1910-1912*, vol.

ii, p. 162.) Additional expenses brought the total sum invested in this project to £13,000 (*v. The Case of the Contractors with the Czar of Moscow, for the Sole Importation of Tobacco into his Dominions, c. 1700*).

¹²For accounts of the dispute which arose between these contractors and the Company (also called the Muscovy Co. and the Muscovia Co.) *v. n. 439*, Scott (*ut sup. n. 11*), vol. ii, pp. 162 ff., and *The Case of the Contractors (ut sup.)*.

¹³Skilled workmen had been sent to Russia by the contractors to manufacture the leaf tobacco which had not found a ready market, "the Muscovites being now desirous of rowl'd tobacco." (*Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, 1704-1708/9*, London, 1920, p. 133.) Tobacco was already being grown in Russia. In an attempt to eliminate this domestic competition there had been a clause inserted in the contract "whereby the Czar agreed to destroy the Circassia tobacco." The concessionaires stated, however, that "he pretended he needed it and durst not destroy it but promised it would be used only in their own country." (*Ibid.*, p. 136.) Nevertheless the contractors themselves used Circassia tobacco to mix with the colonial leaf, which had grown old and tough (*ibid.*, p. 134).

A second related group of contractors agreed (*c. 1705*) to send "as many Persons Skilled in the Spinning and Rowling of Tobacco as the Czar should require together with the Instruments Engines Materials and Liquors Comonly used in that work, to be Employed not only for the Manufactureing of English Tobacco thus Imported, but even for the

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the protests of the colonial exporters who petitioned to have the trade thrown open to the English generally. The contractors seem to have been repeatedly successful in delaying such action;¹ and the Virginia and Maryland merchants expressed the fear that unless such relief were granted, the existing conditions would result in "a total disuse of [their] tobacco in Muscovy, Sweden [etc.], those countries being now chiefly supplied with tobacco of foreign growth."²

Increasing production in the Anglo-American tobacco colonies operated against the gains the trade had made and confirmed its instability. That this commerce was still extremely sensitive to conditions in the world market was soon painfully evident. Shortly after the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession³ the tobacco colonies entered into a period of economic depression which became the most desperate in their history. The conflict of European powers soon shut most of the Continental markets except Holland, which was a heavy purchaser of the bright leaf grades of Orinoco.⁴ The production of other popular varieties of tobacco had been greatly stimulated by the good prices prevailing prior to the outbreak of the war and the export market was quickly unbalanced.⁵ Furthermore "the improvement in quality and quantity of tobacco in Holland and Germany [being] very destructive to their trade,"⁶ the merchants begged leave to export tobacco to France in neutral ships.⁷ Although this request was granted,⁸ and the home government attempted to broaden the European market for this colonial commodity,⁹ by 1710 the depression had reached such a point that the value of tobacco exports was stated to be insufficient to provide material for clothing the colonial growers.¹⁰ The end of the war brought temporary relief, but overproduc-

Tobacco of the Growth of Circassia, a large Province appertaining to that Prince . . ." (*Acts*, ii, n. 971, p. 488.) The colonial tobacco merchants objected to the revelation of trade secrets and to the use of Russian domestic tobacco and presented a memorial in this regard. After a hearing the Privy Council advised the Queen to recall the workmen and order the destruction of the machinery lest their operations have "the most pernicious consequence to the Trade of Your Majestys Subjects and the Welfare of your Plantations . . ." (*ibid.*). Cf. *C.S.P., Col.*, 1706-1708, p. 58, No. 131, Feb., 1706.

¹ *C.S.P., Col.*, 1706-1708, p. 58, and cf. p. 64, No. 156, and p. 101, No. 237, pp. 122 and 123, Apr. 1706, p. 476, June, 1707, pp. 494 and 496, July, 1707.

Despite the official references cited in the preceding notes and the entry in *Acts* (ii, n. 971) under date May 31, 1705, which makes mention of the English contract "for the Importation of other quantities of Tobacco" as having been "very lately made," Laufer (*Europe*, pp. 60-61) states that the privilege of importation into Siberia, guaranteed to the English by the czar, was abrogated in 1705 and that thereafter English tobacco was prohibited in Russia. His statement is repeated by Mac. (p. 177), and probably elsewhere, but we have found no evidence to substantiate it.

² *C.S.P., Col.*, 1706-1708, p. 494.

³ 1701-1713/14.

⁴ *C.S.P., Col.*, 1704-1705, p. 143. The poorer

quality of brown Orinoco was in demand in the Baltic States (*ibid.*).

⁵ *C.S.P., Col.*, 1704-1705, pp. 142, 738, 741; *ibid.*, 1706-1708, pp. 98, 215; *ibid.*, 1708-1709, p. 182; 1710-1711, pp. 238, 250 (cited by Gray, p. 5, and notes 31-34 and 36 there); and v. the "Representation" of the Virginia Council to the Lords of Trade, etc., in Byrd (*op. cit. ante*, p. 104, n. 10), Vol. II, pp. 206-210.

⁶ *Journal of Comm. for Trade (ut sup.)*, p. 133, n. 13, p. 372, June 6, 1707. The Dutch, by this time, had developed the manufacture of tobacco on a large scale and during the war supplied the French monopolists with an inferior blended grade.

As a result of the war, cultivation increased in the Netherlands and the industry developed in parts of Germany and Hungary. By 1706, 67,000,000 lbs. were being grown in these countries. (*C.S.P., Col.*, 1706-1708, pp. 494-495; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 58, 98-99.)

⁷ *Journal of Comm. for Trade (ut sup.)*, p. 133, n. 13, p. 372.

⁸ *Acts*, ii, n. 1044, pp. 536-537.

⁹ In 1708, the Board of Trade urged the Secretaries of State to have the English ambassadors in Spain, Portugal, Sweden and Muscovy make "proper applications for the encouragement of the tobacco trade" (*v. Acts*, ii, n. 1044).

¹⁰ Report of Gov. Spotswood, Mar. 6, 1711, to the Lords Commissioners of Trade, in London (*Coll. of Va. Hist. Soc.*, New Series, Vol. I, 1882, p. 57).

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tion forced the nominal price of tobacco, by 1722, to ¾ pence the pound,¹ and there soon followed another economic decline which lasted for ten years. The planters had attempted to reduce the quantities exported by sending out only stripped tobacco, but the practise was prohibited by a Parliamentary Act in 1723² as it resulted in diminished customs revenue. The importation into England separately of stalks or stems (largely employed in the manufacture of snuff) was also prohibited in 1726.³ The former Act had aroused great protest in the tobacco colonies and John Randolph was chosen to go to England to work for its repeal.⁴ In 1729, after the petition of the Council and Burgesses of Virginia (joined with the merchants of London, Bristol and Liverpool) to permit the entry of stripped tobacco was acceded to,⁵ the trade received great encouragement and slowly began to revive. Not until the early years of the fourth decade, however, did prices again approximate the levels of the last years of the XVIIth century, though there was a steady rise in the quantities exported.⁶

During the depression of the 20's and early 30's a serious attempt was made to organize and standardize the foreign trade.⁷ In an effort to combat the practices of the French monopolists⁸ which seriously operated to their disadvantage, all the London merchants (twenty-nine firms) signed articles of cooperation and set minimum prices on different grades of tobacco. The plan of this organization was defeated by internal disputes based on charges that several individuals had engaged in surreptitious dealings with the French concessionaires,⁹ but about a decade later it was renewed in another form by a new group of merchants.¹⁰ This proposal (1737) was determinedly opposed by the colonial interests and was abandoned. There seem to have been no further attempts at concerted action among the English tobacco importers to oppose the unfair practises charged against foreign purchasers and competitors.

While the London merchants sought effective means to compete with the

¹ Jacobstein (Table), p. 23.

² N. 534.

³ 12 Geo. I, c. 28, §13. Cf. *Acts*, iii, n. 110; n. 654 of this history; and *ante*, p. 132, n. 7.

⁴ *V. Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia 1727-1740*, 1910, p. 49, and cf. *ibid.*, p. xviii.

⁵ *Commons Journal*, XXI, pp. 232-233, Feb. 21, 1729, and n. 659 of this history.

⁶ *V. infra*, p. 137, n. 8.

⁷ The conditions which led to this attempt and the organization effected is related in *A Just and Impartial Account of the Transactions of the Merchants in London, For the Advancement of the Price of Tobacco. About the latter End of the Year 1727, and Beginning of 1728*, by Henry Darnall, Annapolis, 1728. (Copy in John Carter Brown Library.)

The London merchants had on several previous occasions come together for the purpose of improving trade conditions and had, for some time, charged 3d. on each hogshead. This tax was to be used jointly for the expenses of the Parliamentary lobby of the tobacco interests, etc. (Darnall, p. 4, and cf. *ibid.*, p. 47.) The colonial shippers, who seem to have assented to this charge, expected considerable benefits from the lobby, but were regularly disappointed. *V.*, too, for further details, the *Maryland*

Gazette (Annapolis), current issues, Jan. 28-Feb. 4, 1728/9, to June 17-24, 1729. Gray (p. 25) provides a summary of Darnall's pamphlet.

⁸ A member of the London organization indicated the subversive methods employed by the French monopolists. They not only forced down the price by provoking competition among the English merchants themselves but unloaded large quantities on the Dutch market below cost in order to demoralize prices. The reduced value was then used by the French as a basis for subsequent purchases in the English market. France bought at least 20,000 hogsheads from the English and while the monopolists lost about £2000 by their Dutch transactions they saved nearly £50,000 on the tobacco bought for sale in France (Darnall, *op. cit. sup.*, pp. 42-43). Cf. n. 810.

⁹ *V. the Maryland Gazette*, issue of Mar. 11-18, 1728/9, et seq.

¹⁰ This plan is given in *A Memorial Relating to the Tobacco-Trade offer'd to the Consideration of the Planters of Virginia and Maryland* (Signed at the end Daniel MacKercher), Williamsburg, 1737. (Copy in John Carter Brown Library.) *V. the Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), Aug. 5-12, 1737, Apr. 7-14, 14-21, 1738, for a full discussion of the subject.

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Continental trade and to circumvent unscrupulous foreign dealers, the planter-exporters in the colonies continued to object to the commercial practises of the English wholesalers under the prevailing consignment system. Complaints which had been voiced on various grounds over the period of a century¹ became more insistent during the depression which began about 1725. Most of the planters were seriously in debt to the English merchants chiefly through their purchases of essential English goods, carrying and commission fees, etc., all of which were charged against the proceeds of the tobacco consigned to the merchant. As stated in *The Case of the Planters*, 1733,² not only was the exporter required to assume all important risks (reduction in value, transportation charges, duties, marketing costs, etc.),³ but under the arrangements imposed by the merchants he also had (in essence) to underwrite whatever credit the English wholesaler gave to his retail clients. In the event of a bankruptcy of such a retailer the debt of the colonial exporter to the merchant handling his account would be increased "Eighteen or Nineteen Pounds a Hoghead, besides losing the net Produce . . ." The lengthy credits (sometimes for two years) undoubtedly tended to increase the instability of the market. Furthermore there was a suspicion, probably justified, that many merchants falsified their accounts and manipulated sales to their advantage.⁵

Unable to combat the powerful merchant clique in London under the consignment system, the colonial planter began to make his purchases of necessary goods from others rather than from his English factors. Those planters who had migrated to new fields far removed from the tidewater lands found it decidedly to their advantage to sell their tobacco outright. This method of merchandising developed rapidly,⁶ encouraged as it was by aggressive outport traders. Among these

¹ *V. ante*, p. 109 and n. 6 there.

² N. 673.

³ MacKercher (*op. cit. ante*, p. 135, n. 10) provides an account of a sale of a hoghead of tobacco in London which illustrates the typical charges:

English duties on 1 hoghead, 762 lbs. at the Custom house, 732 lbs. net when sold	£	s.	d.
Freight	16	16	2½
Maryland export duty	0	2	9
Primage and petty charges	0	2	1
Entry inwards, etc.	0	1	6
Entry outwards, etc.	0	2	0
Cooperage	0	2	0
Porterage, etc.	0	1	0
Warehouse rent	0	3	6
Brokerage	0	2	0
Postage of letters	0	1	0
Drafts (4 lbs. of tobacco)	0	0	9
Loss of weight (allowing 14 lbs. for natural loss on shipboard) 44 lbs. of tobacco	0	8	3
Commission of 2½ per cent on duties equally as on the selling price	0	12	0
	£20	10	½

Similar examples occur in n. 673.

⁴ N. 673 (p. 10 of the original work). In his review of this subject, Burke (n. 801) remarked

that "any failure in the sale of [the planters'] goods, brings them heavily in debt to the merchants of London, who get mortgages on their estates, which are confuted to the bone, with the canker of an eight per cent usury." Cf. n. 845.

⁵ Gray, p. 17. (*V. ibid.*, pp. 15-19, for a summary of the conditions then existing in the trade.) Distrust of the merchants found expression in several tracts, of which the burlesque poem, *Sotweed Redivivus. Or the Planters Looking-Glass . . . Calculated for the Meridian of Maryland*, by E. C[ook], Annapolis, 1730, is often referred to. (There is a copy in the John Carter Brown Library.)

⁶ The "specialists" in the finer grade of tobacco (who could control the English merchants to a much greater degree than the planter of ordinary varieties), however, maintained the system of consignment shipments. ("Some Letters of William Beverley," 1737, in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, 1895, III, pp. 223-224.) The consignment system also developed a class of merchant-planters who were often agents or factors for important English firms, as well as wholesalers, storekeepers or traders in their own right. (Gray, pp. 19-21 and notes 112-116 inclusive.)

That the manufacture of tobacco was practised by the better equipped planters is shown by Byrd's account of Major Woodford's operations in this field, 1732. ("A Progress to the Mines"—in *op. cit. ante*, p. 104, n. 10—pp. 76-77.)

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purchasers the Scotch soon took a leading place¹ and after the middle of the XVIIIth century so dominated this trade that a leading merchant wrote, "the spirit of consigning is broke . . . ye Scotch are become ye engrossers."² At the close of the colonial period only a quarter of the tobacco exported to England was shipped on consignment.³

The condition of the trade at the source remained fairly satisfactory after the first half of the XVIIIth century except for the depression beginning 1760-1761.⁴ Essential cereals were becoming an increasingly important factor in the export trade,⁵ and several southern colonies were devoting a large part of their energies to the production of indigo and silk.⁶ Sugar had become the great staple export of several colonies which had previously competed with Virginia and Maryland for a part of the tobacco trade.⁷ The volume of tobacco exports showed a steady rise⁸ despite the decrease in per capita consumption occasioned by the popular habit of snuffing.⁹

While the old rivalry was still maintained between many of the planters of Virginia and Maryland, it had become less intense partly because the several grades and varieties produced in these two colonies supplied different markets¹⁰ and partly because the agricultural and industrial life of these colonies was becoming more diversified. The problem of market surplus remained an ever-present menace but during the remainder of the colonial period it became acute only in the seventh decade. The export trade in this commodity was by now so important that during the War of the Austrian Succession¹¹ and the Seven Years' War¹² England and France, though belligerents, informally arranged to exempt vessels freighted with tobacco from seizure.¹³ In consequence there was no repetition, until almost the close of the second conflict, of the depression which had affected the colonies so

¹ *V. ante*, p. 122, p. 123 and n. 3 there.

² "Letters of Roger Atkinson," 1769, in *Va. Mag.*, XV, p. 346. *V. Gray*, p. 19, and notes.

³ Mair, *Bookkeeping Modernized* (3d ed., 1784), Ch. VII, reprinted in *William and Mary College Quarterly*, 1905, XIV, pp. 87 ff.

⁴ Gray, p. 7, and references cited in n. 45 there.

⁵ *V. n.* 928 [U¹].

⁶ Bishop (*op. cit. ante*, p. 97, n. 6), pp. 348 ff.

⁷ *V. ante*, p. 108, n. 4, and cf. n. 884 [Vol. I, Cc³].

⁸ Many contemporaneous accounts attest the increase in colonial exports, and Jefferson (n. 928) stated that in 1758 there were sent out 70,000 hogsheads "which was the greatest quantity ever produced in this country in one year."

The Virginia law, 1748 (n. 784 [5B²]), required that each transfer hogshead contain at least 950 lbs. In 1769 the capacity of these hogsheads was fixed at 1000 lbs. (Hening, VIII, p. 325.) The hogsheads were frequently much larger, sometimes containing as much as 1,800 lbs. (Mair—*op. cit. sup.* n. 3—in *Quarterly*, XIV, p. 90; and v. Brock, p. 222, note "r.") Several contemporary authorities (nos. 801 [P²], 845 [L²], 864 [Vol. VI, X²], 959 [Vol. III, L²]) give various figures for the net contents, the amounts ranging from 800 to 952 lbs. Rive (p. 62), in relation to figures for 1770, remarks that each hogshead contained only 750 lbs. But as Jef-

erson (n. 928) specifically stated [U²] that the hogsheads held 1000 lbs., the amount exported in 1758 must have been 70,000,000 lbs. *V. Bruce*, i, pp. 442-443, and Brock, p. 219, note "g." For the Act of the Maryland Assembly requiring larger hogsheads in the colony than legally stipulated in Virginia and its annulment by Queen Anne, etc., see *Acts*, ii, nos. 1056, 1130, and Gray, p. 31, with his notes 159-161.

In the record of tobacco imports into England and Scotland, 1752-1755 inclusive (n. 839 [R⁴]), the average for the four years was 87,528 hogsheads. Dulaney (n. 845) stated [K²] that by 1766 there were exported from Virginia and Maryland alone, on the annual average, 90,000 hogsheads. Cf. *infra*, p. 138, n. 9.

⁹ *V. infra*, pp. 157 ff.

¹⁰ *V. ante*, p. 107, n. 2, ¶12, and nos. 863, 864 [Vol. VI, X²]. The "Sweet-scented" tobacco which was grown on the fertile strip between the James and York Rivers commanded the highest price because of its exceptionally fine quality (v. nos. 810, 864). For an account of the development of the "Sweet-scented" and "Oronoko" varieties of Virginia and the methods of cultivating and curing them, etc., see Bruce, i, pp. 432-442.

¹¹ 1740-1748.

¹² 1756-1763.

¹³ *Acts*, iii, n. 602 (1744), and iv, pp. 328-338 (1756).

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severely during the War of the Spanish Succession,¹ and tobacco prices shared to some degree in the currency inflation which existed in Virginia during part of the latter period.²

The greater part (sometimes three-quarters or more)³ of the tobacco shipped to England was reexported to the Continent, chiefly to the Netherlands, France, Germany, Sweden, etc. The Spaniards were still the chief foreign competitors of the Anglo-American colonies in this trade, but the tobacco they produced in the West Indies and their South American plantations, etc., went mainly to their mother country and to the Dutch. Tobacco from the Asiatic possessions of several European nations, chiefly the Netherlands and Portugal,⁴ came regularly into Europe, and the plantations in Turkey, etc.,⁵ were shipping their product into Russia, to the Mediterranean states and elsewhere. In most of Europe—outside of the Netherlands, parts of Germany and Hungary⁶—tobacco cultivation was prohibited by the various nations, except on a comparatively small scale in some places.⁷ These prohibitions were dictated almost entirely by reason of the fiscal systems then widely adopted, for the duties on tobacco imports provided the principal source of revenue and on the Continent were usually under the control of farmers of the impost.⁸

THE survey of the factors which affected the chief divisions of the tobacco trade during the English colonial period being now concluded, there remains for brief consideration the history of the industry up to the close of the XVIIIth century. At the outbreak of the American Revolution tobacco "represented over seventy-five per cent of the total value of goods exported from Virginia and Maryland."⁹ The planters who looked hopefully at that time to a favorable change in their economic status on the assumption that they would be able to deal directly with the Continental market were doomed to disappointment. England had represented practically their only outlet, and during the war it was impossible to supply European purchasers fully¹⁰ for several reasons: reduced production, cap-

¹ *V. ante*, p. 134.

² Cf. *Acts*, iv, pp. 641 ff., Ripley (*op. cit. ante*, p. 100, n. 11), pp. 154-158. Brock (Table, p. 224), for the period 1760-1775, gives the prices of Virginia tobacco as 18s. to 25s. the cwt.

³ *V.* numbers 959 (1709, 1748), 839 [R₄^b]. For the period immediately preceding the American Revolution, *v. n.* 884 [Vol. I, 3M₃^b], and Gray (p. 11, n. 74), who refers to Macpherson (*op. cit. ante*, p. 123, n. 3), III, p. 583, for the source of the statement that only about ten per cent of the tobacco imported into Great Britain (c. 1770-1775) was retained for home consumption.

⁴ *V. ante*, p. 107, n. 4.

⁵ *V. ante*, p. 133, n. 13 (Circassia reference), p. 134, n. 1, and n. 863.

⁶ *V. ante*, p. 97, n. 9, and p. 134, n. 6.

⁷ Nos. 816, 817, 837, 863.

⁸ *V. infra*, pp. 143 ff.

⁹ Jacobstein, p. 28. The estimated exports from Virginia and Maryland in 1770 were from 100,000 to 110,000 hogsheads, carried in 300 to 400 vessels and employing about 4000 seamen. (Brock, p. 223,

and note "a.") The highest amount imported into England given in Rive's table (p. 71) was 101,800,000 lbs. in 1775 when the English merchants foresaw a probable shortage because of the impending war. But Rive's figures were compiled from custom house statistics; undoubtedly, in view of the conditions then existing, much more tobacco left the North American shores than ever reached England through legal channels.

In this connection it is of interest to record, from the figures supplied by Anderson (n. 959), that in 1773 nearly a million pounds of tobacco were exported from England to Africa; nearly 32,000,000 lbs. went to France (Scotland sending about 25,000,000); and that Holland received more than 29,000,000 lbs. from England and Scotland.

¹⁰ A Virginia Act (Oct., 1776) prohibited the exportation of tobacco to England (Hening, IX, p. 162). De Bow (*The Industrial Resources [etc.] of the Southern and Western States*, 1853, iii, p. 348) provides a table of exports in which the lowest figure (2,441,214 lbs.) is for 1777; the highest (17,424,967) is for 1780. For the total period, 1776-

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tures¹ and losses at sea, inadequate shipping, etc. The attempt to take over the French market through the contracts made with the arbitrary *Fermiers-Généraux* failed dismally.² The total exports during the Revolutionary period averaged only an eighth to a seventh of the amounts shipped out immediately prior to the war.³

Thus deprived of their usual sources of supply,⁴ the European consumers turned to the Spanish planters in the West Indies and South America, etc., and to the Dutch producers in the East Indies, while at the same time many of their governments revoked the prohibitions against the domestic cultivation of tobacco. When the war for independence had ended, therefore, the American planters found that the commercial map had been considerably altered in the six or seven years of conflict. In Germany, Austria, Russia, Italy and other European countries,⁵ a sufficient quantity of tobacco was being produced at this time not only to supply the local demand but also to permit exportation from some of these plantations to foreign places;⁶ the Netherlands had increased their home production; the French colonists in Louisiana had developed tobacco farms;⁷ and the Spaniards in the West Indies, Venezuela, Colombia, Florida and elsewhere were carrying on a thriving trade in the commodity. As soon as peace was established, the planters of Virginia, Maryland and other American states sought to recapture the markets formerly supplied by them through England. They succeeded to a considerable degree in England, the Netherlands and elsewhere,⁸ because the popular demand for the varieties of tobacco they produced was revived as soon as they were again available. Furthermore the importation of tobacco was still more advantageous to the European governments through the greater revenues they could exact from the foreign commodity than from the domestic product.

1782 incl., only 86,649,333 lbs. were exported. (Cited by Brock, p. 223.)

In 1765 Virginia had renewed an export tax (*cf. ante*, p. 100, n. 11, ¶2) of 3s. the hogshead. This was increased to 10s. in 1777; in 1779 it became 30s. It was several times reduced or altered in the following years, being 7s. in 1784. (Hening, VIII, p. 92; IX, p. 362; X, p. 13; XI, pp. 95-96, 201, 394.)

¹ Of the total exports during the seven-year war period (*v. ante*, p. 138, n. 10, ¶1) nearly 34,000,000 lbs. were captured, according to De Bow (*op. cit. ibid.*), iii, p. 348.

² Franklin and Deane, as agents of the American colonies, arranged with the Farmers-General (March 24, 1777) for the purchase of 5000 hogsheads (5,000,000 lbs.) of York or James River tobacco. The price set was 2,000,000 livres. (*The Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution*, ed. Sparks, 1829-1830, I, pp. 282-284, and *cf. ibid.*, III, p. 86.) Cf. n. 884-A. Shipments were so long delayed, however, that the transaction was never completed, and after the monopolies were cancelled (*v. infra*, p. 146), the government of France was reimbursed for that part of the advance of 1,000,000 livres tobacco contracted for (Corti, pp. 205-206). *Cp. infra*, p. 140, n. 2.

³ *V. n.* 959 [Vol. IV, 3K₄^a], and Jacobstein, p. 33.

⁴ Anderson (n. 959, *ibid.*) provides figures showing that from Christmas, 1781 to 1782, England imported about 25,000 lbs. from Germany (though it

exported more than five times that quantity to the Germans in that period); Spanish Florida sent in over 105,000 lbs.; Nova Scotia contributed about 62,000 lbs. to England, and New York more than 1,000,000 lbs. to Scotland. (These last two places must then have been intermediary ports for tobacco in transit from the West Indies or other colonies under English control, as there is no evidence that this tobacco was produced in either of them.) The West Indies exported the greatest quantity then received by England, of which Tortola alone sent in 3,274,909 lbs., and supplied 1,505,057 to Scotland.

Denmark (with Norway), Flanders, Holland, Sweden, Bermuda, Carolina, New Orleans and several of the islands in the Lesser Antilles (besides Tortola) also supplied England and Scotland with tobacco during this period. The total importations of tobacco into England and Scotland for the year ending Christmas, 1782, was only about 10,000,000 lbs. (Table, Vol. IV, [3K₄^a].)

⁵ *V.* nos. 882 [Vol. V, R₅^a], 894, 896, 912, 919, 934, and Index: Cultivation of tobacco, commercial, *s.v.* Europe.

⁶ *V. ante*, p. 134, n. 6, and *supra*, n. 4.

⁷ Cf. nos. 788; 839 [P₈^b, Q₆^b, and R₅^a].

⁸ It was not until almost the close of the ninth decade that tobacco exports approximated the totals of the pre-Revolutionary period. In 1790 they amounted to 118,460 hogsheads, of which Great Britain received 73,708, Holland 23,448, France

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The efforts of Lafayette to establish a favorable market in France for the United States and to have some of their exports admitted on a most-favored nation basis were defeated in regard to tobacco by the *Fermiers-Généraux* who controlled its importation. In furthering their policy of depressing the wholesale market¹ they awarded Robert Morris the monopoly of supplying them with American tobacco—a contract which threw “the commerce of that article in agonies.”² The rapacity of the powerful French monopolists strained commercial relations between the new republic and France to a serious degree. Determined efforts were made to have the Morris contract cancelled, but without success, until the French Revolution swept the *Fermiers-Généraux* out of existence. In the meantime the Americans resumed their old contacts with the English, partly through force of habit, partly because of better credit facilities, etc., there than in France.

But the encouragement which the planters of tobacco had received in several Continental countries³ during the period of the American conflict and the increased trade of the Dutch and the Spanish in bringing tobacco into Europe from their colonial possessions, had a permanent effect upon the European market. Though the planters of the United States were eventually to become again the greatest producers of leaf tobacco, the development of the export trade in this article was seriously retarded for many years as a result of the Revolutionary War.

The succeeding forces which affected the trade, such as the War of 1812, the blockades and embargoes resulting from the Napoleonic wars, the consequent rise

10,876, and Germany 5,612, and the remainder went elsewhere in Europe, the West Indies and even the East Indies, which took only 62 hogsheads. The only export product which exceeded tobacco in value (1790) was flour, then worth \$4,591,293 as compared with \$4,349,567 for tobacco. In the following year tobacco again took the leading place in value among all exports from the United States but the aggregate of 1790 was not reached again in any year until 1840. (Dodge, *Statistics of Manufactures of Tobacco* [being pp. 881-947 of the *Report*, in *Misc. Doc.—v. Killebrew, Rept.* in References. Separately paginated, vi + 64., pp. 37, 40.]

¹The French tobacco monopolists had long been notorious for their avariciousness and the low price they offered for this commodity (*v. ante*, p. 135, n. 8). Before the final signing of peace between Great Britain and the United States they had agreed to purchase certain quantities of tobacco from American planters. However, they soon adopted their usual subversive methods, attempting (1782) to deflate the market rapidly by sharply reducing purchases, exercising (1783) their “right” of *prélation*—purchase at a lower price of goods already sold, concentrating large orders with one group at arbitrarily low prices, etc., etc.

This chapter in the economic history of tobacco is clearly related in “American Tobacco and French Politics, 1783-1789,” by Frederic L. Nussbaum (in *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. XL, no. 4, December 1925, pp. 497 ff.).

²Jefferson to John Adams, Paris, July 9, 1786. (*Writings*, Ford ed., 1892-1899, Vol. IV, p. 252, and *cf. ibid.*, *passim.*)

The contract made with a Scotch firm to deliver tobacco to them having remained unfulfilled because of the very low price offered, the Farmers turned to Morris. The latter, in April 1785, agreed to make deliveries of 60,000 hogsheads to France ($\frac{1}{2}$ each year) in 1785, 1786 and 1787 (*v. his letter*, n. 950) at the rate of 36 *livres* the cwt., with sole rights for America and an advance of a million *livres*. This price was then equivalent to only 24 shillings (in Virginia currency) in contrast to its former value of 40 shillings there. In consequence, the price declined to 22 s. 6 d. in Virginia, reduced the American purchasing power and checked the trade with France. Maryland organized a formal protest, and a boycott of French goods was proposed in Virginia. Despite the concerted protests of diplomatic and commercial agents and the attempts made to “cure the evil, by discontinuing the Farm” the contract was completed, but not renewed. Nussbaum (*op. cit. sup.*, n. 1, ¶2), who provides further details of this important matter, remarks in conclusion, “[The failure of the French government] to check the ruthless rapacity of the Farmers-General in their control of the tobacco trade had left the interests engaged in American commerce the helpless victims of its vicious organization. The greatest prize of the world struggle for commerce, the American trade, had been sacrificed at their expense in the interest of a ring of privileged parasites.” (P. 516.)

³The rapid progress of European production is shown by the fact that by 1841 the total crop was more than 136,000,000 lbs., which was about 60% of the United States total in 1840. (Jacobstein, p. 36.)

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in import duties and reduction of consumption, the fixing of prices by the various *Régies* of France, Austria, Italy, etc., and, in the United States, the decreasing participation in tobacco production because of the rising value of cotton, etc.—all make familiar history, which, however, lies in periods outside the chronological scope of this *Introduction*.¹

WITHIN the limits planned, the chief phases of the economic history of tobacco (excluding the subject of Continental monopolies and taxation)² up to the XIXth century have now been reviewed. As the intention of this survey was to record mainly those salient features of the tobacco industry where it first demonstrated itself as a great economic force and to indicate the underlying factors which affected its development, comparatively little has been said in the foregoing pages about the export trade in tobacco of the Spanish in the Americas, of the Portuguese in Brazil, of the Dutch in the East Indies later, and of other participants in this commerce. But the data that have been introduced on these subjects are fuller than will at first appear, because of their inferential content, and more detailed notices of these (then) extensive divisions of the trade are available in the main text of this work.

The pioneer southern colonies of England in North America, therefore, claimed especial consideration for the place they held during the expansion of the tobacco industry into a world commerce, and because of the economic and political mutations which resulted from their successful development of this commerce. The energetic devotion of the early Virginian settlers to the cultivation of tobacco prevented a repetition of the failure which concluded the original attempt of the English to found a colony in North America,³ and when England's foothold was thus assured its great era of colonial expansion began. While the tobacco growers in the Spanish and Portuguese colonial possessions in the Americas were tacitly encouraged by their home governments, the Virginians had at first to contend with rulers and officials unsympathetic to their chief (and almost sole) industrial occupation.⁴ Though they engaged in the commercial production of tobacco many years after its institution by the Spaniards in the West Indies and South America,⁵ within a comparatively short period of time they (together with their neighbors of Maryland) had wrested the control of the European trade from their foreign rivals. Later, when the financial and colonial policies of the English government adjusted themselves so as to foster this industry,⁶ the single article of commerce which was the staple of these colonies enriched the mother country beyond the expectations of her most optimistic statesmen and economists.

Some of the economic, political and social consequences of this colonial cultivation of tobacco are not readily obvious, but on examination they reveal the innocuous, sedative plant upon which the industry depended as a kind of dynamic force. As there were no other exports of commercial importance from the English colonies during most of the initial colonial period except tobacco, the carrying

¹See the Index: United States, Commerce in tobacco, for numerous works in the Arents library dealing with this phase of the history, Dodge (*op. cit. ante*, p. 139, n. 8), *passim*, Jacobstein, Chapter II, *et seq.*, and Rive, pp. 64-65, 72-74.

²*V. infra*, pp. 143 ff.

³*V. ante*, pp. 46-47.

⁴*V. ante*, pp. 96-97, *et passim*.

⁵*V. ante*, p. 82.

⁶*V. ante*, pp. 91, 92, 113, *et passim*.

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trade was, of course, almost entirely concerned with this commodity. Tobacco production gave tremendous impetus, therefore, to the early English merchant marine which (later supported by the Navigation Acts)¹ finally became the greatest of any European power.²

In contrast to the less fertile colonies of the North,³ the Virginians and their neighbors were able to cultivate (with unskilled labor), wherever land was available, the plant which they had made their staple. It was this factor which made it profitable to buy negroes who could be used cheaply to exploit the rich soil. This slave labor did not condition the commercial tobacco agriculture of Virginia, etc.,⁴ but it aided considerably in the development of the industry and made possible its great expansion in the XVIIIth century when white labor became expensive and scarce. Thus one of the most important characteristics of the South—the institution of slavery—became fixed through the cultivation of tobacco.

In the absence of proper fertilizers and before a knowledge of scientific agricultural methods, the soil which so readily produced tobacco was soon rendered sterile by the one-crop system.⁵ But the colonial planter could afford to be an "agricultural spendthrift,"⁶ for tobacco fields could be obtained elsewhere by the labor of clearing them of timber. As the process of exhausting the soil continued the planters abandoned their old fields and began to migrate to the south, the west and the northwest territories contiguous to the original southern settlements.⁷ The extension of the English boundaries in southern North America was, to a considerable degree, therefore, dictated by the general occupation of tobacco growing and the desire for more fertile fields in which to continue the industry.

But in tidewater Virginia and to a lesser degree in Maryland and Carolina, the more affluent landholders acquired vast tracts where they originally settled so that plantations of several thousand acres were not unusual.⁸ These great estates were largely self-sustaining,⁹ and as the smaller landholders migrated gradually to the interiors they also created an element of independence which discouraged the erection of towns or the promotion of centralized communities. "[Tobacco]," wrote Governor Calvert of Maryland, "requires us to Abhor Communitys or townships, since a Planter cannot Carry on his Affairs, without Considerable Elbow room within his plantation."¹⁰

From a common interest in tobacco, therefore, were evolved those divisions of society long characteristic of the southern colonies, chiefly a wealthy landlord and slave-owning class and a large but scattered settler class. It was the nature

¹ *V. ante*, p. III.

² *Cf. ante*, p. 130, conclusion of n. 1, and p. 138, n. 9.

³ *V. ante*, p. 106.

⁴ *V. ante*, p. 98 and n. 5 there. *Cf. Bruce*, ii, Chap. XI.

⁵ *Cf. nos.* 865 [Vol. II, Dd⁴], 928 [U¹], Tatham, p. 6.

⁶ *Bruce*, ii, p. 61.

⁷ *V. ante*, p. 108, and notes 2, 3 there, and n. 934 (note), among others.

⁸ The average size of these estates was five thousand acres, but aggregated, in some cases, twelve, fifteen, eighteen and thirty-seven thousand acres.

V. Bruce, ii, pp. 252-253. "It was the desire to preserve intact these large estates that accounts for the institution of primogeniture in the South throughout the colonial period." (Jacobstein, p. 26.)

⁹ *V. ante*, p. 127, n. 11, and "Letters of William Fitzhugh," April 22, 1686, in *Va. Mag.*, I, pp. 395-396.

¹⁰ Oct. 26, 1729 (*The Calvert Papers, Number Two*—*op. cit. ante*, p. 109, n. 6, ¶3—p. 70). Nicholas Spencer, Secretary of Virginia, remarked (1680) that the unfortunate condition of the colony was largely due to the decentralized state of the settlers (*The Col. Rec. of No. Carolina, 1662-1712*, 1886, pp. 312-313; and *C.S.P., Col., 1677-1680*, p. 569).

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of their agriculture which primarily determined their representative type of government, rather than the democratic form familiar in the New England colonies, where the inhabitants could conveniently gather regularly in town meetings.

As has been indicated before,¹ the early financial and fiscal systems of the South depended almost entirely upon its staple industry, for the values of services and labor, as well as most articles of commerce, were based upon tobacco. The chief revenue of the colonies was derived from the export duty upon tobacco shipments and from the poll tax on the cultivators.²

Thus tobacco was the dominant element in shaping the social customs, the political and financial systems, the industrial life and the territorial growth of the southern British colonies,³ and the forces which were set in motion when tobacco was sovereign there affected the governments of Europe and the trade of the world and remained powerful factors in the sociological and economic life of the United States to our own time.

THE development of the tobacco trade into a major industry had created a new source of wealth for private individuals on the Continent and provided a most welcome means of increased revenues to several rulers there. The taxation of domestic and imported tobacco and the leasing of monopolies became important factors in the fiscal systems of many European states after the first quarter of the XVIIth century. As this division of tobacco's history is so fully documented by the numerous publications catalogued in the main text of this work,⁴ only its chief characteristics need be dealt with here.

In Spain an import duty existed by 1611.⁵ Government supervision of tobacco was early manifested, for by a provision in a *cedula* of 1614 the cultivation of the plant in Cuba became free, but all tobacco not consumed in the island was required to be sent to Seville.⁶ One of the results of this regulation was that that city became the center for the manufacture of cigars and snuff of superior quality. In 1630 the impost of 1½ reales the pound on tobacco was leased for 11,875,000 maravedis,⁷ although efforts to obtain this farm had begun as early as 1615. Tobacco was then among the most valuable of all the products of Spain's opulent colonies in America. The value of the duty-leases and sole rights of importing and selling this commodity increased rapidly, supplied the means of loans to the Crown, supported royal institutions and paid for wars.⁸ Despite the frequent protests made against the monopoly⁹ (which was occasionally accused of high-handed

¹ *Ante*, pp. 103-105.

² *V. the Index: Duty on tobacco, s.v. Anglo-American colonies.*

³ *Bruce*, in his concluding chapter (vol. ii, pp. 566 ff.) ably summarizes the influence of tobacco upon the economic and social life of seventeenth-century Virginia.

⁴ *V. the Index: Monopoly of tobacco duties; Duty, Customs; Duty on tobacco, and the various sub-headings.*

⁵ *Comes*, p. 65.

⁶ De Gordon y de Acosta, *Higiene colonial en Cuba* (Havana, 1895), p. 46, *id.*, *El tabaco en Cuba* (1897), p. 14, cited by *Comes*, p. 8. It was probably this

regulation which Bennett (*v. n.* 158 "q") had in mind when he wrote, "... no sooner had [James I] granted a Patent for it heere, but forthwith the King of Spaine, made it his owne Comoditie there, to no other end but to keepe vp and raife the price of it..." [a³-b]

According to García de Torres (*Las Rentas Estancadas*, t. 1884, p. 23), an export duty of 1½ reales was placed upon tobacco by a royal decree of 1616, because of the then existing English import tax on Spanish tobacco (*v. ante*, p. 84).

⁷ De Torres (*ut sup.*), p. 23.

⁸ *Nos.* 909, 921.

⁹ *Nos.* 365, 518, 876.

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frauds, adulterations of tobacco, etc.), and the general hatred felt for the farmers of the revenue by the populace, the systems became permanent institutions in Spain.¹ As elsewhere, where the duties were leased and monopolies existed, considerable smuggling went on.² To deprive the despised *Monopolio* and the lessees of any portion of their revenue, a good part of the population willingly engaged in trading or conveying contraband tobacco. The clergy themselves were often charged with smuggling or concealing illicit tobacco, so that orders were occasionally issued for the search of convents, etc.³ Penalties of a severe nature were decreed for those who opposed the system in any form, and as late as the close of the XVIIIth century a punitive expedition against the Igorots was planned because they defied the administration in the Philippines⁴ by continuing to grow their cherished tobacco.

The nominal duty on tobacco in France was, upon the advice of the astute Richelieu, increased in 1629.⁵ The cultivation of the plant for commercial purposes had already begun there,⁶ but foreign tobaccos, especially the "Sweet-scented" of Virginia, were most widely in demand. The French were comparatively late in leasing the tobacco imposts, for not until 1674, under Colbert, was the first farm assumed.⁷ The hated *Fermiers-Généraux* acquired full power in 1680/81. In the initial year of control the estimated value to the state of the tobacco farm alone was 300,000 livres.⁸ Laws of exceptional severity were enacted to protect the revenue of the lessees and the monopolists, and many an individual found with even a small quantity of contraband tobacco was summarily sentenced to the galleys and branded for life, while those who were armed or resisted the agents of the *Régie* were condemned to death.⁹ A great drama of human victims is involved in the intricate record of the tobacco monopoly and its associates in France (as well as in other European countries),¹⁰ and much of the contemporaneous economic history of that nation revolves about the vicissitudes of the various organizations which controlled the revenues derived from tobacco up to the period of the Revolution.¹¹

¹ Even the cultivation of tobacco in the Spanish-American colonies was taken from private control and the industry became a state monopoly in 1764 (Comes, p. 65).

² Nos. 375, 796.

³ *V.* n. 719, and *cf.* n. 721.

⁴ N. 1131.

⁵ *V.* n. 335. In 1664 it was increased to 13 livres the cwt. for foreign tobacco and 4 livres the cwt. for French colonial tobacco. (Gondolff, p. 552.)

⁶ Around Clairac tobacco was grown in considerable quantities, chiefly for export (*v.* Gondolff, pp. 398 ff.). Cultivation was restricted to only a few places in 1674 (confirmed 1676—*v.* n. 339), and entirely prohibited in 1719, in favor of the tobacco produced in the French colony of Louisiana (*cf.* n. 581).

⁷ The first lease was awarded to one Jean Breton, the contract price being 500,000 livres for the first two years and 600,000 livres for the succeeding four years. (This lease included tin valued at $\frac{3}{5}$ of the total.) Gondolff, pp. 41, 546.

⁸ Gondolff, p. 546.

⁹ A very full record of the French tobacco *Régie* laws, convictions of offenders and sentences imposed, etc., etc., is provided by the many publications cata-

logued in *Tobacco* in three series under nos. 335-352 incl., 543-646 incl., 975-1059 incl. *Cf.* n. 1060.

Adam Smith (n. 884), in commenting upon the system of collecting the tobacco and salt-dues in France, remarked, "In such cases the farmer, instead of one, levies two exorbitant profits upon the people; the profit of the farmer, and the still more exorbitant one of the monopolist. Tobacco being a luxury, every man is allowed to buy or not to buy as he chuses . . . The smuggling of salt and tobacco sends every year several hundred people to the galleys, besides a very considerable number whom it sends to the gibbet." [Vol. II, XXX^{a-b}.]

¹⁰ Among the penalties inflicted in Portugal, for instance, any nobleman convicted of transgression against the tobacco revenue laws had his property confiscated and was exiled to Africa for six years or longer. Artisans found guilty lost their property and were whipped and sent to the galleys for five years. *V.* n. 721 for further details of the penal code instituted by the tobacco monopolies, etc., in Portugal, and for the edict relating to violations of similar laws in Sardinia and Piedmont, see n. 780.

¹¹ The monopoly had been suspended in 1719 (*v.*

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The schemes inaugurated by James I of England whereby he included among his prerogatives a financial interest in the tobacco trade,¹ and the system of monopoly and control instituted by his successor,² were widely adopted in various forms by European rulers. Thus, by 1675, the tobacco imposts had been farmed out in Mantua, 1627; Naples, 1635-1637; Lombardy, 1637; Tuscany, 1645, etc.;³ Utrecht, 1650 (n. 239); Silesia, 1657;⁴ in some of the States of the Church: Ferrara, 1657-1658 (n. 270), Bologna, 1660 (n. 279), etc.;⁵ Sweden, 1662 (n. 283); the Tyrol, 1662;⁶ Austria, 1670;⁷ Bavaria, 1675 (n. 331); and elsewhere in Europe. Before the end of the XVIIth century Peter the Great had granted monopoly rights to English contractors⁸ for Russia. By the first quarter of the XVIIIth century the system prevailed temporarily in Prussia⁹ and was soon adopted by those other states which had previously maintained the policy of administering the taxes on tobacco themselves.

The granting of these various leases and monopolies provoked a strong spirit of opposition among the general populace in the aforementioned countries and cities. Part of the protest expressed by the people was based upon the fact that many of the leases and grants were acquired by opulent foreigners,¹⁰ or by Jewish financiers.¹¹ In several places in Catholic Italy, Austria, etc., wealthy Jews had the sole rights to the importation and sale of tobacco. No other branch of the monopolistic system was more bitterly and vehemently objected to by the citizens of the Continental states than that which controlled the trade in tobacco.

It was the popular contention that tobacco was as indispensable as food, that it made life bearable even under hardships, and that this common article would (and should) be inexpensive had not the desire for inordinate profits on the part of the monopolists placed it in the class of a minor luxury.

As in Spain,¹² the monopolists in other states were often accused of autocratic methods, of forcing the sale of inferior tobacco, of adulterating their stocks and of similar frauds. By whatever means possible, civilians and even soldiers hampered the engrossers and their agents. The monopolists on their part, determined to insure their revenues and to derive profits from their expensive grants, demanded as high prices as they dared. Backed by the authority of rulers who were financially interested in the success of the tobacco monopolies and the revenue farms, the administrators of these organizations had laws framed to their own advantage,

n. 581) but reestablished in 1721 (*cf.* n. 591). In 1723 the *Compagnie des Indes* again assumed control (*v.* n. 608) until 1730, when they sublet their contract to the *Fermiers-Généraux* (*cf.* n. 992 and nos. 851-854 incl.). (For the values of these various leases see n. 851.) This monopoly was abolished in 1791 (*v. infra*, p. 146). The trade in the commodity became an exclusive state right in 1811 (29 Dec., 1810).

¹ *V. ante*, pp. 88-92.

² *V. ante*, pp. 93-94.

³ *V. Pasetti* (†, 1900), pp. 7 ff., for these Italian States. Pasetti remarks that Venice recognized a form of monopoly as early as 1600. The first definite tobacco *appalto* was not established there, however, before 1657 (*v.* the authority cited by Schloezer, n. 882 [Vol. X, QP]). It shortly developed into a model system, imitated by many European States (Corti, p. 151).

⁴ Corti, p. 152.

⁵ Corti (*ibid.*) states that Pope Alexander VII farmed out the monopoly of spirits and tobacco in Rome, Sept. 22, 1655.

⁶ *Ibid.*, referring to Franz Wieser, "Zur Geschichte der Tabakproduktion in Tirol," in *Fachliche Mitteilungen der österreichischen Tabakregie*, 5th year, Part III, October, 1905.

⁷ *V.* n. 939, Corti, pp. 154 ff.

⁸ *V. ante*, p. 133.

⁹ Comes, p. 109; Corti, p. 193.

¹⁰ As in Russia—*v. ante*, p. 133. For other countries, *v.* nos. 283, 331, 939, and Corti, p. 203, *et passim*. *Cf.* n. 747.

¹¹ *V.* nos. 469, 939, and Corti, pp. 153, 157, 161, 205 in relation to the Tyrol, Austria, Brandenburg, Prussia, etc.

¹² *V. ante*, pp. 143-144.

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and through the judiciary inflicted the harshest possible punishments upon those who violated them. The severity of the monopolists and their associates through government agencies became notorious throughout the Continent and intensified that anti-aristocratic feeling and the spirit of democracy which, in France, finally flared up in turbulent rebellion.¹

But notwithstanding the evident aversion of the people to the granting of sole rights to individuals or corporations for the importation, manufacture and sale of tobacco or pipes, the system remained strongly entrenched until past the middle of the XVIIIth century.² Then the economic policies of European rulers were becoming more susceptible to the temper of the people, and the control of tobacco importation, vending, etc. (together with other monopolies), began to pass finally from private hands to those of the state.³ In some states the free cultivation of tobacco was permitted;⁴ in others the old restrictions against planting still applied, but the governments contented themselves with more moderate import taxes, etc., than the monopolists had demanded. The abolition of the *Fermiers-Généraux* system in France was one of the earliest matters considered by the National Assembly⁵ when it was charged that the government of Turkey was far more humane in its treatment of offenders against the tobacco monopoly laws than were the monopolists of France or Spain.⁶

THE triumphant advance of tobacco past all barriers had carried it about most of Asia⁷ by the end of the XVIIth century. In the next four to five decades it began to be known even to the peoples in the hinterlands far removed from those coastal towns where Europeans had first introduced it,⁸ and its cultivation commenced in places remote from the ordinary avenues of commerce. In Eastern Asia a part of this diffusion can be traced to the merchantmen⁹ who trafficked regu-

¹ In Vienna the office of the *appalto* was attacked by an angry mob (Corti, p. 195). The people of Bohemia complained bitterly to the officials at Vienna, saying, "these appaltists [monopolists] are getting all the public trade, or at least the best part of it, into their claws, and as a necessary consequence are ruining all the other traders." (*Historisch, Politisch, Juridisch, und Cameralische Reflexions über die dermalige Landes Verfassung des Königreiches Böhmeim*. [1718].) The Styrian Provincial Council in 1751 protested against the "un-Christian fashion" adopted by the tobacco inspectors against the poor people. (Dr. Franz Wieser, *Zur Geschichte des Tabakgefälles und der Tabakkultur in Dalmatien, 1700-1884*, p. 145, etc.) (The references given are cited by Corti, pp. 195-196.)

² From time to time various rulers submitted to the strength of the public protest and rescinded the tobacco monopolies, but they were usually reestablished in these places after a brief period.

³ *V. Index: Monopolies, State*. Some of the older monopolies lasted almost to the XIXth century. In parts of Italy some were reestablished after 1800 (Comes, pp. 86, *et passim*, and his Chart for Europe) but the general tendency was toward direct government control, while those rights held by individuals or corporations were limited and kept under official

supervision.

⁴ *V. Index: Cultivation of tobacco, Commercial, Europe*.

⁵ *V. n. 1062* and associated pamphlets. In the years immediately preceding the French Revolution the monopoly yielded at least 30,000,000 livres annually (*cf. nos. 1065, 1070-A*).

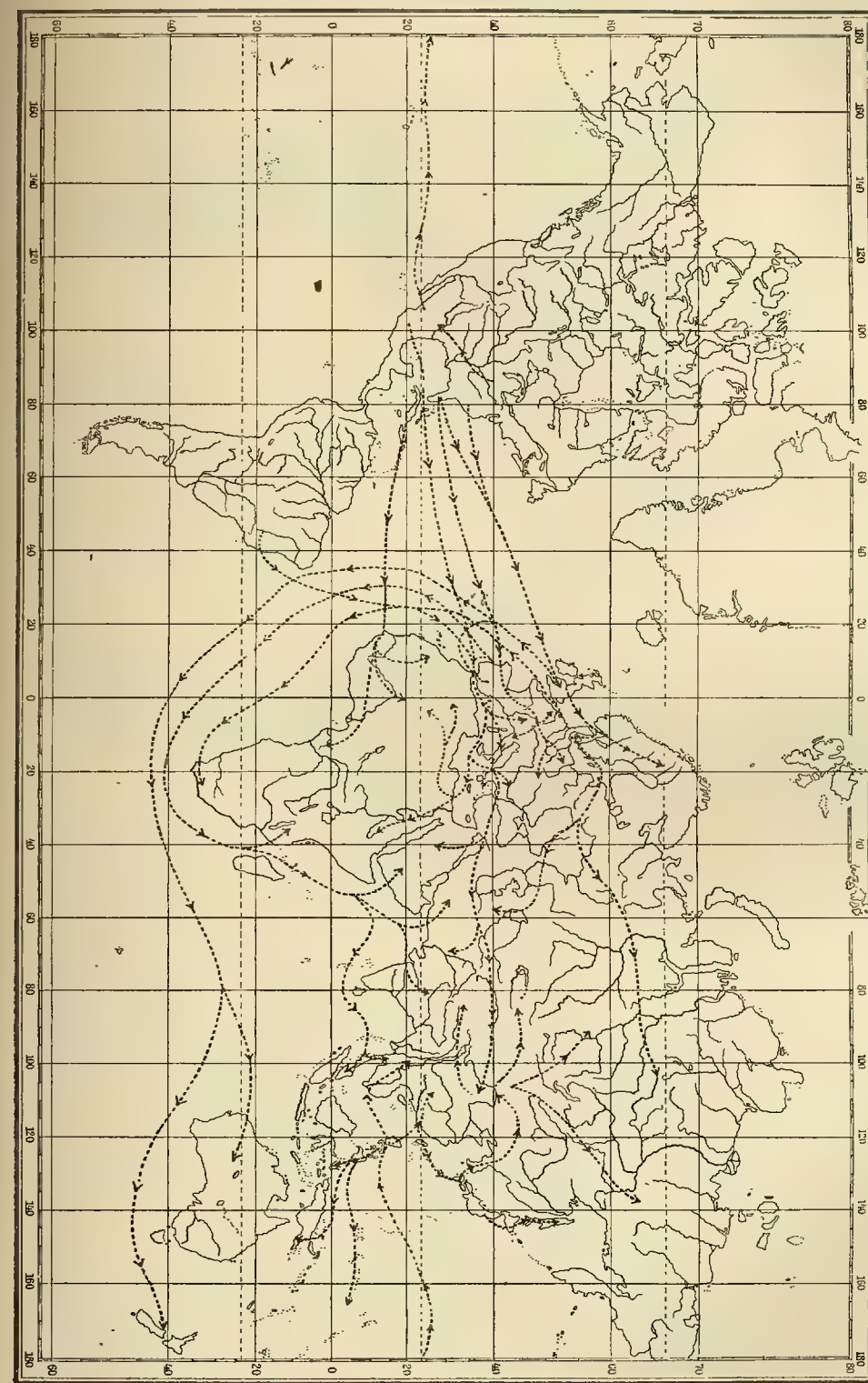
⁶ *N. 1060*.

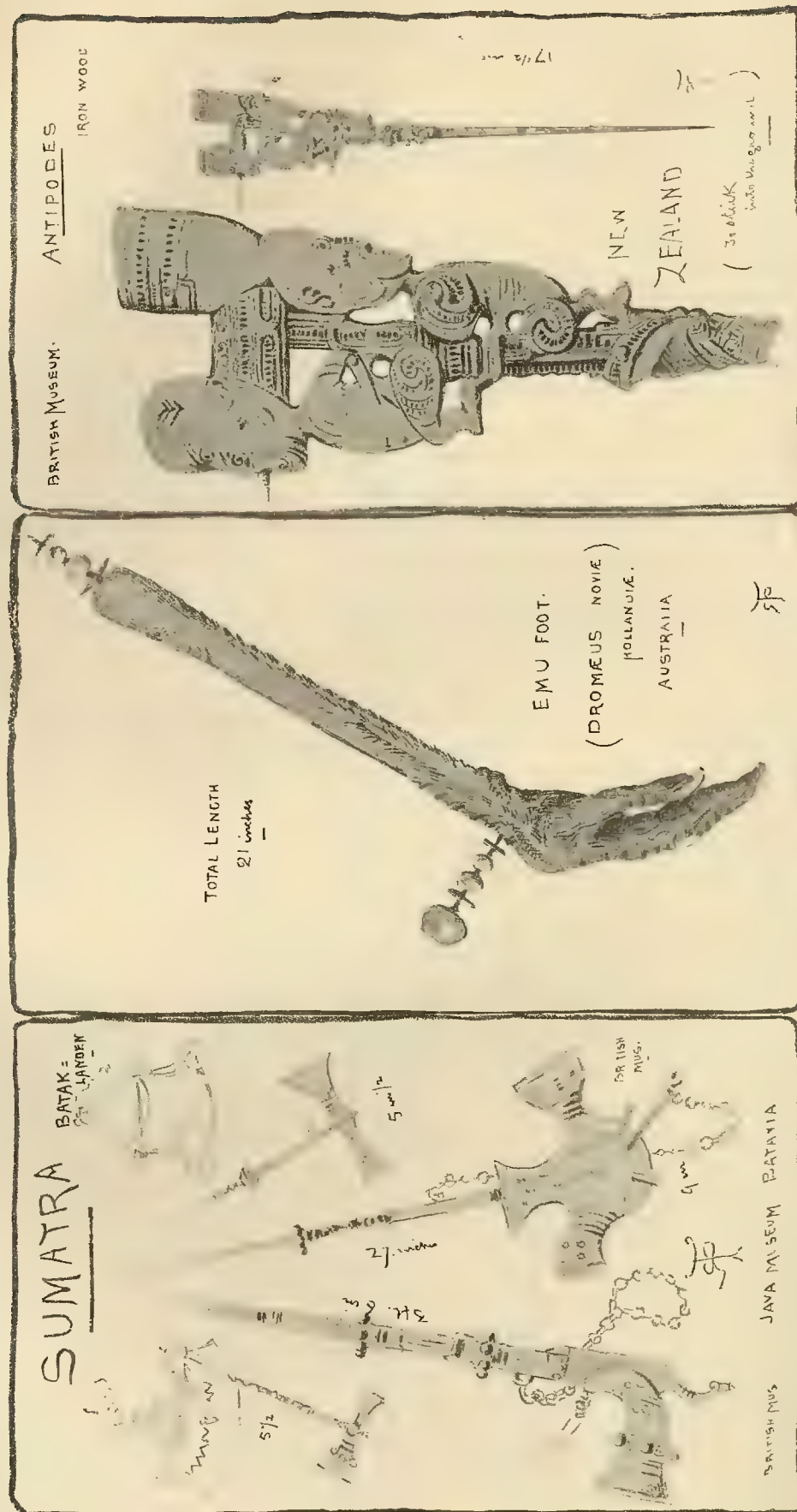
⁷ The use of tobacco is practically universal in Asia today. Only the Yami, an inconsiderable tribe who inhabit the island of Botel Tobago (near Formosa), are not addicted to this popular recreation (*La., Asia*, p. 18). It should be recorded, too, that the leaders of the fanatic Mohammedan sect of Wahabis still maintain a harsh attitude to smoking because tobacco was not mentioned in the Koran, and was therefore unsanctioned, and Arber (p. 90) announced (though the statement has been controverted) that members found smoking were punished with death. *V. also, Burckhardt, Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, 1831, vol. ii, 114-115, 148, and W. D. Hambly (in *La., Africa*, p. 18) who states that the Senussis of Libya also refrain from the use of tobacco.

⁸ *V. ante*, pp. 41-42, and *Index: Asia*.

⁹ *V. ante*, pp. 41-42.

THE MIGRATION OF TOBACCO OVER THE EARTH
From Hartwich, *Die Menschlichen Genussmittel* (G. H. Teubnitz, 1911), page 59.





PIPES OF SUMATRA AND THE ANTIPODES
These illustrations are from Pritchett, *Smokiana* (†, 1890).

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larly with the Filipinos. The natives of Sumatra¹ and of Borneo, however, despite their frequent contacts with the Portuguese and other traders, seem not to have indulged in tobacco until past the middle of the XVIIIth century. None of the early explorers to these two countries makes any mention of tobacco there,² but the general native indulgence in betel-chewing (and later opium-smoking) undoubtedly accounts for the tardy acceptance of tobacco by these people.

The smoking of tobacco (in various forms) was the habit most widely adopted by the Asiatics, the dried leaf being often mixed with common herbs for the sake of economy, or with opium or other narcotics as a matter of taste.³ The use of tobacco as snuff or in the form of cigars was also practised in many parts of Asia.⁴ The chewing of the leaf was adopted chiefly by those tribes already accustomed to the use of betel or bhang⁵ as masticatories, but this habit was also observed in Eastern Siberia⁶ and other places in Asia.

In Africa, as has already been shown, tobacco had been introduced on the West Coast by the Portuguese and the Dutch before the close of the XVIth century.⁷ Early in the next century (if not before) its recreative uses had become known in the North;⁸ before 1640 it was being cultivated in Madagascar⁹ and the East Coast, and within the next few years it was familiar to the Hottentots in South Africa. The Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English, French, and others, whether as explorers, slave-traders or colonists, introduced tobacco only along the African littoral. Its spread into the interior was due to the blacks themselves and to the activities of the Arabian slave-traders in the North.¹⁰

The Africans rapidly developed such a passion for the new sedative that their addiction to it became notorious, as remarked upon by all the explorers to the Dark Continent who dealt with this subject.¹¹ This inordinate desire for tobacco, coupled with that grossness of appetite commonly associated with these negroes, would have been apparent enough, were other evidence lacking, from the extremely large bowls employed in most native pipes.¹² The generous proportions of these pipes were designed by native artificers to replace the European clays which were found to be too small to satisfy the greedy African smokers. This

¹ Now an important source of tobacco for cigar-wrappers.

² *V.* those cited in Comes, pp. 301, 303.

³ *V. ante*, p. 13, conclusion to n. 1. Laufer (*Asia*, pp. 23-24) presents the very acceptable opinion that opium-smoking in Asia was subsequent to the introduction of tobacco. Prior to the use of tobacco, opium had been taken internally in the forms of a pill or as a liquid. The Dutch seem to have invented the blending of opium with tobacco for the use of the Javanese.

⁴ *Infra*, pp. 164-166.

⁵ *La.*, *Asia*, p. 31.

⁶ Cooke (*op. cit. ante*, p. 13, n. 9), p. 97; Comes, p. 286, and Chart for Asia (Siberia).

⁷ *V. ante*, pp. 41, 42.

⁸ El-Is-hâkee made the observation that the custom of tobacco-smoking began to be common in Egypt between the years 1601-1603 (Cooke—*op. cit. sup.*, n. 6—p. 25). In view of the mercantile conditions then existing, the habit was undoubtedly

known in Alexandria and Cairo at least a few years before this period.

⁹ Peter Mundy, who was in Madagascar in 1638, referred to the tobacco growing there and noticed that it was smoked through a water-pipe which he called "hucka." (*Travels*, Hakluyt Soc. ed., 1919, Vol. III, Part II, p. 384.) *V. La.*, *Africa*, pp. 10-11.

¹⁰ Tiedemann (Chap. VII) and Comes (Chap. III) both make valuable contributions to the subject of tobacco in Africa and its spread about that continent. *V. too*, Hartwich, pp. 74-84, and *La. (Africa)*, pp. 2-15.

¹¹ *V. Finch*, n. 158 "j"; Jobson, n. 152; W. Bosman, *Nauwkeurige Beschryving van de Guinese Goud-Tand-en Slave Kust*, Utrecht, 1704, Vol. I [P. 1]; Thunberg (*op. cit. ante*, p. 71, n. 1), Vol. I, p. 188; and the various authors cited by Comes, pp. 130, *et passim*.

¹² Bosman (*ut sup.*), Vol. II [L₂^b-L₃^a]; Pritchett, *Smokiana* (†, 1890), pp. 27 ff.; and Dunhill (Chaps. X-XI), "The Myriad Pipes of Africa."

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unconcealed desire for the tobacco brought in by traders and settlers in Africa produced some valuable economic and political advantages, notably for the Portuguese and the Dutch, both of whom early recognized the usefulness of this commodity of luxury in promoting their aims. Around the West Coast the natives plainly expressed their preference to deal with those from whom they could obtain the desirable tobacco imported by the Portuguese, even though its price was exorbitant.¹ In the Cape Colony the Hottentots seized upon pipe-smoking with such avidity that they willingly parted with their lands, their cattle and other private possessions in order to be able to acquire the coveted leaf.² A considerable portion of the purchase price paid by the Dutch for the Colony, in 1652, consisted of tobacco, and this article was the chief payment demanded by the natives as these Europeans extended their holdings of land in southern Africa. So necessary did this novel commodity become among both men and women that the deluded natives would gladly exchange their magnificent cattle for a piece of roll-tobacco, making the length of the twisted leaf equal that of an animal from horns or head to tail.³ Ignorant blacks, bribed with tobacco and *eau-de-vie*, cooperated with unscrupulous Europeans in capturing slaves for exportation to America and elsewhere, and many pounds of a leaf more often employed to foster friendship between men thus ignobly served as a reward for those who had sent their countrymen into servitude.⁴

The soil of most of Africa then colonized or regularly visited by whites was well adapted to the successful production of tobacco,⁵ but as the natives, for the chief part, were slow in acquiring the correct art of curing these crops, many of the negroes continued to demand the imported varieties until well in the XIXth century. The Africans who were already habituated to the smoking of *dakka* (hemp)⁶ soon learned to mix tobacco with the narcotic to which they had long been accustomed, and as in Asia, the blacks also snuffed or chewed tobacco mixed with

¹ Among several writers who refer to this particular subject T. E. Bowdich has an illuminating passage. Near the Gold Coast, even in the XIXth century, the natives there displayed a taste, which was fairly prevalent in Africa, for imported tobacco. Bowdich wrote, "A serious disadvantage opposed to the English trade, is that the Ashantees will purchase no tobacco but the Portuguese, and that eagerly even at 2 oz. of gold the roll. Of this, (the Portuguese and Spanish slave ships regularly calling at Elmina,) the Dutch Governor-General is enabled to obtain frequent supplies, in exchange for canoes, two of which, though they cost him comparatively nothing, fetch 32 rolls of tobacco; and the General has sometimes received 80 oz. of gold a day from the Ashantees for tobacco only. If they cannot have this tobacco, they will content themselves with that grown in the interior, of which I have brought a sample." (*Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee*, London, 1819, p. 337.)

² V. n. 651; La., *Africa*, pp. 9-10, and authorities cited there.

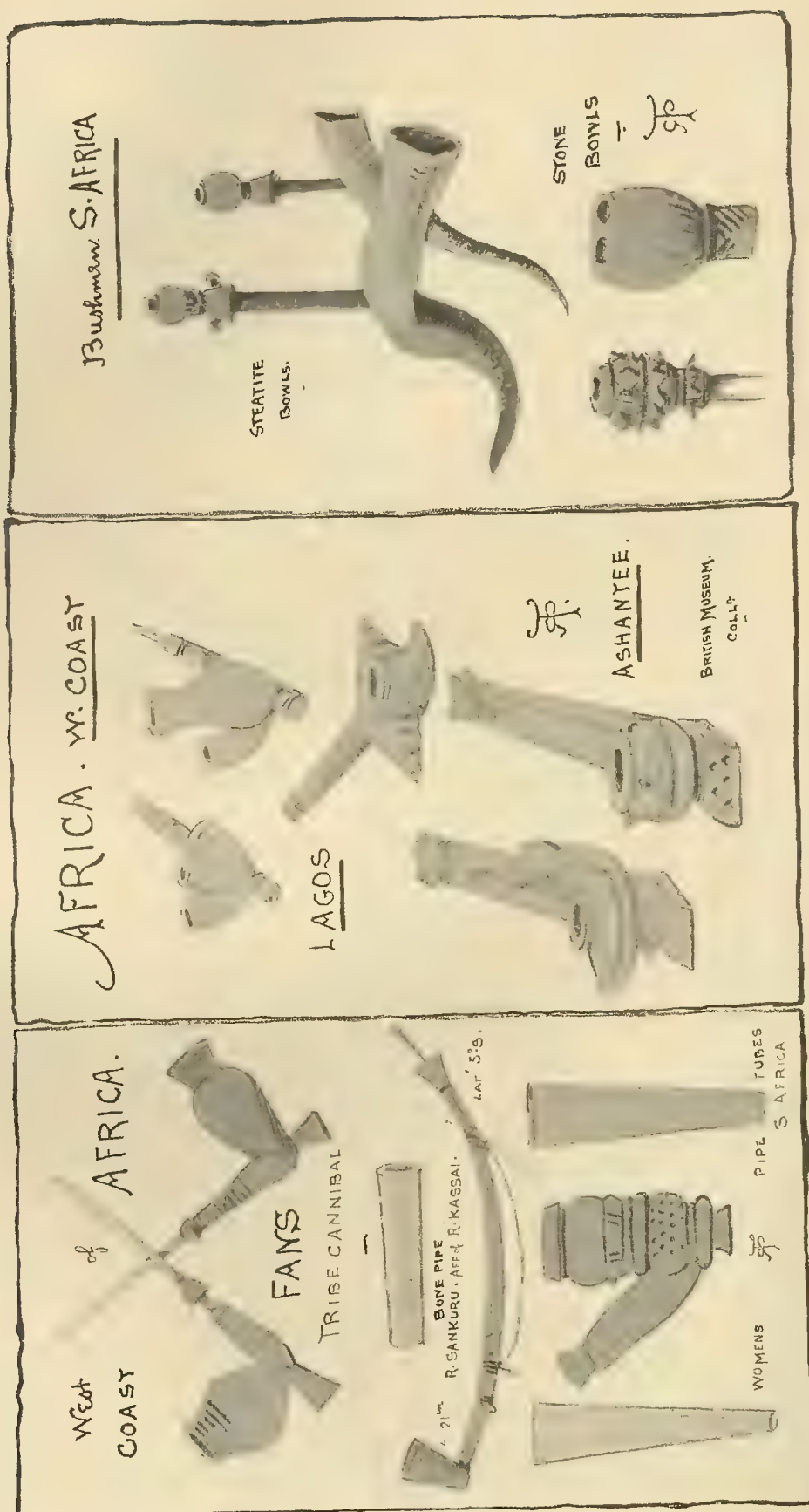
³ W. Dampier (*A New Voyage Round the World*, 1697, Vol. I, p. 540), who visited the Cape of Good Hope in 1691. The statement was confirmed by F. Leguat (who was there in 1698) in his *Voyage et*

Avantures, 1708, II, p. 161.

⁴ The Portuguese also engaged in this lucrative trade at Guinea, paying six to seven rolls of Brazil tobacco (each weighing 75 lbs.) for the choice slaves (Pruneau de Pommegorge, *Description de la Nigritie*, 1789, pp. 205-206).

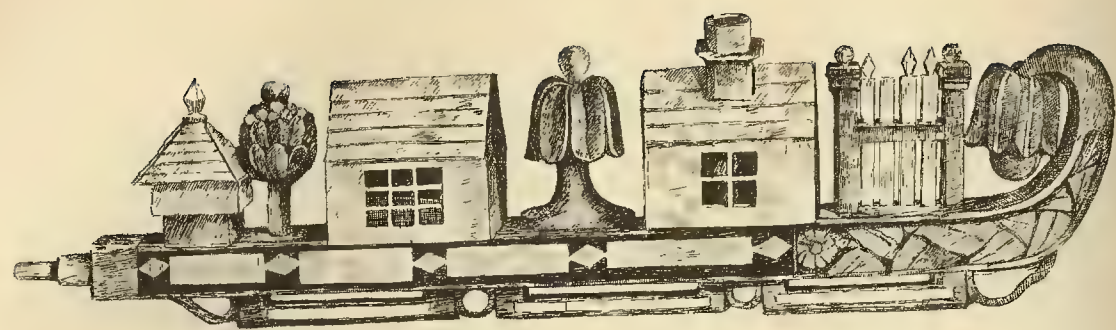
⁵ Hartwich (p. 75) was of the opinion that tobacco had first come into Africa from the Antilles, as only *N. rustica* was originally cultivated on and near the West Coast. (But this species may have been brought in by the Portuguese from Florida, via Portugal, or from Brazil as well—*v. ante*, p. 13.) Both Hartwich (p. 79) and Comes (p. 142, n. 4; p. 150, n. 1) found only varieties of *N. Tabacum* in the South. Some botanists believed that tobacco was indigenous to Africa because of its widespread growth there and because of the occasional presence of apparently wild varieties of the plant. But these latter specimens had undoubtedly escaped from cultivation, as all the tobacco then in Africa had been developed from seeds brought in by the Portuguese and others from Brazil, Florida or the Antilles, or by the Dutch from the East Indies, etc. *Cf. ante*, p. 9.

⁶ *V. ante*, p. 11; n. 651 of this history; and La., *Africa*, pp. 13-15.

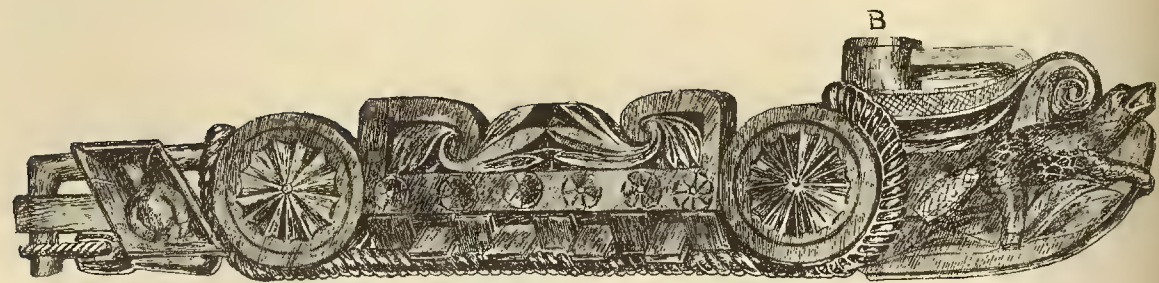


AFRICAN PIPES

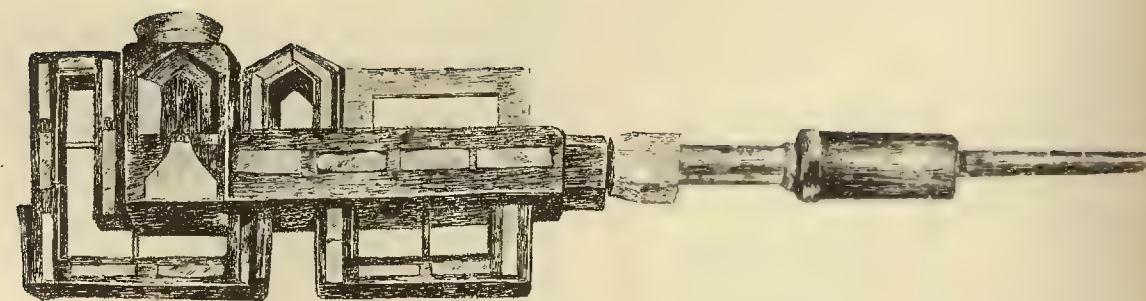
These illustrations are from Pritchett, *Smokiana* (1, 1890). Cf. Dunhill, *Chapters X and XI* and plates there, and Hartwich, pages 74 ff.



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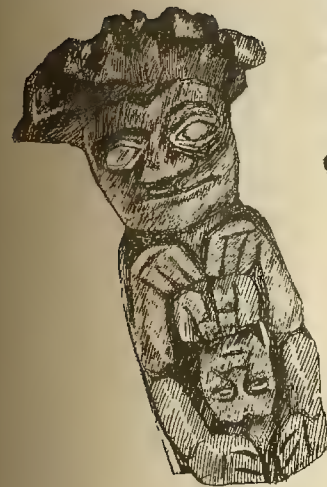
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PIPES OF NORTHWEST AMERICA

Fig. 1. Pipe of wood, stone and bone made in imitation of objects of European origin, by the Nootka (Wakashan) Indians, Vancouver Island (Brit. Columbia). Length: $19\frac{1}{4}$ ". Fig. 2. Pipe of slate, carved in imitation of totem posts and mythological figures by the Haida (Skittagetan) Indians, Queen Charlotte Islands. The mouthpiece is at the left; the bowl is indicated by "B." Length: $14\frac{7}{32}$ ". Fig. 3. Pipe of wood and ivory inlaid with pearl, collected by Wilkes Expedition. Length: $14\frac{1}{16}$ ". (Cf. West, I, p. 305.) From original drawings by Frank Calvert in the Arents collection, of specimens in the United States National Museum.



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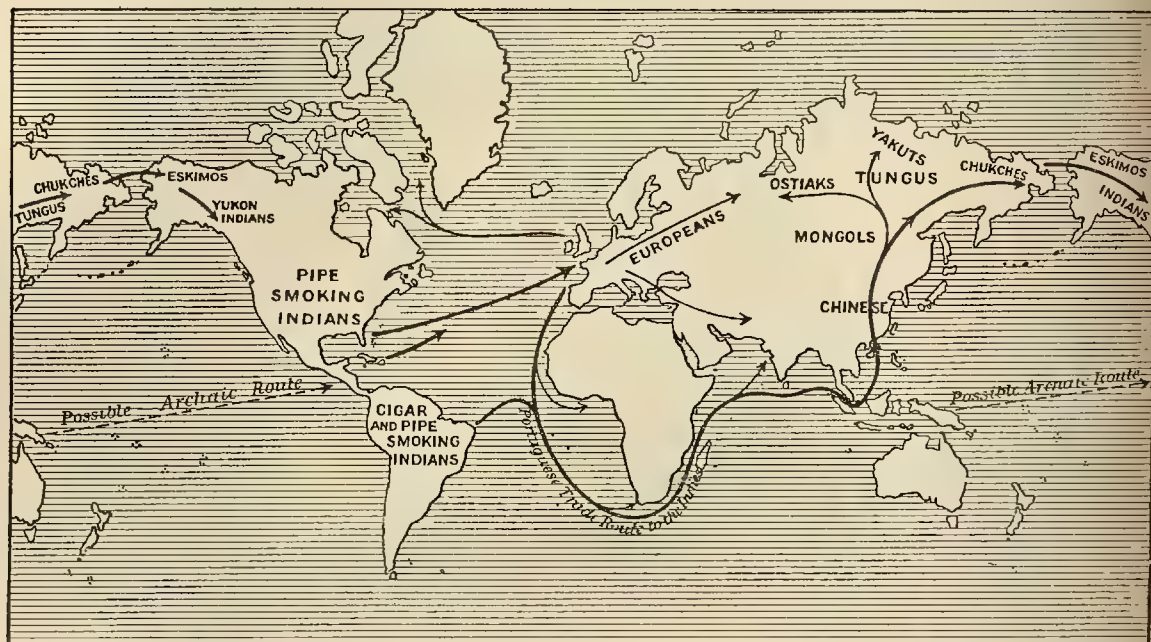
4

ALASKAN AND ESKIMO PIPES

Fig. 1. Pipe and tobacco pouch of Alaskan Eskimo. The bowl is composed of lead; the stem is of wood which has been split to make the bore and lashed with thong of seal skin or walrus hide. Length: $10\frac{7}{8}$ ". (The bowl of this characteristic pipe shows Asiatic influence. Cf. Dunhill, Chap. VII and pp. 88-89, and West, I, pp. 310-313.) Fig. 2. Antler pipe of Tlingit Indians, from Sitka, Alaska. Length: $3\frac{1}{4}$ ". Fig. 3. Pipe of buck horn made by Chilkat Indians, Alaska. Length: $4\frac{3}{4}$ ". Fig. 4. Eskimo pipe of walrus ivory, the stem embellished with representations of native hunting-life, drawn in black ink. Length: $13\frac{1}{2}$ ". From original drawings by Frank Calvert in the Arents collection, of specimens (Figs. 1, 2 and 3) in the United States National Museum, and (Fig. 4) the American Museum Natural History, New York.

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other substances intended to increase the effect of this stimulant.¹ The American plant was held in such esteem among some tribes that it was customary to bury pipes and tobacco with their honored dead,² and in the Congo it became the subject of a legend.³



"HOW THE PIPE WENT ROUND THE WORLD"
From Dunhill, *The Pipe Book* (London: A. & C. Black, 1924).

THUS, by the end of the XVIIth century, the various forms in which tobacco is used socially had become almost universally known.⁴ It was the pipe which was the chief medium employed for the enjoyment of the Indian plant, except in Spain where the cigar,⁵ a prototype of the modern cigarette, and to a lesser degree, snuff,⁶ were generally in evidence. In France by that period the habit of snuffing had come into fashion and was soon largely to supersede smoking.⁷ The spread of these various nicotian customs continued to be recorded in the literature of Europe, as well as by some Oriental writers.⁸ The value of tobacco as a remedial

¹ Tiedemann (pp. 194 and 203) and Hartwich (p. 78) indicate that tobacco meant for snuffing or chewing was mixed with an alkaline substance. *V. ante*, pp. 14-15, for similar practises of the American Indians.

² John Atkins, *A Voyage to Guinea, Brazil, and the West-Indies*, 1735, pp. 85-86.

³ Dunhill, pp. 5 ff.

⁴ The smoking of tobacco, from all available accounts, was unknown to most of the Polynesians (and other Pacific Islanders) as well as to the Australians even so late as the explorations of Capt. Cook, 1769-1779, or his successors in those parts (Comes, pp. 313-315, *et passim*; Hartwich, p. 116; Dunhill, pp. 123, 130). Most of these natives were

addicted to the use of betel as a masticatory. In Australia the aborigines chewed the narcotic leaves of the pituri shrub, or those of a distinct species of *Nicotiana*, the indigenous *N. suaveolens* (*v. ante*, p. 10, n. 6). This wild plant is still chewed throughout a large part of central and western Australia (Lewis, 1924, p. 8). The use of pipes and cigars did not become general in Australia and Polynesia till white immigration set in.

⁵ *V. infra*, pp. 165 ff. The cigar was also popular in parts of Portugal but it was not nearly so widely in use as the pipe.

⁶ *Cf. ante*, pp. 79-80.

⁷ *V. infra*, pp. 157 ff.

⁸ La., *Asia, passim*, and Satow, *passim*.

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agent, the recreative uses of the plant and the ethics of these social habits, etc., etc., were discussed by serious writers or lightly dealt with by the satirists, while nicotian subjects still afforded dramatists opportunities for humor, or inspired poets to produce charming tributes to the "divine herb." This literature, from the second quarter of the XVIIth century to the concluding years of the XVIIIth, was largely repetitive of the works composed during the earlier period of tobacco's history, except for those which dealt with newly popular forms (in Europe) of using the plant: snuffing or chewing.¹ The therapeutics of tobacco was most frequently considered, and while one group sought to maintain the honored position of the plant as the sovereign specific, another, obviously more scientific and pragmatic, either scoffed at these panaceists or advised extreme caution in the remedial application of this dangerous simple. Among those who continued to promote the gospel of Monardes,² or who advocated other medical uses of tobacco and thus attracted contemporary interest,³ were Magnenus (n. 234), Decker (n. 391), Stisser (n. 393), who wrote learnedly of a successful machine for administering tobacco vapor in the form of a clyster,⁴ Worb (n. 407), among the staunchest defenders of tobacco, Schulze (n. 731), one of the earliest to advocate the chewing of tobacco for remedial uses,⁵ Short (n. 767), Schaeffer (n. 807), another who encouraged the use of the tobacco vapor machine, Fowler (n. 944), Lavedan (n. 1125) and Brailsford (n. 1136).

An Italian author, Stella (n. 309),⁶ inclined to skepticism in considering the medical value of tobacco and provided one of the first explanations in print why nicotian unguents, etc. had "lost" their miraculous powers. He indicated that the drugs customarily mixed in these concoctions were themselves remedial, but that when physicians attempted to obtain the same effects from unadulterated tobacco alone, the "holy herb" failed them. Out of his dislike of smoking Schoon (n. 414) composed a treatise on tobacco which had some sensible refutations of the medical recommendations of Worb (n. 407—*v. supra*). Labat (n. 538), who produced the best historical account of tobacco published up to his time, devoted a part of his long chapter on the subject to show how ridiculous the panaceists had become, and other intelligent and inquiring spirits joined him in opposing the still widespread acceptance of tobacco as a catholicon.

¹ During this period, too, several authors produced prose or poetic trifles on the various accessories of the pipe, *viz.*, tobacco pouches, boxes, stoppers, etc. References to these will be found in the Index under the various headings mentioned. *V. too*, Fairholt, pp. 225-237, and the article "Tobacco-Stoppers" by V. B. Crowther-Beynon in *The Antiquary*, Vol. LI (New Ser., Vol. XI), 1915, pp. 260 ff.

² *V. ante*, pp. 32-33.

³ Others who maintained the same opinions, wholly or in part, are listed in the Index, under Therapeutics.

⁴ Charlevoix (n. 730) reported that the Indians of eastern Canada revived those nearly drowned by forcing tobacco smoke up the rectum. This use of the acrid vapor as a remedial agent in intestinal complaints was recommended in England about 1670, and an appliance was employed for administering the smoke, which was improved upon by

Stisser and later by Schaeffer (n. 807). *V.*, also Valentini (n. 450). Cleland (p. 56), in relation to this treatment, which apparently was still practised by the Swiss and Dutch in the middle of the last century, quoted the opinion of Dr. Paris (*v. ante*, p. 66, n. 9) that it was "one of the most stupendous errors which ever occurred in the exercise of the medical art."

⁵ Queen Caroline of England (1683-1737) found the tobacco masticatory a valuable dentifrice (*v. n. 731*). Hoyland (n. 835) produced an amusing poem on the acceptance of this unsavory habit by women. Schulze (n. 731) remarked that "pigtail" was preferred for chewing by women and children.

⁶ This work contains some valuable historical information on the subject of tobacco and was often referred to or quoted from by later writers as a dependable source book.

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Moral disapproval of the social uses of tobacco continued to be expressed by earnest preachers and thesis writers, while a few dramatists and poets entertained their public with ironic reflections upon the nicotian extravagances of the beaux of England and France. Even the solemn, steady smoking of the Dutch, who had taken to tobacco as a pleasure especially designed for them, came in for reproof, while the growing body of women smokers occasioned much pious horror. Cats (n. 163), Schrivjer (n. 172), De Vries (n. 415), and other Dutch writers, held the smoker up to scorn; in England the works of Earle (n. 166), Brathwait (n. 189), Jonson (n. 210), Cotton (n. 402), and others¹ enlivened the subject in robust style up to the period when the chief theme of writers on nicotian subjects was snuff and its uses.² Elsewhere on the Continent the works of the Jesuit, Balde (nos. 262, 265), of Tappius (n. 280), and of Paulli (n. 295)³ were among the best known of those⁴ who admonished the immoderate users of tobacco. The faculties of several universities were often subjected to dissertations for academic honors⁵ from profound young men, usually uncontaminated by the Indian weed, who maintained that the plant should be reserved for the use of physic only.⁶ Others debated⁷ whether one who professed Christianity could with good conscience indulge in tobacco, and this problem, after painful deliberations, was usually decided in the affirmative.

The social uses of tobacco continued to be warmly defended against the strictures of moralists, sociologists, and others, by writers in Germany, the Netherlands, England, Italy, and France, who, in drama, poetry or prose, presented the embattled herb in its most favorable aspects. A more liberal and tolerant attitude toward life and human habits made it often possible for such genial advocates to compose works of considerable merit. Most popular among these publications were those of Baruffaldi (n. 494), Arisi (n. 540), and Browne (n. 708), while in such works as those by Brown (n. 440), Fielding (nos. 662, 723), Smart (n. 783), Woty (n. 821), Sterne (nos. 822, 850), *et al.*, were nicotian passages or scenes of a nature complimentary to tobacco which proved highly diverting to the reading public. Mythological conceptions of tobacco's origin, etc. (some of them satiric), emanated from the pens of Zucchi (n. 203), Oelschlaeger (n. 224), Van Mander (n. 294), Cohausen (n. 647), and others. In Germany little groups of nicotian devotees organized societies where strict rules of tobacco etiquette were observed⁸ and these, resisting the occasional satires published against them,⁹ reached their full development in the famous *Tabaks-Collegium* of Frederick William I of Prussia¹⁰ (father of Frederick the Great) and similar clubs in the middle XVIIIth century.

¹ *V.* nos. 174, 188, 213, 251. ² *V. infra*, p. 162, n. 4.

³ The author, physician to Christian V of Denmark, was instructed by his royal master to compose this work, designed to deal a death-blow to the use of tobacco as a luxury. It was widely quoted.

⁴ *V.* also nos. 320, 447, 451, 470, 661, 875, 900-A.

⁵ Nos. 186, 655, 827, and *cf.* nos. 85, 86, 193, 907.

⁶ What threatened to be a dull afternoon in the School of Medicine, Paris, March, 1699, became famous in nicotian annals because of the absent-mindedness of a debater whose duty it was to maintain that the use of tobacco affected longevity. He had been sent as a substitute for Fagon (physician

to Louis XIV), and he earnestly maintained the affirmative. But he effectually demolished his principal's arguments by emphasizing his main points with a generous pinch of snuff, to which (as he had no suicidal intentions!) he was evidently devoted. *V.* nos. 448, 538 [Vol. II, X₂^b-X₃^a], and Corti, pp. 185-186. ⁷ *V.* n. 725.

⁸ *V.* nos. 376, 383, and the notes to n. 850.

⁹ *V.* the Index: Tobacco clubs, satires on.

¹⁰ Reigned 1713-1740.

Carlyle, in his *History of Friedrich II of Prussia* (†, 1858), Vol. I, provided an account (which has become famous) of this "Tobacco Parliament." *V.*,

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THE TABAKS-COLLEGIUM OF FREDERICK I OF PRUSSIA

After the painting by P. C. Leygebe (Castle of Berlin).

From the reproduction in *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch*. . . XIX Jahrgang, 1915, p. 65.

IN France, as has been shown,¹ tobacco had had the patronage of royalty from the time of its introduction there. The apparent success of cephalic nicotian powders, used by the Queen Mother and some members of her family,² recommended this preparation of the plant to courtiers, from whom the idea spread to their imitators. By a natural progression this pleasing sternutatory passed largely from the realm of therapeutics,³ and within two generations of its introduction at the court, it had taken a firm hold upon the manners of the French aristocrats. (Tobacco-snuffing as a general recreative habit seems to have had its inception in Spain, about 1620-1625,⁴ at first chiefly among the clergy,⁵ whence it spread to the brethren in Italy before its general acceptance in France.) Pipe-smoking was

too, Corti, pp. 188 ff.

An illustration of the royal tobacco club, from Carlyle's work, is reproduced in Volume IV of *Tobacco*. The first Prussian *Tabaks-Collegium*, an illustration of which appears on this page, was under the royal patronage of Frederick I.

¹ *V. ante*, pp. 30-31.

² *Cf.* n. 12, n. 6. The aboriginal Indian form of snuffing was first described by Columbus and by Ramon Pane (*v.* nos. 2 and 14). *Cf. ante*, p. 19.

³ Gardiner (n. 96) and Neander (n. 148) were

among the earliest to recommend the therapeutic value of tobacco snuff. *V.* the Index: Snuff, Therapeutic use of.

⁴ *V.* Billings, p. 219, and note there.

⁵ *V. ante*, pp. 79, 81. Brunet (n. 441), among others, remarked that the Spanish priests did not scruple to place their snuff-boxes on the altar for their own use. (*Cf.* n. 510.) The clergy of Spain and Italy, as a body, were generally associated by the laity with the snuffing-habit. (*Cf.* Corti, pp. 132-133.)

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then practised among the French largely by mariners, soldiers, students and peasants, and was, in consequence, regarded by the élite as a kind of barbarism. Louis XIII and his successor lent no encouragement to the custom of snuffing or of smoking.¹ The first was passively unfriendly to the social uses of tobacco, while *Le Grand Monarque* was so antipathetic to the prevalent nicotian custom that his *valets de chambre* were obliged to renounce the use of snuff upon taking office.² But even kingly disapproval could not stem the growth of this enticing habit, and as the fashionable Parisians were then the arbiters of aristocratic manners, the new and luxurious mode of using tobacco approved by them spread rapidly to the chief parts of Europe.

The usual method whereby one then obtained snuff was to reduce the prepared tobacco into a coarse powder by grating, or rasping it, and thereby producing *tabac râpé*.³ The crushed substance was then placed upon the back of the hand and drawn into the nostrils by a vigorous sniff. Grating, etc., required at first a box in which to carry a short piece of *carotte*, a small rasp, and, for the use of the more fastidious, a snuff spoon. As snuffing increased in fashion, this practical equipment was elaborated upon among the beaux and their ladies, who sought to indicate their superior station in life by an ostentatious display of nicotian paraphernalia.⁴ (Later a mortar with an especially designed pestle for pounding the tobacco came into use in private homes or small tobacco establishments. These implements were rendered unnecessary for most people when snuff factories began to market the nicotian powder regularly by the middle of the XVIIIth century.) The production of snuff-boxes became an essential accompaniment of the new fashion, and the art of expert lapidaries and famous miniaturists was displayed in these holders composed of the most expensive metals, ivories and woods. Connoisseurs of snuff prided themselves upon their collections of exquisite containers for the pulverized tobacco.⁵

With the growth of the habit, the manufacture of snuff developed into a considerable industry in Spain and Portugal, largely for export, and in France,⁶ the Netherlands, and England, chiefly for home consumption. Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Germany and Poland were important purchasers of snuff in the XVIIIth century. In the manufacture of snuff the tobacco was washed, or otherwise "purified" by processes which practically eliminated its natural flavor; it was then colored and perfumed.⁷ Red or yellow were the usual shades (derived from ochres) recommended by those who wrote treatises on the preparation of snuff;⁸ but there

¹ Yet Jean Bart, the French naval hero, is credited with having smoked in the antechamber of Louis XIV, and this "prodigious piece of audacity . . . this levelling deed," Steinmetz remarked, triumphantly, "may be said to be the true commencement of the great French Revolution." (*The Smoker's Guide*, †, 1878, p. 13.)

² Gossip relates, however, that his daughters were devoted to tobacco. (Pardoe, *Hist. of the Court of Louis XIV*, cited by Fairholt, p. 69, and cf. *ibid.*, p. 244.)

³ "Rappee" is still the name of a coarse, strongly flavored dark snuff. Cf. Ap., p. 244.

⁴ Cf. Fairholt, pp. 244-246, who illustrates and

describes an elaborate ivory rasp of French manufacture, c. 1680.

⁵ *V.* the Index, s.v. Snuff-boxes, and M. M. Curtis, *The Story of Snuff and Snuff Boxes* (New York, †, 1935).

⁶ Huguenot refugees in Germany are assumed to have introduced the snuffing-habit there about the close of the XVIIth century. Boerner remarks that the first snuff dealers and manufacturers in Cologne early in the XVIIIth century were French (*Kölner Tabakhandel und Tabakgewerbe*, 1628-1910, †, 1912, p. 25).

⁷ Even in medicinal snuffs. *V. infra*, p. 159, n. 1, and n. 258.

⁸ *V.* nos. 427, 441.

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appears to have been no limit, within the boundaries of fragrance, to the natural or artificial aromas employed with which to tickle the olfactory senses of snuff takers. Bergamot, musk, civet, mint, distilled cloves, essences of cedar and flowers of almost every variety, separate or mixed, were among the odoriferous ingredients blended with pulverized tobacco.¹ It was from these extraneous substances that numerous names for snuff were derived.

Each leader of society and the coteries which attached themselves had their favorite snuff,² and, in consequence, an extraordinary mingling of scents pervaded each court or ballroom where the well-bred met. In a room where the conversation was punctuated by discreet sneezes, the lady who adored *Fassamena* (made especially precious to her because of the exquisite box from which she took it) would condescend to take a pinch from the proffered box of the dandy who preferred *Orangery*. This she would do in the approved manner, whereby a delicate, jewelled wrist and a well-turned arm would be displayed to advantage, while her companion, on his part, was in perfect position to indicate the handsome rings he wore, without apparent ostentation. This exquisite technique for the correct means of taking snuff was developed by the French mentors of etiquette, to which native touches were given when the habit invaded London, Rome and elsewhere. Small fortunes were required to keep the scented fop in his lavish boxes, etc., each for a certain reason, a certain season, and for that matter, a certain hour. In the XVIIIth century, mannerisms quite as absurd, though not so boisterous, as those practised by the English pipe-smoking gallants of the preceding nicotian era,³ were adopted by Continental dandies and those of London, for an almost military precision was dictated as the fashionable routine in taking *tabac en poudre*. These affectations did not escape the satirists, and to them we owe some blithe observations on the artificial accompaniments of the snuffing habit.⁴

¹ Recipes of medicinal snuffs contained white or black hellebore, betony, pepper, sage, marjoram, ginger, tulip bulbs, etc., mixed with civet, musk, etc., according to R.V.N. (n. 449), and some of these ingredients and others such as cumin and mustard found their way into what Baillard (n. 300) described as a "puissant sternutatoire." In the XVIIIth century similar concoctions were for sale in England and on the Continent. Such mixtures gave scheming vendors the opportunity to commit unwholesome frauds, and many such "snuffs" were wholly innocent of tobacco. *V. ante*, p. 125, n. 2.

"Cephalic" snuffs were often advertised in England (v. n. 532, and the accounts in Hill, p. 27, Fairholt, pp. 269-271). The manner in which these concoctions were offered and the testimonials which accompanied them, especially in England (v. Fairholt, p. 270, for an example), were satirically commented upon by the wits of the day. Hill (p. 27) produced a mock-letter, as follows, which indicates the quality of the original recommendation: "Sir—I was born stone blind; and so continued up to my seventieth year; when, on taking one small pinch of your Infallible and miraculous, regenerating, penetrative, sight-perpetuator, my eyes opened, strong and clear as those of Argus; more brilliant than the optics of Hebe. I have ever since taken about a

pound and three-quarters a day of my inanimate animator, or second parent; am now ninety-six, can read the smallest type without glasses by moonlight, and drink barrels of the most potent beverages, without a dream of a headache."

² Among the more general designations were *Etrenne*, *Bureau*, *Pulvilio*, and *Bolongaro*. The first might be attached to any snuff, as it was the designation given to that brand selected by Louis XV from the specimens presented to him on New Year's Day by the manufacturers as samples of their stock. The second was also a selected favorite of this monarch and largely employed in the cabinets of his ministers; the third was a Portuguese snuff much in demand; and the last was a powder of excellent quality named after its maker. There were a considerable number of ephemeral names, emanating from individual factories or places. (Hill, pp. 19 ff., who describes 28 varieties; Fairholt, pp. 248, 257-258, 268, *et passim*.) *The Tailor* (n. 475, "Numb. 101") gives the names of several snuffs then especially popular in England, and Billings, who has a chapter on the subject of snuffs, remarks (p. 223) that there were at least 200 kinds of snuff well known in commerce.

³ *V. ante*, pp. 52-55.

⁴ *V.* nos. 203, 504, 647, 858-A, Molière's mock-

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In France the custom reached its height in that operatic age which preceded the Revolution. Then everyone—that is, everyone of social prominence—snuffed elegantly and sneezed and exchanged boxes and descanted, *inter alia*, on the virtues of the newest tobacco powders. It is true that the habit had been taken up by the lower social orders, for peasants and monks and shopkeepers and clerks and scribblers and musicians snuffed, too, and imitated their betters, but as they had to be content with inferior grades, and with wooden or horn boxes, it was obvious to the exquisites that such people could hardly be enjoying themselves.¹ Madame de Pompadour added to her fame by inventing a snuff, apparently for practical purposes, for she named it *Essence du Tabac de Pompadour pour corriger la Mémoire*,² and it may well be imagined that ladies pressed this delicate powder upon husbands or lovers likely to be forgetful!

While the art of snuffing was making rapid progress in cultured France, the English, having sowed their nicotian wild oats, had settled down to a middle-aged sobriety with their comfortable pipes. But by the middle of the XVIIth century snuff was beginning to be heard of.³ By that time, in Ireland, “smutchin” (snuff) was in pretty general use, having most probably been introduced from Spain. Howell, in 1650 (n. 238), and the translator of Everard, 1659 (n. 271), remarked upon the fact that the Irish were “altogether for snuff Tobacco to purge their brains.” With the return of Charles II and his adherents (1660) from their enforced stay abroad, the taking of snuff began to come into evidence in London, although the habit made its way very slowly among the general public who clung determinedly to their accustomed clays. The use of nicotian sternutatories (though to a lesser degree than the chewing or smoking of tobacco) was frequently advised during the Great Plague⁴ which ravaged London, and the apparent success of snuff as a prophylactic brought it into further favor. The resurrection of foppery,⁵ sub-

eulogy of snuff, in n. 377, and the English authors referred to *infra*, p. 162, n. 4.

¹ Apparently the only time when snuff was looked upon with disfavor was when it was suspected that poisoned snuff, supposedly emanating from Spain, and called “Jesuits’ snuff” was being employed to eliminate political enemies, or dissenters (v. Hill, pp. 39-40, and Fairholt, pp. 255-256).

² Columbus, p. 120; *Ath.*, p. 974.

³ As has been shown (*ante*, p. 52, n. 9), some travelled dandies appear to have displayed their accomplishments as snuff takers in London before the close of the XVIth century, and there are references to this form of using tobacco in Rowlands (n. 94), Dekker (n. 90), and probable references in Brathwait (n. 129), and Thorius (n. 157). A defamatory account of some well-known ladies of the time, 1650 (n. 240), has an allusion to their habit of snuffing.

⁴ *V. ante*, p. 33, n. 6.

Pepys wrote (7 June, 1665) “This day, much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and ‘Lord have mercy upon us’ writ there; which was a sad sight to me, being the first of the kind that, to my remembrance, I ever saw. It put me into an ill conception of myself and my smell, so

that I was forced to buy some roll-tobacco to smell to and chew, which took away the apprehension.” (*Diary*, ed. Wheatley, 1923, Vol. IV, p. 401.) The antiquary, Thomas Hearne, observed that “I have been told, that in the last great plague at London none that kept tobacconist’s shops had the plague. It is certain, that smoaking it was looked upon as an excellent preservative. In so much, that even children were obliged to smoak. And I remember, that I heard formerly Tom Rogers, who was yeoman beadle, say that when he was that year, when the plague raged, a school-boy at Eaton, all the boys of that school were obliged to smoak in the school every morning, and that he was never whipped so much in his life as he was one morning for not smoaking.” (*Reliquiae Hearnianae*, in *Extracts from MS. Diaries*, ed. by Philip Bliss, 1869, Vol. II, pp. 117-120.)

⁵ In the Household Account Books (*op. cit. ante*, p. 84, n. 9) occurs the following illuminating passage: “June 28, 1668.—Paid Mr. Fickett’s bill for new making his Lordship’s tobacco box, adding in weightt and goodness of gold 4 oz. sterling, the box waighes now $\frac{3}{4}$ of an oz. troy and 1d. wt. more than Lord Exeter’s box, 6 li. 5 s.” (Account of expenditures for Lord Roos, p. 443.)

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sequent to the restoration of the Stuart line, brought in a retinue of full-blown exquisites, “curled darlings,” eager to ape the manners of the most aristocratic court in Europe, that of the French.

But snuff began to filter through to the “lesser ranks,” and by the opening years of the XVIIIth century the tempting powder had brought about desertions among the host of smokers.¹ Its growth in popularity received a definite impetus in 1702 when the English fleet, under Sir George Rooke, seized several thousand casks of fine snuff near Cadiz, Spain, as well as some choice Havana snuff at Vigo. Upon the return to England this booty was sold at the chief seaports as part of the “prizes” of war. It is estimated that fifty tons of this desirable sternutatory were thus disposed of, at the ridiculously low price of three to fourpence the pound,² to “land-sharks” and pedlers who quickly distributed this rare commodity among their usual clientele and, it is said, thus instituted a demand for this novel form of taking tobacco.³ But before proper English ladies and gentlemen could wholeheartedly accept the custom of snuffing as consistent with true decorum it required the sanction of exalted society. As French etiquette came into vogue in the court of Queen Anne the fashion prevalent in the upper circles at Paris was soon adopted there. Its place as a fixed part of aristocratic routine was maintained by the obvious favor in which snuff was held by George I, George II, Queen Charlotte and other members of the contemporary and succeeding royal households.⁴ By the time that supreme English censor of correct manners, Beau Nash, had set the seal of his approval upon what snuffs were *de rigueur*, and had condescended to accept snuff-boxes from princes and from “the middling gentry,”⁵ smoking had been firmly rejected by fashionable English society⁶ as a vulgar practise, and no more did a pungent whiff of tobacco offend the noses of aristocrats and their playfellows in their own circles.

“Smoaking has gone out,” proclaimed that ponderous oracle of the British intelligentsia, Dr. Johnson (n. 941), in 1773. “To be sure, it is a shocking thing, blowing smoak out of our mouths into other peoples mouths, eyes, and noses, and having the same thing done to us. Yet I cannot account why a thing which requires so little exertion, and yet preserves the mind from total vacuity, should have gone out.”

But smoking had not been so completely eliminated as the worthy Doctor imagined. Chiefly out of habit, but also because they disdained the simpering imitations of foreign manners displayed by the snuffing dandies and their ladies,

¹ While William III reigned, however, pipe-smoking increased in England.

² In the price-list of a snuff seller, 1740, “Best Spanish” was listed at 10 shillings the pound; “Best Havannah” at 6 shillings. (Fairholt, p. 269.)

³ *V. Fairholt*, pp. 258-259; *A General History of the Tobacco Plant* (†, 1836), pp. 68-69. This “Vigo” or “Seville” snuff was also referred to as “Musty” (*v. n.* 475, n. 2).

⁴ *V. Hill*, p. 133, for an account of George IV’s choices of morning, afternoon and after-dinner snuffs.

⁵ *N.* 829.

⁶ Macaulay, in reference to the modish coffee-houses near St. James’ Park, where the gentility

met, observed that “The atmosphere was like that of a perfumer’s shop. Tobacco in any other form than that of richly scented snuff was held in abomination. If any clown, ignorant of the usages of the house, called for a pipe, the sneers of the whole assembly and the short answers of the waiters soon convinced him that he had better go somewhere else. Nor, indeed, would he have had far to go. For, in general, the coffee rooms reeked with tobacco like a guard room, and strangers sometimes expressed their surprise that so many people should leave their own firesides to sit in the midst of eternal fog and stench.” (*The History of England*, 1848, vol. 1, p. 369.)

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many sober, simple people maintained their loyalty to the pipe. In the army and the university smoking continued unabated, while sailors, in recognition of the hazards of fire at sea, had largely accustomed themselves to chewing.¹ Contemporary literature bears ample evidence that pipe-smoking, though it had diminished,



"THE SMOAKING CLUB"

Evidence of the survival of smoking in England at the height of the "snuffing era."
From an engraving by Scott (1792) after Boyne, in the Print Room of the British Museum.

was still very widely practised in England and on the Continent, at a time when noses and snuff were in greatest prominence.² The contempt of smokers and chewers³ for the mannered snuffers was freely expressed, and this disapproval was echoed in blithe phrases by the English wits of the day.⁴

¹ Smoking on all "ships at sea in the service of the commonwealth . . ." was forbidden by Admiral Blake, "for the prevention of fire." (*C.S.P., Dom.*, 1653-1654, Dec. 31, 1653, p. 320.)

² *V.* nos. 465, 700, 708, 822.

³ General Monk, who assisted so largely in the restoration of the Stuart monarchy, is said to have been an ardent chewer, imitated by many of his followers. Chewing was never widely practised in England, however, except during the period of the Great Plague (*v. ante*, p. 33, n. 6). English gallants occasionally indulged in the art during the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries, although the custom had

been adopted by this class as a bizarre recreation early in the Jacobean period. Originally they made use of a silver basin in which to expectorate and which they carried about with them (as illustrated here) similar to those employed by the smoking dandies a little earlier (*v. ante*, p. 53, n. 16). These ambulatory spittoons seem to have reappeared in the latter part of the XVIIIth century, according to a reference in n. 1126-a. *V. La., Europe* (pp. 45-46) for several references to tobacco-chewing for recreative purposes.

⁴ *V.* nos. 475, 476, 489. *The Spectator* (n. 487) contains some pleasant passages on the "exercise of

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Among the English aristocrats and the conventionally proper people, however, smoking had truly "gone out." The familiar pipe had lost caste; now only scintillant snuff-boxes¹ or practical substitutes² were on display while well-bred, haughty, or experienced noses inhaled a "pinch" and expressed satisfaction in a chorus of sneezes. In that society, as in France, a gentleman was known by the snuff-boxes he kept,³ how he held or proffered them, which snuff he used upon rising, which at tea time, which after dinner and which during the four seasons.⁴ A whole new school of fops, of "flaming beaux," grew up in the middle years of the XVIIIth century around the fetish of the snuff-box, seeming to derive their entire sustenance from the contents of their cherished containers.

Not all snuffers were of this class, of course. There were many whom none could charge with dandyism or affectation—great writers or statesmen, kings and prelates, and others who had quietly accustomed themselves to the use of snuff.⁵ But even in its more sober manifestations the habit appealed to smokers, or to commentators on social manners, as essentially absurd. An observer whom Fairholt (p. 263) described merely as "a journalist" provides some amiable reflections on the custom which, as they concur with many of the contemporaneous and later opinions on the subject, deserve a place (in part) here: ". . . A grave gentleman takes a little casket out of his pocket, puts a finger and thumb in, brings away a pinch of a sort of powder, and then with the most serious air possible, as if he were doing one of the most important actions of his life (for even with the most indifferent snuff-takers there is a certain look of importance), proceeds to the thrust, and keeps thrusting it at his nose; after which he shakes his head, or his waist coat, or his nose itself, or all three, in the style of a man



THE SPITTING BASIN

From the cover of an old snuff-box which depicts a Stuart cavalier⁶ [Reduced]

the snuff-box," an ungallant observation upon ladies who had taken up the "impertinent custom of snuffing," etc., etc.

¹ *V.* Hill, p. 85, *et passim*; Fairholt, pp. 260-262; *Ap.*, p. 134. Less opulent snuffers had to be content with the materials available to their brethren on the Continent: brass or other metals, wood, horn, agate, tortoise-shell, etc. *V.* nos. 203, 511, 850, for accounts of the various compositions of snuff-boxes. Later brittle boxes of Dresden china were also popular (*v. Hill*, p. 85, Fairholt, p. 261, *Ap.*, p. 134).

² Some dandies of the reign of William III and later, carried snuff in the hollow (perforated) head of their walking-sticks. (*Hill*, p. 9; Fairholt, p. 252.)

³ The habit of exchanging snuff-boxes, or bestowing them as gifts upon friends, became common in England and the Continent during this period and continued to be the style. Exquisite examples were long a typical favor of royalty. Among the expenses of the coronation of George IV it is recorded

that £8205 was expended upon snuff-boxes presented to foreign ministers (*Hill*, p. 86).

⁴ Fully a hundred different snuffs were then available in England. Chambers (*Encyclopedia*, 1728) remarked, "The kinds of snuff, and their several names, are infinite; and new ones are daily invented; so that it would be difficult, not to say impossible, to give a detail of them. We shall only say, that there are three grand sorts: the first granulated; the second an impalpable powder: and the third, the bran or coarse part remaining after sifting a second sort."

⁵ Among the favorite examples cited were Pope Benedict XIII (*v. ante*, p. 81), Frederick the Great, who had capacious pockets made in his garments for loose snuff, Swedenborg, Robert Burns, and Napoleon. *V.* Fairholt, pp. 272-274, Billings, Chap. VIII, Corti, pp. 200, 211, *et al.*

⁶ Published by the Society of Antiquaries, in *Archaeologia*, 1831, Vol. XXIII, Plate 34.

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who has done his duty, and satisfied the most serious claim of his well being. It is curious to see the various modes in which people take snuff; some do it by little fits and starts, and get over the thing quickly. These are epigrammatic snuff-takers, who come to the point as fast as possible, and to whom the pungency is everything. They generally use a sharp and severe snuff, a sort of essence of pins' points. Others are all urbanity and polished demeanour; they value the style as much as the sensation, and offer the box around them as much out of dignity as benevolence. Some take snuff irritably, others bashfully, others in a manner as dry as snuff itself, generally with an economy of the vegetable: others with a luxuriance of gesture, and a lavishness of supply, that announce a moister article, and shed its superfluous honours over neckcloth and coat. Dr. Johnson . . . used to take it out of his waistcoat pocket, instead of a box . . ."

The Scotch took to snuff with enthusiasm. With such devotion, indeed, did they adopt "snush" and "sneeshing," but soberly withal, that they shortly came to be regarded as models of perfect snuffers. Before the middle of the XVIIIth century the figure of a Highlander, with a snuff-mull in hand, or "taking a pinch," became the distinctive trade-emblem¹ of a snuff vendor's shop in England, and often even replaced the wooden Indian or "Virginia man"² which stood outside of a tobacconist's window. Highly characteristic of a conspicuous attribute of the Scotch, and indicative of their high regard for snuff, was the individual mill they soon invented which ground tobacco into powder in such a manner that none of the precious grains could be wasted. Sometimes persons of distinction or wealth in Scotland were seen with mulls of curved horn, weighted with some extravagant appendages. Fairholt (p. 278) provides an engraving of one to which were attached "a hammer to hit the side of the mull, should the snuff adhere; a bodkin to pierce and separate it if it stick together by damp; a rake to collect it into the little shovel; and a hare's foot to brush loose particles from the nose!"

Snuffing as a recreation was not restricted to Europeans and their colonists in America,³ for this mode of taking tobacco was introduced into Asia and the East in the XVIIth century.⁴ It was largely practised in some parts of India,⁵ where the Portuguese are said to have made it known after 1650; in China, undoubtedly under the influence of Jesuit missionaries at the Manchu court;⁶ in Japan; and in Tibet. Early in the XVIIIth century snuffs⁷ were being manufactured in Peking and Canton, chiefly for the members of the emperor's palace, though there were

¹ This effigy lost caste after the Scottish rebellion of 1745, when the English government sought to extinguish such distinctive characteristics of the Scotch (Larwood and Hotten, *History of Signboards*, 1867, p. 421), but it survived in many places. *V. ante*, pp. 244-245. Another frequent sign of snuff dealers was the "Crown and Rasp" (*v. Fairholt*, p. 251, and *Ap.*, p. 243). In France tobacco sellers (whose chief stock in trade was snuff) employed the device of a piece of *carotte* painted gold, according to Larwood and Hotten. In the Arents library is the famous collection of tobacco labels (n. 1145) which contains many engravings of tobacconists' signs and trade-marks of this period.

² *V. n.* 129 and Fairholt, p. 134.

³ *V. n.* 895 [B₃-B₄].

⁴ The savage persecution of smokers in Turkey during the reign of Murad IV (*v. ante*, p. 75) compelled those unwilling to relinquish the nicotian sedative in all forms to adopt the custom of snuffing (De Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Pest, 1827-1835, vol. 5, p. 309).

⁵ Noticed by Schouten, who travelled in India from 1658 to 1665, according to *La., Asia*, p. 38.

⁶ Hartwich, p. 106. Laufer (*Asia*, p. 32) states that snuff was also imported from France in packages marked with the fleur-de-lis, and that this insignia became the emblem of snuff dealers in Peking.

⁷ *La. (Asia*, p. 33), citing an XVIIIth century Chinese work, *Hiang tsu pi ki*. Its author thought the Canton snuff superior to that made for the Palace. It was said to be available in several colors.

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other varieties available for the populace. Snuff seems to have been employed partly for its assumed remedial value in cases of colds or as a sudorific¹ but, as in France, shortly became wholly a recreative habit among its users. Being imitative of a European luxury, however, this form of taking tobacco was largely confined to the elegant royal or official classes in China and never attained the popularity it was accorded in Western Europe in the XVIIIth century.

In the aftermath of the Revolution in France those objects and fashions popularly associated with the aristocratic class were, of necessity, temporarily or completely abandoned. The art of snuffing, which had been so intimate a part of the extravagant life about the French court, awakened democratic mistrust. Those who still clung to the custom were already above suspicion, or were the *petit peuple* to whom it had never been an extravagance or an affectation, but a recreative necessity, as it was to the sober snuffers of Scotland, England and elsewhere. In England the habit prevailed for some time, under the patronage of Beau Brummel, George IV and others, but after the third decade of the XIXth century it was no longer so prevalent among the fashionable.²

The luxurious mode of inhaling the delectable powder (of aboriginal origin)³ had prevailed as a conspicuous accompaniment of elegant manners for more than a century and a half. A sanguinary revolution had shaken this curious fashion from its eminence in France, where it seemed most secure. That historic occasion conveniently marks the period when it first began to decline as a popular custom. But the recreative habits essential to man are not permanently affected by revolutions. A more dominant natural factor controlled the virtual eclipse⁴ of the custom of snuffing by the middle of the XIXth century: the mutations of taste.

BEFORE snuffing had begun to diminish in favor with the aristocratic classes in England and the Continent, a nicotian intruder was being welcomed by them. This was the cigar, which, in the annals of tobacco, holds first place. It was a prototype of this curious object which had been seen by some of the original explorers of the New World⁵ in those parts which still remain its stronghold; it had been adopted by the earliest Spanish conquistadors in the West Indies with such rapidity and to such an extent as to call forth reproof from the clergy;⁶ and its use had been witnessed and reported before the end of the XVIth century⁷ by several writers on the native customs in South and Central America.

As has been observed before, the cigar⁸ was of unquestioned antiquity in those

¹ *La., Asia*, pp. 32-33.

² But Hill, the author of *A Pinch—Of Snuff* (†, 1840), would persuade us to believe otherwise, contending, with the snobbery of a snuffer, "In England, especially among the decent and superior classes, there are fewer inveterate smokers than constant snuff-takers." (P. 2.)

³ *V. ante*, p. 15, n. 6, and p. 19, n. 4; and the account given in Fairholt (pp. 285-289) of the primitive snuffers of Brazil and their apparatus for making snuff, etc.

⁴ Snuffing was not entirely abandoned in some places and latterly it seems to have been revived in others. (Snuff has taken the place of the quid in

parts of the United States so that its users may better conform with sanitary codes.) It is, therefore, still manufactured in great quantities, the chief markets being in the Southern United States, New England, France, Germany, Scotland, and Sweden (*v. Killebrew*, pp. 459 ff., *Werner*, pp. 124-125). In parts of China, Japan, India, Tibet, and Africa (notably among the Masai) snuffing is still practised, in some places, to a considerable degree (*La., Asia*, pp. 32, 33, 38; *Dunhill*, p. 194).

⁵ *V. ante*, pp. 17-18 and 20.

⁶ *V. ante*, p. 20.

⁷ Nos. 4, 8, 10, and 26.

⁸ *V. ante*, p. 15, and Linton, pp. 8-9. The inhala-

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parts of America where it had first been seen by Europeans. This form of using tobacco entered into the tribal customs or rituals of some South¹ and Central American Indians. Wafer (n. 438) provided the earliest clear account of the ceremonial use of the cigar, whereby one of abnormal size supplied the required incense for the council of a Panama tribe.²

In Europe the cigar was almost wholly associated with the Spanish, though they were also addicted to the use of *papeletes*³ and to snuff, and while the Portuguese were mainly pipe smokers, many of them, too, preferred the cigar. Except for its appearance in some parts of Asia,⁴ the cigar remained almost entirely confined to the Iberian Peninsula for nearly three centuries after its original introduction there. Mariners who returned to England and to some parts of the Continent had been seen with crude cylindrical rolls of tobacco leaves, but the occasions were so infrequent as to awaken little comment.⁵

The reasons why the cigar was not more widely known in Europe by the end of the XVIIIth century may be found partly in the exclusive attitude of the Spaniards there⁶ and chiefly in the almost immediate acceptance of the pipe. The latter instrument seemed eminently suited then to man's nicotian needs and as it was almost universally enjoyed among those people actively engaged in trade and political expansion in Europe, Asia, and Africa, the use of the pipe had become a settled custom in various lands by the time the cigar began to be known. During the XVIIIth century snuffing was almost supreme among the nicotian habits of Europeans, and smoking in any form had no place in elegant society.

Probably before 1675 tobacco leaves rolled into short cylinders were known in India and elsewhere along the trade routes of the East. This early appearance of a form of the cigar was partly due to the proximity of the Philippines (to which the Spaniards had introduced tobacco and cigars in the latter part of the XVIth century),⁷ and partly to the mercantile enterprise of the Portuguese in India. There the truncated roll was termed *cheroot*⁸ (or other local forms) and by the middle of the XVIIIth century this form of smoking was fairly familiar in Burma, Indo-China, Ceylon, and adjacent regions.⁹ Kaempfer, who travelled across southern Asia to Japan (1688-1690), appears to have been the earliest to publish (n. 488) any account of this native kind of cigar.¹⁰

tion of the smoke provided by leaves rolled together is said to have been anciently practised in India for medicinal purposes (v. ante, p. 5, n. 9). Cigars are very likely to have been an antecedent form of the pipe (v. ante, p. 15, n. 9).

¹ The smoking-ritual described by De Léry (n. 26) was undoubtedly performed with a giant cigar.

² Such great cigars, especially prepared, are still in use in parts of Brazil. V. MacCreagh, *White Waters and Black* (New York, 1926), pp. 344, 345, and illustrations, 320, 356, 377.

³ V. ante, p. 79.

⁴ V. infra.

⁵ V. nos. 13 (introductory note) and 893.

⁶ V. ante, p. 41, n. 7.

⁷ V. ante, pp. 10 and 42.

⁸ From Tamil *sharuttu*; Malayalam *churuttu* ("a roll of tobacco"): hence Portuguese *charuto* (La., Asia, p. 19).

⁹ In Asia the cigar is still popular, chiefly in the Philippines, in Korea, parts of China, Burma and India, etc. (Dunhill, pp. 125-126, 128; La., Asia, p. 18.)

¹⁰ Kaempfer's reference to cigar smokers is too inexplicit to attach the habit to any particular tribe or group, as he merely indicates that certain dark-skinned people had adopted this manner of smoking. Cf. n. 431 [H₂].

In the *NED* occurs an extract from an unpublished MS. (written between 1669-1679) which deals with India. The anonymous author observed that "The Poore Sort of Inhabitants vizt. ye Gentues [Gentoos: Hindus], Mallabars, etc., Smoke theire tobacco after a very meane, but I judge Original manner, Onely ye leafed rowled up, and light one end, holdinge ye other between their lips . . . this is called a bunko, and by ye Portugal's a Cheroota." (Vol. II, p. 323.) Cf. *infra*, p. 170, n. 2.

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While pipe-smoking, snuffing or chewing were daily habits throughout Europe, the cigar remained almost a novelty outside of Spain and Portugal. Labat (n. 538), when giving an account of the "ends" which the Europeans and the negroes smoked in America (and which he said the Spaniards called *cigales*), was under the necessity of explaining what these curiosities were. Cockburn, an English writer (n. 705), also described "seegars" lest his readers be puzzled. The popularity of cigars in Spain having suggested to a German tobacco manufacturer at Rome, Peter Wendler (v. n. 912), that they might appeal to Italian tastes, he obtained from the Papal government the sole right to manufacture *bastoni di tabacco* (tobacco sticks) for five years, from 1779.¹ An enterprising manufacturer, one Schlottmann, opened the first cigar factory in Hamburg,² 1788 (modelled after those in Spain), and though this nicotian novelty did not find immediate acceptance, within the next decade or so German consumers developed a taste for cigars to such a degree that several other factories were established to meet the domestic demand.³ Thereafter the spread of this new form of smoking to other parts of middle Europe was but a matter of brief course.⁴

The mingling of the Spanish, Portuguese and English soldiers during the Peninsular War was undoubtedly the prime reason why cigars found their way into England after 1814. But tobacco in this form could not be obtained in the British Isles, and those who desired to satisfy the newly acquired taste for them found the habit an expensive one. It was the cigar (which remained an aristocratic luxury from 1815 to c. 1825), that brought about a renaissance of smoking among those most susceptible to the dictates of fashion. The use of the cigar spread most rapidly in England after 1825,⁵ and this revival of smoking aroused the opposition of those moralists we have ever with us. It was frequently charged that only the vulgar indulged in the cigar and the feminine part of society professed to shun those liberal males who "reeked of the weed."⁶ The more vehement critics were considerably encouraged upon the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne, 1837, for this conservative sovereign abhorred smoking in any form.⁷ Thereafter some members of the aristocratic class, and of the religious or military orders, submitted (willingly or not) to that nicotian abstinence dictated by her aversion. Wellington, in a General Order (No. 577) issued in 1845, announced that he had been informed that the "practice of smoking, by the use of pipes, cigars, or cheroots, has become prevalent among the Officers of the Army . . ."⁸ and he entreated commanders of regiments to prevent smoking in the mess rooms, etc., and to dis-

¹ Corti, p. 207.

² *Ibid.*, and La., *Europe*, p. 46.

³ Fairholt, p. 219.

⁴ According to Werner (p. 22), the first cigars made in the United States were manufactured in Connecticut about 1801, the earliest factory being established there in 1810. About the same period Cuban cigars were first imported. In 1860, 199,000,000 cigars were produced in the United States; within a generation's time (1892) more than four billion were manufactured there (Werner, *ibid.*).

⁵ The production of "Segars" in England was subjected in 1821 to the strict regulation of the laws governing the manufacture of tobacco (1 & 2 Geo. IV, c. 109, §9). A duty of 18 s. the lb. was levied

on foreign cigars by 4 Geo. IV, c. 69, to be effective after Apr. 5, 1824, but this was lowered in 1826 to 9 s. the lb. (7 Geo. IV, c. 48, §35). Fairholt (pp. 219-220), citing as authority the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana*, records that but 26 lbs. in all of manufactured cigars were imported in 1823, more than 15,000 lbs. in 1824, and more than 250,000 lbs. in 1830, with considerable increases thereafter.

⁶ There are many indications of this feminine aversion in contemporary works. Ap. (pp. 139-140, 157, 159) cites several including Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*, 1848, and his *Fitz-Boodle Papers and Men's Wives*, 1857.

⁷ V. Ap., p. 160, Corti, p. 222, *et al.*

⁸ *Addenda to the Queen's Regulations and Orders for*

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courage the habit among the officers of junior rank. Writers occasionally engaged in attacking "the ambulatory cigar" which had by then usurped snuff, or in many ranks had taken the place of the "sober sedentary pipe,"¹ but there were others who defended its use. Among these latter may be mentioned particularly Byron who, in *The Island*, 1823, produced the earliest poetic eulogy of "sublime tobacco" represented by the cigar.²

When the cigar first became widely popular in England its devotees indulged in those extravagances which are the usual accompaniments of novel customs. There are numerous caricatures extant³ which indicate that this new form of using tobacco had developed into an exaggerated fad in England even before 1830, but within the next decade or so cigar-smoking had become a more exclusive and sober recreation. On the Continent the use of the cigar had spread widely and rapidly, though in parts of Germany public smoking was prohibited on practical grounds, awakening conflicts, sometimes of a serious nature, between the public and the police authorities⁴ up to the year 1848 when these regulations were rescinded.

THUS we come to the concluding phase of this history, in which the "divine herb" appears in a new guise—one which has bewitched the larger part of mankind. This is the ubiquitous, dainty, paper-covered diminutive of the cigar: the cigarette. The violent opposition which this nicotian tidbit awakened in the 'fifties, in England, France, and elsewhere on the Continent, and in the 'seventies and later in the United States, was induced as much by its assumed novelty as by the great evils reformers charged against it. But it is not novel. In various forms the cigarette is probably as old as the cigar or the tobacco pipe. Did not the Spanish captain, Grijalva,⁵ and his men hold friendly discourse with an Aztec chief and council, in 1518, while fragrant smoke curled from objects which could have been nothing else but aboriginal cigarettes? It is true that the composition of these Mexican "smoke-tubes" differed greatly from that of our modern cigarette, for De l'Escluse (n. 73), Hernández (n. 114), and Bernal Diaz (n. 177), all report (or suggest) that liquidambar and incense were mixed with the tobacco, and that this concoction was packed into a reed or piece of cane.⁶ But that this redolent curiosity was the prototype of the cigarette there can be no doubt.⁷

The Spanish colonists in Mexico and the West Indies brought back to their home country, and to the Mediterranean peoples of Western Europe small cylinders

the Army from the First of July 1844 to the Twelfth of July 1847, Adjutant-General's Office, Horse Guard, London, p. 40.

¹ J. W. Croker, 1831, quoted by Ap., p. 139. The pipe was still the favorite medium for smoking among large numbers of the populace (*v. infra*, p. 170, n. 5) and was to continue to be so until, later in the century, the cigarette became prevalent everywhere.

² Others who especially commended the cigar will be found in the Index: Cigars, Tributes to. *V. Fairholt*, pp. 213 ff., and Ap., pp. 137 ff., for brief accounts of the history and English literature of the cigar, and Werner for data on its production, manufacture, distribution, etc. Billings (Chap. IX) provides a gossiping article on the subject.

³ Several of these, by Rowlandson, Alken, Heath, *et al.*, occur in the extra-illustrated volumes of Fairholt in the Arents library.

⁴ *V. Corti*, pp. 223-238, 246-250.

⁵ N. 4 [v. 11^a].

⁶ *Cf. ante*, p. 15, n. 11. Hartwich (p. 44) is of the opinion that the Mexicans also used paper.

⁷ In other parts of Mexico, Central America and some places in northern South America, crushed tobacco probably blended with other substances was rolled into a wrapper of corn-husk or bark cloth (Mason, p. 5, and Linton, p. 9). The corn-husk cigarette is still the popular smoke of the majority of Mexicans (Mason, p. 5). The Pueblo Indians of North America smoked reed-cigarettes of the prehistoric Mexican variety (*v. ante*, p. 17, n. 3).

One of several contemporaneous caricatures which indicate the popularity of the cigar in England after 1825. From the extra-illustrated volumes of Fairholt (t. 1859), in the Arents library. [Reduced]



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of crushed tobacco, wrapped in an outer cover of some suitable vegetable product. Early in the XVIIth century it was discovered that a fine paper was preferable as a wrapper, and *papeletes* thus came into existence.¹ They were widely popular in Spain, some parts of Portugal and Italy, and were not long in being introduced into the Levant. Their use then throughout Turkey, lower Russia, Malta, etc.,² followed the course of commerce so that by the beginning of the XIXth century the cigarette had ceased to be a novelty in these regions. The literature of the period from about the middle of the XVIIth century to about 1840 is almost silent on the subject of the cigarette except for occasional notices of the Spanish *papeletes*, but after the Crimean War, 1854-1856, this debonair object leapt suddenly into public favor on the Continent. It was the cigarette which brought about the second great renaissance of smoking in Europe (outside of Spain), completing the revival initiated by the cigar earlier in the century.

In France the manufacture of cigarettes had begun by 1843,³ but almost entirely for home consumption. Only foreigners smoked them in Great Britain. But in the Crimea where cigars were practically unobtainable cheaply, the British troops adopted the form of smoking largely used by their French and Turkish allies who, out of the necessities imposed by war, had learned to make their own little cigars or cigarettes. Upon their return to England the British officers (then the popular idols) introduced cigarettes as a foreign novelty, and they were taken up by many people of fashion and by clubmen.⁴ But as "dandies and snobs" displayed such a decided preference for this form of smoking, the general public was at first contemptuous of the cigarette and continued to consume tobacco through the "manly" pipe or cigar. This popular prejudice was not of long duration, however, for this nicotian diminutive became fairly common in England by the early 'sixties and prevalent by the middle of the next decade. The pipe⁵ began to disappear (its use was even regarded as vulgar a little later!), the cigar began to be popularly associated with the affluent classes (or the office-seeking politicians, etc.), and snuff remained only as a small consolation to those who clung to the cherished fashions of the past.

¹ Cf. n. 198.

² Satow (p. 74) indicates that a form of the cigarette was used in Japan when tobacco was first introduced there.

Lockyer (*Account of the Trade in India*, 1711, p. 61) reported the use of the *bunco*, "... a little Tobacco wrapt up in the Leaf of a Tree, about the Bigness of one's little Finger ..." which was sold in bundles of twenty or thirty. Rumpf (*Herbarium Amboinense*, 1747, Vol. V, p. 225) described an elongated "cigarette" smoked by the Malays, which he stated they called *bonkos* [Malay, *bungkus*: wrapper, bundle]. "Cigarettes" rolled in banana leaves were smoked in Siam (La., *Asia*, pp. 19-20, from whom the foregoing references are derived). The objects reported by these various authorities, however, were undoubtedly native forms of crude little cigars (cf. *ante*, p. 166, conclusion of n. 10).

³ Young (p. 7) states that cigarettes became a government monopoly in 1843. A traveller in France who published her observation in 1842 remarked that "The habit of smoking cigarettes ... is quite

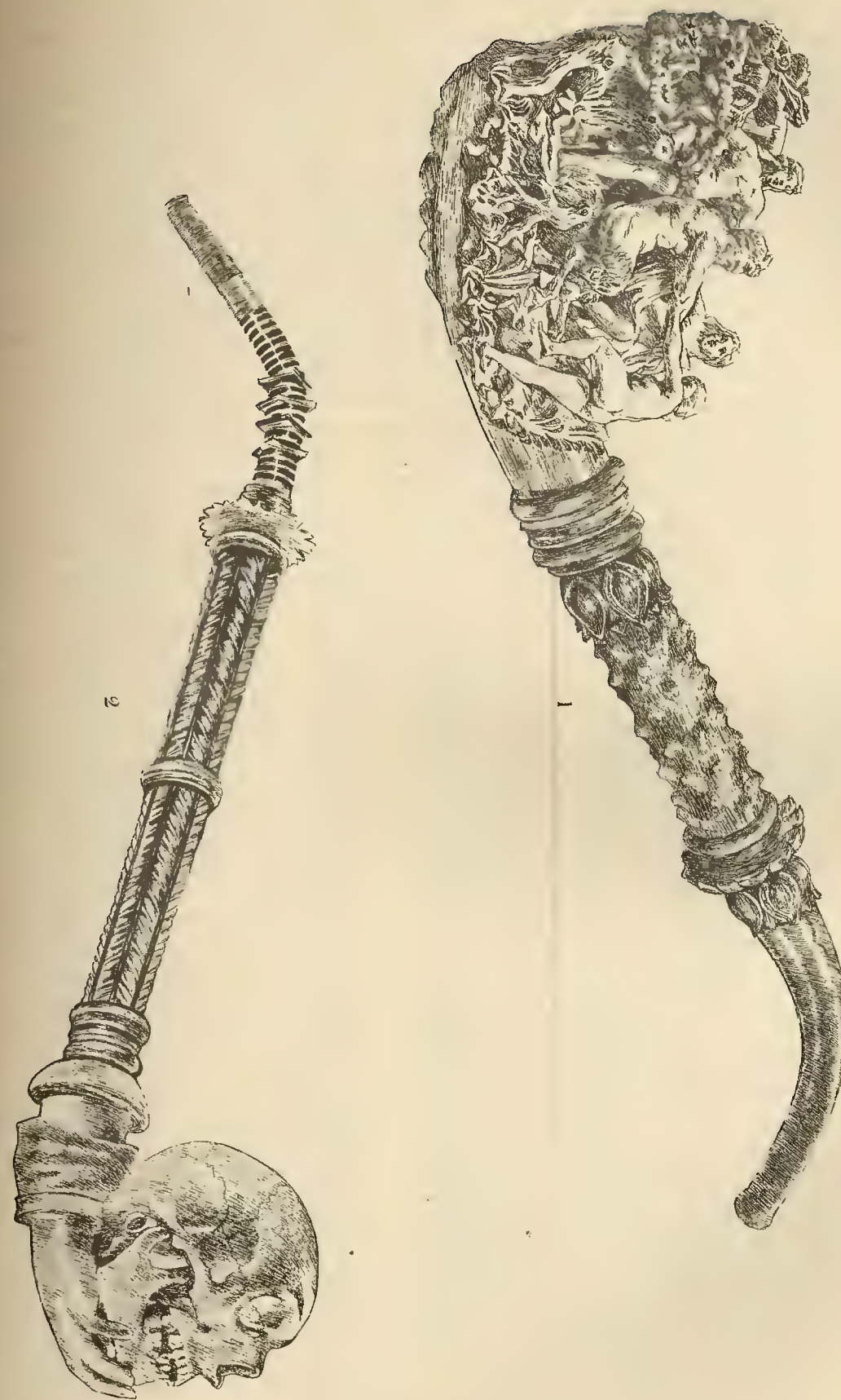
la grande mode of late with certain French ladies." (Costello, *Pilgr. Auvergne*, I, 332, cited in *NED*, s. v. Cigarette.)

⁴ Laurence Oliphant (1829-1888), novelist and mystic, who had been a war-correspondent in the Crimea, is often credited with being the first to smoke cigarettes publicly in London. *Papeletes* are said, however, to have been smoked in England by old Peninsular officers. *V. Ap.*, pp. 180, 181.

⁵ Prior to this period, in England and parts of the Continent, the common material employed for pipes was still the clay, which had been introduced shortly before the close of the XVIth century (*v. ante*, pp. 46, and 50, n. 11). In the British Isles this medium for smoking then appeared in various sizes ranging from the convenient "cutty" to the comfortable "church-warden." Porcelain pipes, sometimes of elaborate and ornate design, were preferred by the denizens of Central Europe. The meerschaum pipe had come into existence in Hungary before the middle of the XVIIIth century and was familiar in various parts of Europe, but because of its delicacy

Two famous "show-pieces" among meerschaum pipes, both unserviceable because of their size. They are reproduced here to illustrate the ornamental styles usual in meerschaum bowls. Lengths: Fig. 1, 17 1/4"; Fig. 2, 22 1/2". From original drawings by Frank Calvert in the Arents library, of specimens in the William Denny collection.

PIPES AS WORKS OF ART



INTRODUCTION

At first those who desired tobacco in the new form "rolled their own" in paper, which proved highly unsatisfactory. Enterprising English manufacturers became quickly aware of the potential market offered by the new fashion in smoking and when (about 1865) they began to produce well-made cigarettes, composed of good Turkish or Egyptian¹ tobacco, wrapped in paper of fine texture, they found eager purchasers. Americans brought the cigarette home, and its manufacture in the United States had its inception about the same time as that of the English industry.² At first the kinds marketed in the United States and elsewhere were large and expensive, and hand-made from Turkish varieties of tobacco (usually with "Russian" tips). When, however, the "bright Virginia" tobacco began to be produced in sufficient quantities³ (after 1869) it quickly became the most desirable leaf used for cigarettes, and soon practically supplanted all others.⁴ The consumption of cigarettes increased with a rapidity⁵ which astounded casual observers and, demand breeding the invention, there came into existence a machine for the quick production of this article, which demonstrated its practicability in the early 'seventies.⁶

The extraordinary rise in popularity of the cigarette in the later decades of the XIXth century was more than a manifestation of a change in taste. The cigarette was something of a symbol of a new age wherein the culminating industrial revolution merged with the advancing mechanical civilization. Smokers responded to the vigorous tempo of the period and called for tobacco in a compact form which would provide immediate effects. The pipe represented a leisurely

and expense was reserved for affluent smokers, chiefly as an indoor recreation. But by the time the cigarette was supplanting other forms of smoking, the pipe most popular was made of a wood discovered in Corsica about 1850, which was superior to all other materials for this form of using tobacco. This was the brier (from the French, *bruyère*: heath). For accounts of European pipes of the period see Fairholt, pp. 176 ff., Dunhill, pp. 231 ff.; for the meerscham see the latter, pp. 234-236, and Hartwich, p. 69; and for an interesting chapter on the brier, see Dunhill, Chap. XIV.

¹ Tobacco produced in Egypt remained on the market for only two decades or so as its cultivation was prohibited there in 1890, except by special permission in a few localities in Upper Egypt (Lewinstein, *Die Belastung des Tabaks*, I, 1894, p. 79). Practically all the "Egyptian" tobacco produced thereafter was imported from Turkey or elsewhere in the Near East.

² Young (p. 8) says "about 1866"; Werner (p. 20) places it "about 1864" and states that 19,770,000 were manufactured in the initial year, but as they were not immediately taken up the amount produced fell to 1,750,000 in 1869. (V. the table provided by Young, p. 115.) In Austria the *Régie* introduced the first real cigarette there, then known as the "double cigarette." It was about three times as long as the modern kind, with a mouthpiece at each end, and was cut in two before smoking. They were so popular that 16,000,000 were made in 1866 (Corti, p. 253).

³ Killebrew (pp. 10-12) and Young (pp. 8-9) pro-

vide interesting accounts of the discovery and subsequent production of this tobacco, originally cultivated in 1852, in Caswell County, North Carolina.

⁴ The Turkish (or "Egyptian"—*v. supra*, n. 1) cigarettes continued in demand but to a considerably lesser degree than "Virginia." Today the preference among American smokers is for blended, rather than one-tobacco cigarettes, and in their production four chief types are used: (1) "Burley," long used only for chewing and pipe tobaccos (*v. Killebrew*, pp. 12-14), grown in Kentucky and contiguous regions; (2) "Virginia," grown in Virginia, South and North Carolina and, latterly, in Georgia; (3) "Oriental" ("Turkish"); and (4), on a smaller scale, "Maryland," grown in that state. In England and the majority of North European countries, the "Virginia" cigarette is most in favor.

⁵ In the fiscal year, 1885, the quantity on which United States internal revenue tax was paid first passed the billion mark (Young, table, p. 115). This was only twenty years after the industry began. (See the figures provided by Young, 1916, catalogued in Vol. IV of this history, for the years from 1870 on.)

The government's income from this source for the fiscal year ending in 1869 was \$3,273 (Young, p. 115); for 1935, more than \$385,000,000 (Bureau of Internal Revenue, Washington, D. C.).

⁶ Young has several plates of these machines which have been vastly improved in the past decade. They are among the outstanding marvels of our time and the perfected examples are capable of producing more than 60,000 cigarettes in an hour.

INTRODUCTION

smoke and required a certain amount of paraphernalia; snuff (with its essential accoutrements) demanded the deliberateness of an aristocratic age; the cigar which had come to be popularly regarded as a luxury, was not to be hastily consumed. Only the cigarette provided the need for a transient, pleasurable nervine in an age of great activity and among people who had grown impatient with the past.¹

As in the reign of that royal enemy of tobacco, James I, smoking had its golden day, so during the sovereignty of Queen Victoria, who held the "divine herb" in equal detestation, the habit had a renewal of its first triumph in England. And when men began to smoke cigarettes, cigars and pipes in public places without being stigmatized as coarse, it marked the beginning of the rebellion against the social code of the Victorian arbiters.² But it was not until our own immediate times that any lady dared thus to amuse herself. A writer in 1869³ expressed an opinion long to be maintained when he remarked, "When one hears of sly cigarettes between feminine lips at croquet parties, there is no more to be said." (What changes hath time wrought!) The antitobacco societies, which grew up everywhere as an accompaniment to the steady spread of smoking, were most bitterly opposed to cigarettes, and vitriolic tracts, associated with temperance brochures, were insistently urged upon the public. This mass of printed material,⁴ which provides pointed evidence of the intemperate, persecuting spirit of reformers of social habits, and the refutations of these strictures on the nicotian theme, developed into a pamphlet war in the later XIXth century.

The cigarette, now the most familiar form whereby tobacco is enjoyed, needs no further notice here.⁵ The World War gave the final impetus to its popularity among men and women and provided indisputable proof that it was a necessity of mankind. Its consumption sustains a vast industry, and the quantities required to supply the market lead one into statistical figures of astronomical proportions. Surely the smoking of cigarettes has become a fixed element in our social customs. But its prevalence is no indication of permanence, for where are the fashions of yesteryear? The pipe had its little century or so before it was virtually extinguished by snuff. Snuffing became passé (having long held a favored place) upon the re-discovery and acceptance of the cigar and the cigarette. And after tomorrow—who knows? Of only one thing may one be certain—and the assurance has been provided by this history—that man will not willingly relinquish the plant which supplies the means of satisfying the most social of his appetites.

¹ The slowest progress of the cigarette among European peoples during the latter half of the XIXth century was in Germany where the cigar appealed most strongly. After the World War, however, the quantity of cigars produced there began to decline in favor of the cigarette, the consumption of which continues to show considerable increases yearly. *V. Corti*, Table, p. 265.

² In 1868, under the provisions of the Railway Bill of that year (31 & 32 Vict., c. 119, §20) English

railroads were required to provide segregated compartments for smokers.

³ Mortimer Collins; quoted by Ap., p. 220.

⁴ *V. the Index: Antitobacco Societies.*

⁵ Young's book is the best entirely on the subject. Werner provides valuable details of cigarette production and manufacture, etc. In Ap. (pp. 179-183, *et passim*) and Corti (pp. 252-254, 259) will be found some literary, historical and statistical notices of the cigarette.

ON THE FORM OF THE CATALOGUE
AND A LIST OF REFERENCES

ON THE FORM OF THE CATALOGUE AND A LIST OF REFERENCES

THIS catalogue raisonné of the Arents library is composed of a major and a subsidiary section. The first is devoted to an exposition of the history of tobacco provided by the contents of, or the passages in, the books, manuscripts, and autograph letters themselves, with requisite collateral notices. The second deals only with the bibliography of the individual pieces, together with essential data of their condition, provenance, etc., and with occasional biographical notes on the authors.

The joint production does not fall within the formal category of either history or bibliography, but the ramifications of the subject (and its polyglot character) dictated a special method for recording it and its components. After experimenting with several forms it was finally decided that the one in which this work now appears would best provide a progressive chronicle of tobacco in English, with an unobtrusive bibliography of the pieces from which it was derived. As, however, the arrangement is individual and probably new, it seems advisable to offer the following memoranda, which will interpret the system by which the Arents books are presented.

In line with the main intention to produce a general history of tobacco, it was essential to consider the books, etc., chronologically. (The *Introduction* and a very full Index make amends for the unavoidable imperfections of such a system.) While the library is composed almost entirely of first editions, the *editiones principes* of certain important works were, in a few instances, unobtainable. The historical continuity of this work would have been seriously interrupted had we failed to record these books in their proper places. It seemed expedient, therefore, to proceed as though they were actually a part of the library.¹ Such valuable informational works as Cartier (n. 5), Liébault (n. 12), Chute (n. 46), Dekker (n. 90), etc., are thus considered fully under the dates of their original publication. The individual importance of these books to the history of tobacco will be readily evident from the material presented.

An advisable exception to the chronologic arrangement occurs in the treatment of the components of a few collected editions, such as the Jonson folio of 1616 (n. 125), the *Works* of Marston (n. 187), *et al.*, and the compilation of Purchas (n. 158). The positions of passages of nicotian interest in the original publications have been indicated in the works catalogued and essential details of the first editions provided.

While the fullest attention has been given to the *editio princeps* (or the earliest in the library), almost all the later individual first editions in another language, up to 1801, are also separately considered. Subsequent issues of works already catalogued, which are entirely or largely textual reprints of an earlier edition, have been briefly recorded directly

¹ All but one (n. 12, a thick quarto) are now present in facsimile.

after the main entry. The only exceptions to this arrangement are those books whose great rarity entitles them to special consideration, such as the 1624 issue of Gardiner (n. 155), etc.

Later editions, such as nos. 27, 123, etc., which contain important material not found in the prior publication of the same work are catalogued in the form employed for first editions.² Also, when a treatise or a passage dealing with the subject of tobacco reappears in a new guise, such as that of Liébault in n. 34, or that of Monardes in nos. 18, 27, 73, etc., etc., the work of which it is a part has been entered under its own date.

Each work in the catalogue is recorded under the name of the author who composed the tobacco text, whether or not his name appears in the title. Among such entries are those for Vespucci (n. 1), Ramon Pane (n. 2), Harrison (n. 31), etc. The English equivalent of the title contents of foreign works is given after each short title. When the title-page is not reproduced in facsimile, the title has been transcribed, with line endings indicated, and a translation of it provided.³ The intention here has been to give a faithful but not too literal version of each title. These translations serve often to indicate the contents of the individual pieces. Essential details of place or date of publication, printers' devices, anagrams, etc., have usually been supplied in the translation or transcription of foreign titles and appended to the collation of English works.⁴

The notes which introduce each piece, the excerpts or summaries themselves, and the collateral information occasionally accompanying the excerpts provide the history of tobacco to 1800. Prefatory accounts have not been thought necessary for some works of purely literary character, such as nos. 113, 162, etc. Whenever possible the earliest available translation into English of foreign texts has been employed in order to present as faithfully as could be a record of these works as they first appeared to English readers. Such versions have been compared with their sources, and corrupt passages corrected, or deleted ones restored, wherever necessary. As will be seen, the majority of the foreign language books are not available in English and therefore most of the translations given in this catalogue are new. When the tobacco passage in a foreign work occurs in verse, only a summary in English has been provided.

The typographical arrangement of the excerpts and summaries, and the editorial notes usually attached to them, will be seen to be contrary to conventional practise. Greater prominence is thus given in the anthological part of *Tobacco* to the original texts, whether reproduced or translated, than to our own editorial comment. In further conformity with the aim to provide information in as clear and practical a manner as possible, long italic passages in English works (often trying to the reader) have been presented in roman in the catalogue. Except for this kind of typographical simplification, those parts of English works selected for reproduction are unchanged.

While each volume, etc., in the library has been carefully examined for passages relating to tobacco, not every such passage has been noted or selected for publication. The historical requirements of the subject are sufficiently served by the numerous excerpts and summaries presented, without indicating either those of slight interest or those which merely duplicate information already given. A few works catalogued, it is true, repeat

² Some exceptions to this arrangement (partly dictated by the exigencies of space) will be found in the succeeding volumes of *Tobacco*. V. nos. 163-a, 214-a, etc.

³ In the several series of *arrêts*, *ordonnances*, *édits*, etc., issued by, or relating to, the French tobacco monopoly, titles are not translated directly, but their contents are indicated in the summary provided for each entry. V. nos. 335 ff., etc.

⁴ Information relating to the owner of devices, etc., in English works to 1640 has been, for the most part, derived from the excellent study of the subject by Ronald B. McKerrow, *Printers' & Publishers' Devices* (Bibl. Soc., 1913). The usual texts, too numerous to specify here, such as Silvestre, Delalain, *et al.*, have served to supply the required details of foreign printers' devices, etc.

historical data relating to tobacco already provided by earlier entries, but they are briefly treated, and as they have long been a part of the library they could hardly be excluded. An astonishing number of references are concealed in texts apparently innocent of nicotian interest, and the catalogue will, therefore, hold some surprises for the reader. It may be said in passing that many hundred works in all fields of literature other than those here recorded have also been examined whenever it was thought that they contained nicotian material, and that all the sources indicated by every possible designation in the *NED.*, and the suggestions offered through the indices of *NQ.*,⁵ by general reference works, and the numerous volumes which dealt especially with the literature of tobacco have been carefully investigated.⁶ Therefore, everything known to us of historical or literary importance to the subject has been included in the main text of this catalogue or is considered in the *Introduction*.

When feasible, the location or approximate number of extant copies of the rarer works in the library has been stated. In this division the sources of information on foreign publications are too numerous to report here; for English works, our chief guide was the excellent record provided by the *Short-Title Catalogue* (*STC.*). As that volume does not, however, claim to be a census of the books it lists, obviously no criticism of it is implied by our occasional notice that it does not record the Arents copy.

After 1800, entries will be found in briefer form. Except for a dozen volumes or so which are fully catalogued, the publications of the XIXth and XXth centuries dealing wholly or in part with tobacco do not require the full treatment accorded the books of the preceding periods. Nevertheless, the information provided in this division makes it a sufficiently complete record of the works there catalogued. Periodical publications, etc., and the official regulations, etc., of European monopolies after 1800 are arranged in several groups at the conclusion of this section. A glossary of the terms by which tobacco and some of its concomitants were known, up to the period of Linnean classification (with a few essential additions of a later period of the XVIIIth century) concludes the catalogue itself.

The bibliographic data relating to each piece have been recorded with care, but professional bibliographers will be disappointed should they look here for minute technical descriptions. To each work we have given, in this regard, the attention which we felt it deserved and not that devotion to trivialities upon which some students insist. Should this occasion any regret, however, it is hoped that such readers will find proper consolation in the references attached to the individual pieces, which have been our own sources of information and which will provide any further details required.

The following symbols are employed:

(n.) including a numeral refers to a work in this collection.

† indicates a work published after 1800 that is in the Arents library.

In the list succeeding will be found an explanation of each letter-symbol, abbreviation, or name, occurring in the footnotes to the *Introduction* or in the References to each book, etc., catalogued. Titles of other works occur under the individual References in the main text, while some, infrequently referred to, will be found in the Index under Bibliography.

⁵ These abbreviations are explained in the References, following.

⁶ Among the volumes devoted to the history of tobacco the best is Comes' *Histoire . . . du Tabac*

(†, 1900). Much of it is based on Tiedemann's *Geschichte des Tabaks* (†, 1854), a pioneer work in this field and a scholarly composition.

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- NYPL. New York Public Library (card catalogue).
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- Pilling Bibliography of the Iroquoian Languages, James C. Pilling, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1888.

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- Pritzel Thesaurus Literaturæ Botanicae . . . G. A. Pritzel, Leipzig, 1851.
- Pulteney Historical and Biographical Sketches of the Progress of Botany in England . . . Richard Pulteney, London, 1790.
- Ramsey The History of Tobacco Production in the Connecticut Valley, Elizabeth Ramsey (Smith College Studies in History, Vol. XV, Nos. 3-4), 1930.
- Rahir Catalogue d'une Collection Unique de Volumes Imprimés par Les Elzevier, E. Rahir, Paris, 1896.
- Ripley Financial History of Virginia, 1609-1776, W. Z. Ripley (Columbia University Faculty of Political Science Studies in History, etc., Vol. IV, No. 1), New York, 1893.
- Rive The Consumption of Tobacco Since 1600, Alfred Rive (in The Economic Journal, Supplement, pp. 57 ff.), Jan. 1926.
- Rodrigues Bibliotheca Brasiliense. Catalogo Annotado dos Livros Sobre o Brasil . . . J. C. Rodrigues, Rio de Janeiro, 1907.
- S. (Sabin) A Dictionary of Books Relating to America, Joseph Sabin, New York, 1868-1892; continued by Wilberforce Eames, 1928 to date.
- SAB. The Shakspeare Allusion-Book, by C. M. Ingleby, Miss L. T. Smith, and Dr. F. J. Furnivall . . . re-edited . . . by John Munro, London and New York, 1909.
- Satow The Introduction of Tobacco into Japan, by E. M. Satow (in Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. VI—Part I, pp. 68 ff.), Yokohama, 1878.
- Sc. (Schelling) Elizabethan Drama 1558-1642, Felix E. Schelling, Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company (reprint), 1908.
- Setchell Aboriginal Tobaccos, William A. Setchell (in American Anthropologist, Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 397 ff.), 1921.
- SG. Index-Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office, U. S. A., Washington. 1st Series, 1880-1895; 2d Series, 1896-1916; 3d Series, 1918 to date.
- Shakespeareana A Catalogue of Shakespeareana [the collection of J. Pearson & Co., compiled by F. A. Wheeler], London: Printed for presentation only, 1899.
- Siemssen Records of the History, Laws, Regulation, and Statistics of the Tobacco Trade of the United Kingdom. Published under the authority of the London Chamber of Commerce (Incorporated). Collected by Julius Siemssen . . . London, 1886.
- Singer The Early History of Tobacco, Charles Singer (in The Quarterly Review, Vol. V, No. 219, pp. 125 ff.), London, 1913.
- Statutes The Statutes of the Realm, Records Commission [London], 1810-1828.
- STC. A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland . . . 1475-1640. Compiled by A. W. Pollard & G. R. Redgrave, *et al.*, London, 1926.
- Steinmetz Tobacco: Its History, Cultivation, Manufacture, and Adulterations, Andrew Steinmetz, London, 1857.
- T. (Thacher) Christopher Columbus . . . John Boyd Thacher, New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903-1904.
- Tanner Tobacco from the Grower to the Smoker, A. E. Tanner, London, Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd. [1912].
- Tatham An Historical and Practical Essay on the Culture and Commerce of Tobacco, William Tatham, London, 1800.
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- Tiedemann Geschichte des Tabaks und anderer ähnlicher Genussmittel, F. Tiedemann, Frankfurt a. Main, 1854.

- Va. Mag. The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, published quarterly by the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Vol. I, 1893 to date.
- W. (Winsor) Narrative and Critical History of America, ed. by Justin Winsor, Boston and New York, 1884-1889.
- Waring Bibliotheca Therapeutica, Edward J. Waring, The New Sydenham Soc., 1878-1879.
- Werner A Textbook on Tobacco, Carl Werner, New York, The Tobacco Leaf Publishing Co., 1914.
- West Tobacco, Pipes and Smoking Customs of the American Indians, George A. West. Part I, Text; Part II, Plates. Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. XVII, 1934.
- Whitney Catalogue of the Spanish Library and of the Portuguese Books Bequeathed by George Ticknor to the Boston Public Library . . . by James L. Whitney, Boston, 1879.
- Wilson Pipes and Tobacco, Daniel Wilson, Toronto, 1857.
- Winsor See W. (Winsor).
- Wi. (Wiener) Africa and the Discovery of America, Leo Wiener, Philadelphia, Innes & Sons, 1920-1922.
- Willems Les Elzevier; Histoire et Annales Typographiques, Alphonse Willems, Brussels, etc., 1880.
- Wise The Ashley Library, A Catalogue of Printed Books (etc.), collected by Thomas J. Wise, London, Printed for private circulation only, 1922-1930.
- Wissler The American Indian, Clark Wissler, 2d ed., New York, Oxford University Press, 1922.
- Young The Story of the Cigarette, William W. Young, New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1916.

In the *Index-Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office* (*v. supra*, SG.) will be found an extensive series of titles, etc., of works relating to tobacco, under the headings "Tobacco," "Nicotine," etc. The student will also find the various entries under "Tobacco," "Cigar," "Pipe," etc., in the *NED*. (*v. supra*) helpful.

The succeeding volumes of this catalogue raisonné record numerous works in the Arents collection containing lists or bibliographies of books on the subject of tobacco. These divisions of the volumes containing such records will be indicated in their proper places and later classified under the heading "Bibliography" in the Index.

The following curious notice, provided by H. Tiedeman, in 4*NQ.*, I, 1868, will be of interest. It may well be doubted that the collection sold was as extensive as was reported. Tiedeman took the account of it from *L'Intermédiaire*, 1867 (col. 124). There was a further reference to the same in col. 156:

"TABACOLOGOGRAPHIES.—On a vendu, il y a quelques jours, à l'hôtel Drouot à Paris, la collection complète des ouvrages qui ont été écrits et imprimés, dans le monde entier, depuis près de trois siècles, *pour* et *contre* l'usage du tabac. C'est tout une bibliothèque de six à sept mille volumes et brochures. On y trouve le firman d'un empereur de Turquie; un ukase d'un empereur de Russie; une loi d'un roi de Perse; le gros volume qu'écrivit le roi Jacques II [*i.e.*, I], d'Angleterre, etc., jusqu'au:—

'Quoi qu'en dise Aristote et sa docte cabale,
Le tabac est divin, il n'est rien qui l'égale.'¹⁷

(Sig.) A. DE ROCHAMBEAU."

¹⁷ From Molière, 1683 (n. 377).

FROM THE DISCOVERY OF TOBACCO IN
AMERICA TO THE YEAR 1615

COSMOGRAPHIAE INTRODVCTIO. St. Dié, 1507.

[*Translation of title*] Introduction to Cosmography, together with certain principles of Geometry and Astronomy necessary to the purpose. Also, four voyages of Amerigo Vespucci. A general description of Cosmography, both in solid and plane, together with what was unknown to Ptolemy and has been recently discovered. Distich: As God rules the stars and Caesar the climes of the earth, neither the heavens nor earth has anything greater than these.

[*Translation of part of colophon*] Finished [at St. Dié] on the seventh [day] before the calends of May [: April 25] in the year 1507.

IN THE summer of 1499, on his "second" voyage to America (with Ojeda and La Cosa), Vespucci visited an island not far from shore. There he and his companions found a barbarous but friendly people who steadily engaged in the strange habit of chewing green leaves mixed with some pulverized substance. This curious operation mystified the adventurers but they finally concluded that it had some practical purpose.

While Vespucci failed to say just where he saw these people it has been determined that they were natives of Margarita Island, in the Caribbean Sea, off Venezuela.¹

In 1504, when his voyages to America were over, Vespucci addressed a letter to an old friend, the gonfaloniere, Piero Soderini, in which he related his experiences on the four voyages to America he said he undertook. He remembered, of course, the herb-chewing natives, and an account of them was included in his letter when it appeared in print, c. 1505-1506. Vespucci's notice was thus the first published (if we except an allusion possibly to the same custom in *Il Libretto*, 1504; v. *infra*) which relates to a habit we now know to have been tobacco-chewing.

The voyagers found a barbarous and unfriendly people, so they hastened away, and in the course of their sailing sighted an island "fifteen leagues" from the mainland.

... we found therein the most brutish and uncivilized of all [peoples] and yet the most gracious and kind. The customs and manners of this tribe are of this sort: In looks and behavior they were very repulsive, and each had his cheeks bulging with a certain green herb which they chewed like cattle, so that they could scarcely speak. And hanging from his neck each carried two dried gourds one of which was full of the very herb he kept in his mouth; the other full of a certain white flour like powdered chalk. Frequently each put a certain small stick (which had been moistened and chewed in his mouth) into the gourd filled with flour. Each then drew it forth and put it in both sides of his cheeks, thus mixing the flour with the herb which their mouths contained. This they did very frequently a little at a time. We wondered at this thing and did not fully comprehend the cause or reason for it or why they acted thus. It was our experience that this tribe approached us as familiarly as if they had already had dealings with us and a friendship of long standing. As we walked and talked with them on the beach we desired to have some fresh water. They indicated by signs that they had none and offered us instead the herb and the flour which they were carrying in their mouths. Because

¹The variety of the plant growing in the island Vespucci visited is specifically mentioned in Ne-

ander's list of eighteen kinds of American tobacco (v. n. 148 at n. 16).

COSMOGRAPHIAE INTRODVCTIO/
CVM QVIBVSDAM
GEOMETRIAE
AC
ASTRONO
MIAE PRINCIPIIS
ADEAM REM NECESSARIIS

Insuper quatuor Americi Ves
pucij nauigationes.

Vniuersalis Cbosinographiae descriptio
tam in solido q̃plano/eis etiam
infertis quę Ptholomeo
ignota a nuperis
reperta
sunt.

DISTICHON

Cum deus astra regat/& terrae climata Cæsar
Nec tellus nec eis fydera maius habent.

TITLE OF WALDSEEMÜLLER, 1507

of this (the region being deficient in water) we knew that they carried the herb and flour in their mouths in order to relieve their thirst.² [d_{vj}^{a-b}]

Later it is remarked [d_{vij}^a] that the women did not themselves indulge in the habit. If this observation be correct then it implies that the use of the masticatory was not entirely to relieve thirst. But cf. n. 15, and n. 9 there.

In Cumana, on the coast of Venezuela, Pedro Alonzo Niño and Cristobal Guerra, on their expedition of 1499-1500, observed a native habit of chewing which was probably identical with that described by Vespucci. The statement occurs in the work known as *Il Libretto*,³ the first published collection of voyages to America. On D,^a is a passage which reports, simply, that in order to keep their teeth white, the Indians continuously chewed a certain herb.⁴ The fact of the whitened teeth seems to imply that lime, chalk or some other powder was a constituent of the masticatory, such as was used by the Indians of Margarita, not many leagues distant. But the reference is too inexplicit to be acceptable as evidence of tobacco-chewing. It is simply recorded here as a statement which, if it relates to the same custom as that reported by Vespucci, would antedate his account of it in print.

The chewing of tobacco leaves mixed with pulverized shells or ashes, ground fine in mortars, was a habit peculiar to the South American tribes contiguous to the coca-chewing areas on the Pacific Coast of South America and part of lower Central America.⁵ Mason (pp. 11-12) writes of similar methods of chewing coca leaves and mixing them with lime, in regions adjacent to Venezuela and Colombia, and suggests that the practise undoubtedly influenced tobacco chewers.⁶ The most important contemporaneous evidence of the custom is that given by F. Columbus (n. 14) and by Monardes. The former described the process of chewing a dry herb mixed with powder, in Costa Rica,⁷ while Monardes (n. 15) related that the Indians, in order to relieve themselves of the pangs of thirst and of hunger, "take the leaves of [tobacco], and chew them, and while chewing, they mix them with a powder prepared from burnt river-mussels; this they mix in their mouths together. . ."

Of associated interest is that part of Oviedo's account of Nicaragua,⁸ in which he wrote that the Indians kept a certain herb (which he called *yaat*) in their mouths. Prof. Wiener (ii, pp. 138-139) relates *yaat* to Nahuatl *yatl*: "incense, perfume, tobacco," but suggests that Oviedo was probably referring to the use of coca. It was just as likely, however, to have been tobacco if *yaat* corresponds to *yatl*. In view of the evidence that the chewing of tobacco was an aboriginal form of using the plant in Central and South America, Vespucci's account must be accepted as the first published description of this custom.

² This portion agrees in its essentials with the text of the original Italian edition.

³ This is *Libretto De tutta La Nauigatione De Re De Spagna De Le Isole et Terreni Nouamente Trouati*, Venice, 1504, which contains accounts of the first three voyages of Columbus and of two explorations made by Niño and Guerra (*v. supra*). The compiler seems to have been Peter Martyr (*v. n. 2*) who was preparing his letters relating to the discovery of America in 1501. His MS. falling into the hands of Angelo Trivigiano, the latter translated it into Italian from which version it was published through the Venetian historian, Admiral Domenico Mali-

piero. Only one perfect copy of this work is now known.

⁴ Cf. n. 2 [d.^a].

⁵ Wissler, pp. 25 ff. The valuable map from his work is reproduced in the *Introduction*, p. 18.

⁶ *V.*, also, Linton, p. 2. Hartwich (p. 41) concurs in the opinion that Vespucci's notice must refer to tobacco, as coca-chewing did not reach the Antilles and the contiguous islands.

⁷ Thacher states that the herb chewed was doubtless tobacco (*v. n. 14, n. 13*).

⁸ *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, 1851-1855, Vol. III, p. 106 (*v. infra*, p. 208.).

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A⁶; B⁴; a-d⁸; e⁴; f⁶. Colophon and device of Walter Lud on r⁹ of last.).

This copy has some of the textual errors associated with the earliest variant of the first edition of 1507: "Diamater," on A^{11j}^a; "anctoribus," on A^{1v}^b, etc. The text of the dedication on A^{1b} agrees with C., No. 23. On the priority of issue of the variants containing the May [April] colophon, see Sabin, xxvii, No. 101017.

FOLDING WOODCUT DIAGRAM (with letter-press on v⁹) and woodcuts in text.

MOROCCO, by F. Bedford. Size of leaf: 8³/₁₆ x 6 inches.

REFERENCES: Cf. Har., n. 45 and *Additions*, pp. 30-33. Cf. C., n. 23. B., i, n. 28. W., ii, 145 ff.; 164 ff. *The First Four Voyages of Amerigo Vespucci*, trans. [M. Kerney] (1893). *Amerigo Vespucci, Letter to Piero Soderini*, 1504, trans. [etc.], G. T. Northup (1916). *The Letters of Amerigo*



COLOPHON OF WALDSEEMÜLLER, 1507

Vespucci [etc.], trans. [etc.], C. R. Markham (Hakluyt Soc., 1894). *The Cosmographiæ Introductio of Martin Waldseemüller*, J. Fischer and F. von Wieser, ed. C. G. Herbermann (1907).

The notice of the custom of tobacco-chewing as given above was first published in Amerigo Vespucci, *Lettera di Amerigo vespucci delle isole nuouamente trouate in quattro suoi viaggi* [Florence], c. 1505-1506. It occurs on b.^{iv}^b-b.^v^a. Only five copies of this work are recorded.

Sometime after the appearance of the original Italian edition of Vespucci's letters (*supra*), it seems to have been translated into French. That version is now lost, but it is supposed to be the source of the four letters as they appear in the *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, first printed on the college press, at St. Dié, in the province of Lorraine, April, 1507 (and again in September [August], 1507). The translator of Vespucci is believed by some to have been Basin de Sendacour, by others, Ringman, both members of the St. Dié coterie, and by others still, Waldseemüller. Kerney regarded this version as accurate for the most part, but observed that it did contain several significant errors. Waldseemüller was responsible, however, for committing the work, together with a little treatise he had prepared on cosmography, to the press. For many years this tract supplied information about Vespucci and his "four" voyages.

Waldseemüller, a professor in the Gymnasium of St. Dié (who, in accordance with the academic custom of the time, had classicized his name to "Hylacomylus"), accepted without question the discoveries recorded by the explorer. In a burst of enthusiasm he suggested that the new continent be named America after him he supposed its original discoverer.⁹ Waldseemüller's work being popular, his proposal found wide acceptance—so general, indeed, that when he became aware of his mistake and sought to award the honor to Columbus it was too late.

Vespucci has long been an enigmatic figure among the earliest explorers of America, and his reliability, particularly in relation to his "first" voyage, May, 1497, to October, 1498, has been often questioned. Into the vexed matter of which of his voyages were wholly or partly fictitious and which actualities, it is not necessary to enter here. It is certainly established that he did accompany Ojeda and La Cosa on their expedition to South America and the West Indies, which began in May, 1499, and ended in June, 1500.

* * *

No. 1-a The third (first Strassburg) edition is also in this library. The text of the title is identical with that of n. 1 (except for the word *DISTICHON*). The colophon [F⁸] reads (trans.): The ingenious man Johann Grüniger printed this at Strassburg, in the year 1509 after the birth of our Savior, under the corrector, Johann Adolph Mulich of Strassburg.

The excerpt given above (n. 1) here occurs on F^{1j}^{a-b}.

Small quarto (A-B⁴; C⁶; D⁴; E⁶; F⁸. Folding chart, etc.). Morocco [by Mathews]. From the collections of S. L. M. Barlow (Feb. 1890, n. 2563), Brayton Ives (Mar. 1891, n. 1026), and "A well-known Bibliophile" (Mar. 27, 1915, n. 664), with the ex libris of the first two.

PANE, Ramon, in Peter MARTYR¹ (1455-1526)

1516

DE ORBE NOVO DECADES. Alcalá de Henares, 1516.

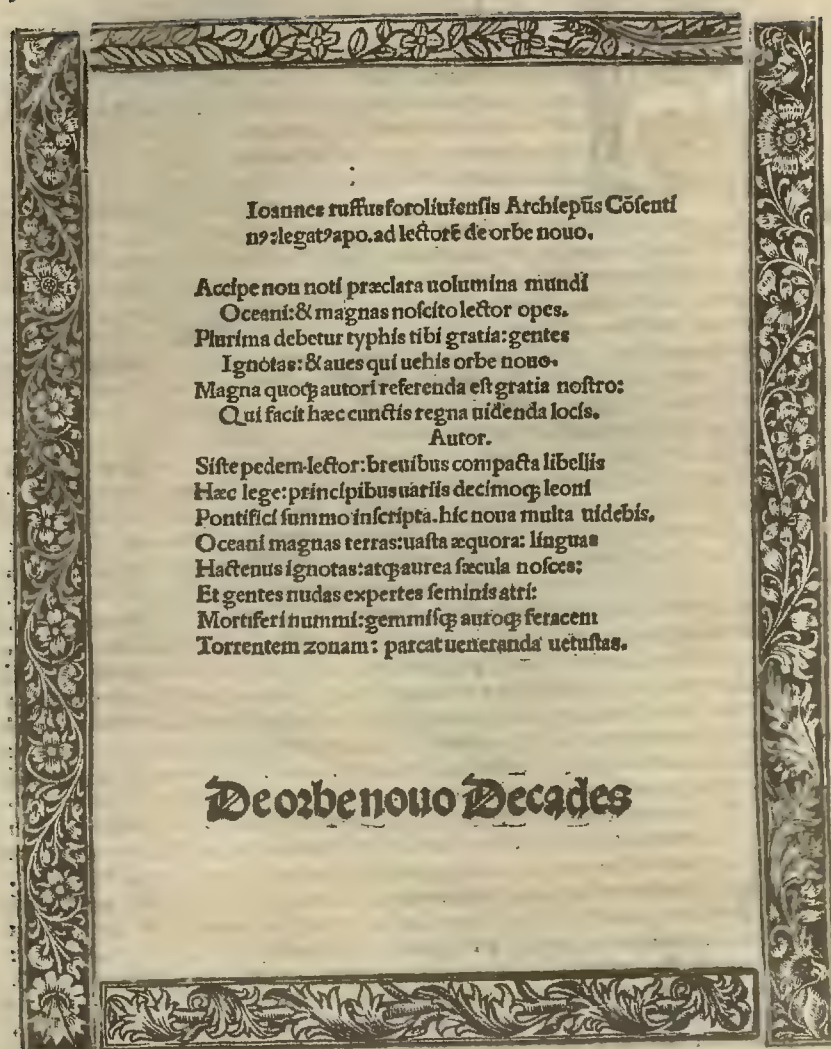
[*Translation of title*] Joannes Ruffus, Archbishop of Cosenza [invites the reader to accept this exquisite work]. The author [prays the reader to pause and see what is contained in this tome]. You will learn of great lands bordering on the Ocean, of vast seas, of hitherto unknown languages, of golden ages, of the torrid zone rich in gems and gold and of naked nations . . . uncorrupted by the lust for gain, for whom let our venerable antiquity have respect. Decades of the New World.

[*Translation of colophon*] With the care and industry of the celebrated master, Antonio [de Lebriza, the Elder], royal historiographer, these Three Decades of Peter Martyr, the prothonotary, were printed in the shop of Arnaldo Guillen [de Brocario] in the illustrious city . . . of Complutum, commonly called Alcalá [de Henares]. Finished the ninth of November, in the year 1516.

⁹ This occurs on a.^v: "But now that these parts have been more extensively examined, and another part has been discovered by AMERICUS VESPUCCIUS (as will be seen in the sequel), I do not see why we should rightly refuse to name it AMERICA . . . after

its discoverer AMERICUS, a man of sagacious mind, since both EUROPE and ASIA took their names from women." (Translated by B., No. 28.)

¹ Pietro Martire d'Anghiera.



TITLE OF MARTYR, 1516

THE first detailed account of the aboriginal religious customs and legends of the Indians of Hispaniola (Haiti) records the ritualistic use of a narcotic snuff *cohoba*,² long thought to be a pulverized form of tobacco. The author of this ethnological study was a Catalan friar, Ramon Pane (of the order of the Hermits of St. Jerome), who accompanied Columbus on his second expedition to America, 1493.

Having been instructed by the Admiral to report upon the ceremonies and antiquities of the Indians, the friar took up his duties in the Vega. There, in 1496 or early in 1497, he wrote down his observations "on the rites of the islanders." That enchanting and curious manuscript has disappeared, but Peter Martyr read it and Ferdinand Columbus (n. 14) had access to it.³

A paraphrase and epitome (with some slight misinterpretations) of Ramon Pane's manuscript was incorporated by Martyr in his *Opera*, 1511, and thus appeared the earliest published record of the ceremonial use of *cohoba*. It was introduced to English readers in 1555 by Richard Eden, who translated it:

Their preeftes and diuines (whom they caule *Boitios*⁴) instructe them [the natives of Hispaniola] in these superstitions. These preeftes, are also phisitions, diuisinge a thousande craftes and subtylties howe to deceaue the simple people which haue them in greate reuerence. For they persuaue them that the *Zemes* [their gods] vse to speake with theym familerlye, and tel them of thynges to come. And if any haue bin sicke & are recouered, they make them beleue that they obteyned theyr healthe of the *Zemes*. These *Boitii*, bynde them selues to muche fastinge and owtewarde clenlynes and pourgeinges: Especially when they take vppon them the cure of any Prince. For then they drynke [literally: absorb] the pouder of a certeyne herbe [*cohoba*], by whose qualitie they are dryuen into a furye: At whiche tyme (as they say) they lerne many thynges by reuelation of the *Zemes* . . .

After this follows an account of the conjurations of the *Boitii* in their treatment of the sick. [c.vii.^a in Martyr; M.i.^b in Eden's trans., n. 6.]

Wherefore, as often as the kynges aske counsaile of their *Zemes* as concerning their warres, increafe of fruites or scarfnes, or health and sickenes, they enter into the house dedicate to theyr *Zemes*, where, snuffinge vp into theyr nosethryls the pouder of the herbe cauled *Cohobba* [*Chohóbba* in original text] (wherwith the *Boitii* are dryuen into a furye) they say that immediatly they see the houses turne topsy turvey, and men to walke with theyr heeles vppwarde: of fuche force is this pouder vtterly to take away all sense.

When the effect of the powder has worn off the *Boitii* proclaim to the chiefs (for none of the common people are admitted to these ceremonies) what things have been promised or foretold by the *Zemes*. [c.vii.^{a-b}; M.ii.^{a-b} in n. 6.]

² Safford (p. 393) states that the snuff "called *coxoba* in the language of the islanders . . . was rendered in the Italian orthography of the translation [n. 14] of Pane's description, 'cogioba,' and incorrectly transcribed as 'cogiba,' or 'cojiba.' In Spanish orthography it is written 'cohoba.'" ("Narcotic Plants and Stimulants of the Ancient Americans," in *Ann. Rept. of the Bd. of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1916, Washington, 1917.)

³ In two of his letters Martyr refers to the friar's

account "concerning the superstitions of the islanders." To Martyr he was simply (as Eden, n. 6, translated it) "one Ramonus an heremyte, whom [Columbus] had lefte with certeyne kynges of the Ilande to instruct them in the Christian fayth."

⁴ Variousy spelled: *bokique*, *behique* (Las Casas); *bokuti*, *bukuitihu* (Columbus, n. 14); etc.—all equivalents of *piache*: witch-doctor or medicine-man. *V. Wi.*, iii, p. 223, and A. Bachiller y Morales, *Cuba Primitiva* (2d ed., 1883), pp. 215-216.

Martyr's paraphrase of Ramon Pane's text omitted the description of the apparatus employed to take *cohoba*. This was a Y-forked tube, the *taboca*, which was described and first illustrated by Oviedo (n. 4). A brief notice of it occurs in another portion of the friar's work (v. n. 14 [R_{iiij}^b]). In Columbus' summary of the religious customs of the Haitians, he records the use of *cohoba* and the ritual connected with it (v. n. 14 [Q_v^a]). The Admiral's relation seems to have preceded that of Ramon Pane, although published later. Las Casas,⁵ who was an eye-witness to the *cohoba* ceremony, describes in detail the snuff-tray, inhaling-tube and the associated rites. He regarded the word *cohoba* as meaning both the powder and the ceremony connected with it.

Cohoba, according to Columbus, Ramon Pane, Las Casas, and others⁶ who observed and reported its use in Haiti, was employed by the medicine-men chiefly to induce a state of trance. The violent effect of this snuff indicates that its chief (if not its sole) ingredient was a powerful narcotic. None of the early commentators on the custom says that the substance inhaled was derived from the tobacco plant. But before the close of the sixteenth century the term *cohoba* (or its variations) was accepted in Europe as a native Haitian word for tobacco, the snuff used in the *cohoba* ceremonies reported was assumed to be tobacco, and the association has continued up to our own time.⁷

It has now been fairly conclusively established that *cohoba* was not a pulverized form of tobacco.⁸ How two substances, so dissimilar in their effects as the narcotic powder of the Haitian priests and the mildly sedative tobacco snuff, became identified is one of the most involved and complex matters in nicotian history. Several possible reasons for the connection may be advanced: the word *cohoba* may have meant snuff⁹ as well as the act¹⁰ of snuffing any powder; pulverized tobacco seeds may have been mixed¹¹ with the narcotic snuff inhaled by the medicine-men, and only the nicotian ingredient of this compound recognized by the Spanish observers; *cohoba*, when prepared, apparently looked like pulverized tobacco;¹² or, even more likely, European

⁵ *Apologética Historia de las Indias*, ed. Serrano y Saenz (Madrid, 1909), chap. 166, pp. 445-446.

⁶ Lopez de Gomara (in his *La historia de las Indias* . . . 1552) was one of several writers who made references to the use of *cohoba* and to a smoke of intoxicating quality indulged in by the natives, but the sources of their information were undoubtedly the authors cited above, as well as Oviedo (n. 4).

⁷ Even so recent and competent an authority as Comes accepted the "ancient Carib word, *cohoba*" as a term for "tobacco" (*Monographie*). MacInnes, Corti and other modern historians repeat the statement that *cohoba* was tobacco.

⁸ Safford's opinion (v. *infra*) in this regard seems wholly valid but it has been disputed by Sven Lovén (*Über die Wurzeln der Tainischen Kultur*, I, 1924, pp. 361 ff.). Lovén's arguments may be briefly summarized as follows: *Cahoba* [*sic*] meant tobacco-snuff; the strong West Indian tobacco mixed with salt-water and chalk undoubtedly gave that composition narcotic power; the effect of this snuff was increased by the form in which it was inhaled by the medicine-men and by the fact that they fasted rigorously before taking it; the powder of *Piptadenia peregrina* (v. *infra*) was made from the seeds of a shrub, not an herb, as Oviedo (n. 4,

[f_{vij}^a]) says, and is gray, not brown, as Las Casas (v. *infra*, n. 12) remarked.

Stahl ("Der Tabak im Leben südamerikanischer Völker," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 57. Jahrgang, 1925, Heft 1/2) accepts Lovén's opinion that *cohoba* was a powdered form of tobacco and states that this plant was not cultivated, nor used as a remedy.

⁹ V. Lovén, p. 361.

¹⁰ V. Las Casas' opinion, *supra*, and Pane's reference to the *cohoba* ceremony, mentioned in n. 14.

¹¹ The blending of tobacco with lime or other powdered substances prevailed in some parts of South and Central America, as has been shown (v. *supra*, p. 191. Mason (pp. 12-13), in his notice of the use of snuff by the tribes of the lowland regions of Colombia and Venezuela, touches upon the subject, remarking that the custom was probably in vogue in the West Indies at the time of Columbus, and that apparently tobacco is used in some localities.

¹² Las Casas described the snuff as "finely ground and of the color of cinnamon or powdered henna." (Cited by Safford, *op. cit. sup.*, n. 2, from *Apol. Hist. de las Indias*, chap. 166, pp. 445-446, ed. Serrano y Saenz, Madrid, 1909.)

In this connection it is of interest to note that Gumilla, when describing the "evil powder" called

commentators may have made the transference of terms because of Oviedo's involved and inaccurate account of tobacco-smoking (n. 4). That Spanish author, in part of his relation, stated that the native priests and others in Haiti inhaled smoke through a bifurcated tube,¹³ and that that operation drove them into insensibility. The tube was actually employed for snuffing *cohoba* (as described by Ramon Pane and others—v. n. 14), and the use of this powder brought about a state of trance, semi-intoxication or delirium. The full inhalation of smoke from crude cigars, according to Oviedo, Benzoni (n. 10), and others, produced a physiological condition akin to that resulting from *cohoba*-snuffing. As Oviedo related that the tube he called the *tabaco* was employed for smoking (with consequent violent effects) it would have been but natural for European commentators to assume from the evidence offered that the same plant provided the substance used in both smoking and snuffing and, therefore, that *tabaco*¹⁴ and *cohoba* were identical.¹⁵

Apparently the earliest to consider that *cohoba* and tobacco snuff were separate compositions was Hartwich.¹⁶ The state induced in Indian priests by their use of *cohoba* led this scholar to express his doubts that the plant which supplied the snuff was tobacco.¹⁷ The custom of snuffing, he thought, was originally brought into the West Indies by the Caribs from South America, where the powdered seed of *Piptadenia peregrina* was first inhaled. (Hartwich seems to have been the first to refer to this plant in relation to the snuffing practised by the Indians, although he did not identify it with *cohoba*.) Pulverized tobacco probably took the place of *cohoba* later, snuffing was always associated with religious ceremonies, and not engaged in for pleasure, as was smoking, etc., etc.

Cohoba has been identified by Dr. W. E. Safford¹⁸ as a narcotic snuff derived from the seeds of a mimosa-like tree, botanically known as *Piptadenia peregrina*.¹⁹ This plant, indigenous to certain parts of South America and to some places in the Antilles (including Haiti), still bears the name *cohoba*.²⁰ The snuff obtained from it is still inhaled through bifurcated tubes by some primitive South American tribes.²¹

Dr. Safford was concerned chiefly with providing the identification of *cohoba* and

yupa (apparently the local name for *Piptadenia peregrina*) inhaled through the nostrils by the Otomac on the Orinoco, stated that it had the smell of strong tobacco, while Crévaux remarked that the Guahibo (Guajiva of the Meta River) were constantly inhaling a blackish, brown powder resembling snuff-tobacco both in color and odor, which was finely ground and which they called *yopo*. Gumilla's work is *Histoire Naturelle . . . de l'Orenoque*, Avignon, 1758; Crévaux's, *Voyages dans l'Amérique du Sud*, Paris, 1883. Both are cited by Roth in his article, "Narcotics and Stimulants," in *38th Ann. Rept. of the Bureau of Amer. Ethnology 1916-1917*, Chap. XVI, 1924.

¹³ Cf. *infra*, n. 21.

¹⁴ By that time applied to the plant.

¹⁵ V. the reference in n. 29 to the "interpreter of Benzoni" who (apparently first) published the opinion that *tabaco* and *cozobba* [*sic*] were identical.

¹⁶ Pp. 42, 239 ff.

¹⁷ Pp. 45-46. He remarks, however, that negroes sometimes induced insensibility by their use of tobacco and refers to Stoll (*Suggestion und Hypnotismus in der Völkerpsychologie*, 1904, pp. 134 ff.)

who believed that the *cohoba* employed by the Indians was tobacco-snuff. Stoll also attributed the violent effects reported partly to autosuggestion. Cf. Lovén (*op. cit. sup.*, n. 8), p. 365.

¹⁸ In his "Identity of *cohoba*" (v. in References, *infra*). Cf. "Narcotic Plants [etc.]" (*op. cit. sup.*, n. 2).

¹⁹ The seeds, pod, etc., are illustrated in Safford's article (*op. cit. sup.*, n. 2).

²⁰ This does not exclude the possibility, of course, that the original word for snuffing in Haiti was transferred to the plant.

²¹ In Safford's paper (v. References, *infra*) occur two cuts of snuffing-tubes which demonstrate the survival of the *taboca*. In reference to one of the specimens Dr. Max Uhle (*Bull. Mus. Science and Art*, U. of Penn., I, No. 4, 1898) expressed his belief that it was employed to snuff tobacco.

In his "Indian Tribes of Eastern Peru" (*Papers*, Peabody Museum of Amer. Archaeology, X, 1922, p. 56, *et passim*), W. C. Farabee describes the process of inhaling tobacco-snuff by means of a *colipa*, an instrument similar to the *taboca*. V., also, Safford (*op. cit. sup.*, n. 2), p. 396, and Roth (*op. cit. sup.*, n. 12), pp. 243-246.

he did not, therefore, explain why this snuff should have become confused with pulverized tobacco. The reasons submitted above may supply the answer to this intricate problem. The long-continued association of the nicotian plant with *cohoba* cannot be ignored by the historian of tobacco. It was the American Indian custom of inhaling *cohoba*, too, which was the undoubted source of tobacco-snuffing in Europe.²²

A number of other matters of interest in tobacco's history are contained in Martyr's pages. At the end of Book II, First Decade, addressed to Viscount Ascanio Sforza, Cardinal Vice-Chancellor at Rome, Martyr wrote that he was sending him some seeds of all kinds from the New World. He wished that the apothecaries and perfumers should know something of the "high temperature" of these products of the Indies. It is not unlikely that seeds of the strange new plant, tobacco, were included in Martyr's gift, and that they were sown in Italy before 1510. But the presence of tobacco then, as a botanical curiosity, is highly conjectural, and no records exist of its growth there thus early. (See the *Introduction*, p. 18, n. 1, conclusion, and n. 11.)

In a passage, probably from the same source as that of one in *Il Libretto* (cf. *supra*, p. 191) relating to *Curiana* (Cumana), the Indians there are described, with the notice that ". . . they make (*reddunt*) their teeth white. Almost all the day they carry a certain herb suitable for that purpose between their lips. When they expel [this masticated herb] they wash their mouths."²³ [d₁^a]

Near the conclusion of Book VIII of the Third Decade is a reference to an herb whose smoke is deadly poison. This has sometimes been thought to be a mention of tobacco, but when read with its context, it will be found that the opinion is erroneous.

In Book IX, on c_{vij}^a, Martyr gives a brief account of the manuscript "composed in the Spanish tongue (by Brother Ramon of the Hermits). I was minded to collect a few things from his writings, omitting inconsequential matters . . ." But a considerable portion of the material he excluded—some of it relating to the ritualistic use of *cohoba*—is both entertaining and valuable, and has been, fortunately, preserved in Ferdinand Columbus' *Historie* (n. 14).²⁴

FIRST EDITION OF THE THREE DECADES, FIRST ISSUE. Folio (a⁶; b-g⁸; h⁶; i⁸ [i_v, blank]. Colophon on i_{viii}^a). The *Legatio babylonica* (Embassy to Cairo), A-B⁸.

In C. (No. 39) is described a "first issue" of this work which displays some slight variations from the copies then known. As do some others, it advertises the *Legatio babylonica* on its title, but is without its text. The *Legatio* is, obviously, a separate production, and a line in its dedication implies that it succeeded *De Orbe Novo*. It seems only reasonable to infer, therefore, that copies with the simpler title, which do not call for the *Legatio*, are of the earlier issue.²⁵

ORIGINAL VELLUM. Size of leaf: 11¾ x 8½ inches. Marginal annotations in an early hand.

REFERENCES: Har., n. 88. Wi., i, 72 ff.; ii, 142. *De Orbe Novo*, trans. by F. A. MacNutt (1912), i, 172, 174. Bourne. "Identity of cohoba, the narcotic snuff of ancient Haiti," W. E. Safford, in *Journ. Washington Acad. of Sciences* (1916), VI, No. 15, pp. 547 ff. Comes, 10 ff.

²² *V.* the *Introduction*, p. 157, n. 2.

²³ MacNutt, in his version (*v.* in References, *infra*), mistakenly translated the passage as "They try to spoil the whiteness of their teeth . . ." (I, p. 153.) But cf. F. Columbus' account of the native habit of chewing in Costa Rica, in n. 14 [E₁^a].

²⁴ Translations of "De Insularum Ritibus" appear in the tract by Prof. Bourne and in Prof. Wiener's *Africa*, i, pp. 72 ff.

²⁵ I am indebted to Mr. Lawrence C. Wroth for his opinion on this matter, part of which has been incorporated here.

Ramon Pane's notices of snuff-taking first appeared in Martyr's *Opera Legatio babylonica Oceani decas Poemata Epigrammata*, Seville, 1511. The two excerpts occur on F_{vj}^a and F_{vj}^b, respectively. The only other copies of this issue of 1516 known to us are those in the British Museum, John Carter Brown, New York Public (Lenox), and Clements libraries. From the edition of 1516 that of 1533 was reprinted, being the earliest appearance in Latin of the first Three Decades with an abridgement of the Fourth, *De Insulis nuper inventis*. The entire collection of Eight Decades was issued at Complutum, 1530.

Little is known of Ramon (sometimes inaccurately spelled Roman) Pane. In his "Apologética historia" (*Historia de las Indias*, Madrid, 1876, V, pp. 435 ff.), Las Casas gives the fullest available account of Brother Ramon. Thacher is in error when he states that Las Casas animadverted against this very friar; on the contrary he particularly differentiates him from the rest of the clergy who only wished to learn enough of the native languages to proclaim with the conquistadors, "give bread," "go to the mines," "dig gold." "Only this Fray Ramon," writes Las Casas, "who had come to this island in the beginning with the Admiral, seemed to have found some zeal and good will, which he employed for the purpose of giving the knowledge of God to these Indians, though, being a simple man, he could do nothing more than tell the Indians the Ave Maria and Lord's Prayer with a few sentences . . . which he imparted to them the best way that he could, with great trouble and confusion."

* * *

No. 2-a The second Latin edition of this work, *De rebus Oceanicis & Orbe nouo decades tres*, Basle, 1533, is also in this library. It came from the Heber collection (1836, VIII, n. 1621).

It was the edition of 1533 from which Richard Eden made his translation (*v.* n. 6).

PANE, Ramon, in Peter MARTYR (1455-1526), *translated and edited by Gian Battista RAMUSIO* [?] (1485-1557)

LA HISTORIA DE L'INDIE OCCIDENTALI. Venice, 1534.

[*Translation of title*] First Book. Of the History of the West Indies.

[*Translation of verso of title*] Summary of the general history of the West Indies, taken from the work written by Don Peter Martyr, of the Council of the Indies of his Majesty the Emperor, and from many other private accounts.

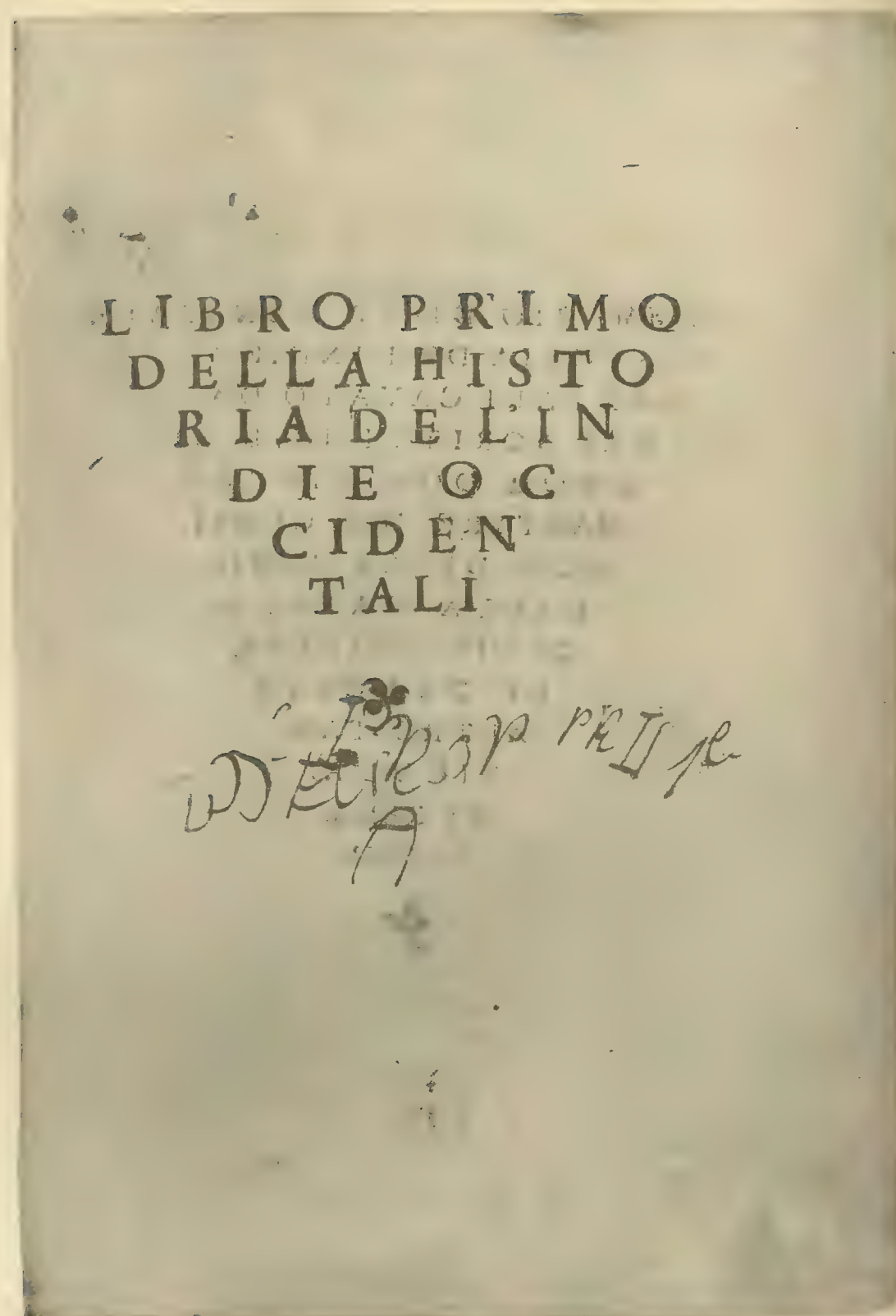
[*Translation of colophon, Libro Vltimo*] At Venice, the month of October, 1534.

On V_{iiij}^a occurs an epitome of the excerpts recorded in n. 2, relating to the ritualistic use of *cohoba*.

FIRST ITALIAN EDITION. Small quarto (A-V⁴ [last, blank]). *Libro Secondo*, Venice, 1534 (A-Q⁴; 2 leaves, unsigned. With explanation of the maps, etc., and colophon, on re of last.). *Libro Vltimo*, Venice, 1534 (A-D⁴ [last blank, lacking]. Colophon on D₃^a).

FOUR WOODCUTS IN LIBRO SECONDO. Folding map, "Isola Spagnuola" (the earliest of St. Domingo), bound before *Libro Secondo* with which it belongs.

BLIND-STAMPED FIGSKIN over wooden boards. Size of leaf: 8½ x 6 inches. Preliminary leaves crudely inscribed in an early hand. *Libro Vltimo* remargined to size of preceding books.



TITLE OF MARTYR, 1534

The first part of this conglomerate work, usually referred to as the *Summario*, is apparently derived from the Three Decades of Peter Martyr, although little or no attention was given by Ramusio, the supposed translator and editor, to the original arrangement.

J. Carson Brevoort (in W., iii, p. 20, n.) suggested that whoever was responsible for this compilation may have had the use of a manuscript version prepared by Martyr himself, probably in 1515. He thought that no mere translator would have ventured to effect such great changes as occur in this edition. But Mr. Lawrence C. Wroth points out that Brevoort's conjecture

SVMMARIO DE LA GENERALE
HISTORIA DE L'INDIE OCCI
DENTALI CAVATO DA LI
BRI SCRITTI DAL SI
GNOR DON PIETRO
MARTYRE DEL CONSI
GLIO DELLE INDIE
DELLA MAESTA
DE L'IMPERADORE,
ET DA MOLTE
ALTRE PAR
TICVLAR
I RELA
TIONI.



VERSO OF THE TITLE OF MARTYR, 1534

is based on such slender evidence as to exclude it from serious consideration. He very logically remarks, too, that not only would the editors of that period have "ventured anything," but that the title itself candidly states the procedure of the compiler, namely that the "Summary" was "taken from" (or "dug out of") Martyr's writings and other accounts.

The second book derives from Oviedo's work, *del natural hystoria delas Indias*, Toledo, 1526 (see the concluding notes to n. 4), and the third is a translation, with additions, of the anonymous *la Conquista del Peru*, Seville, 1534. The latter has often been confused with Francisco Xeres' work of similar title, which was also printed at Seville, 1534. The three parts of this edition of 1534 belong together, and when found complete constitute a volume of considerable rarity. There is a copy in the British Museum, New York Public (Lenox), John Carter Brown, Huntington, and Ayer libraries.

Harrisse and others describe a large map of part of America, which is known only by the example in the Lenox copy and one recently acquired by the John Carter Brown Library.

LA HISTORIA GENERAL DELAS INDIAS. Seville, 1535.

[Translation of title] The general history of the Indies. With the Imperial privilege.

[Translation of verso of title] First part of the natural and general history of the Indies, islands and mainland of the ocean, written by Captain Gonzalo Hernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, alcaide of the fortress of the city of St. Domingo, in the island of Hispaniola, and chronicler of their holy Imperial and Catholic Majesties the Emperor Charles V, King of Spain, and of the most serene and mighty Queen Juana, his mother, our rulers. By whose command the author wrote of the wonderful things which are in the various islands and parts of the Indies and empire of the royal crown of Castile, seen and known by him during the twenty-two and more years which he lived in those parts. Which history begins with the first discovery of these Indies, and is contained in twenty books of this first volume.

[Translation of colophon] . . . seen and examined in the royal council of the Indies, and permission given whereby no other person could print it but himself, or whomsoever he empowered, without suffering grave penalties. Finished and printed in the very noble and loyal city of Seville, from the printing-house of Juan Cromberger, the last day of September, 1535.

ALMOST coincident with the Discovery two Spanish sailors, set ashore by Columbus, witnessed the smoking of crude cigars by Indians.¹ No account of this incident was published for many years, although it was recorded by Columbus in his "Journal," and by Las Casas.²

Oviedo was the earliest, therefore, to announce in print that the curious and doubtful pleasure of "swallowing" smoke was a native indulgence. As he was the first authorized chronicler of the New World and had, from 1513-1514 been resident, sometimes in high official capacity, in the Spanish colonies in America, he was especially equipped to comment upon the habits of the Indians. But he was frequently unreliable in the observations he made upon such matters, and in his chapter on *tabacos* he presented an account which was involved and perplexing.

The subject was probably of little interest to the Spanish author; tobacco then had no commercial value. Perhaps his imperfect memory led him to write obscurely of customs actually witnessed many years before, or he may even have derived part of his information from the manuscripts of Columbus or Las Casas, and misinterpreted it. Whatever the cause, it is clear that he confused as one, two distinct customs, ostensibly similar in their physiological effect: the use of a tube (the *taboca*)³ employed for snuffing up a narcotic powder, and the full inhalation of smoke from raw native cigars which usually induced stupefaction. He was the first to report that the latter habit of the aborigines (in a less violent form) had been eagerly adopted by Spaniards as well as by their negro slaves. In Oviedo's account is the first occurrence in print of the now almost universal word "tobacco" (in its equivalent), and, as well, the earliest notice of the Aztec reed-cigarette.

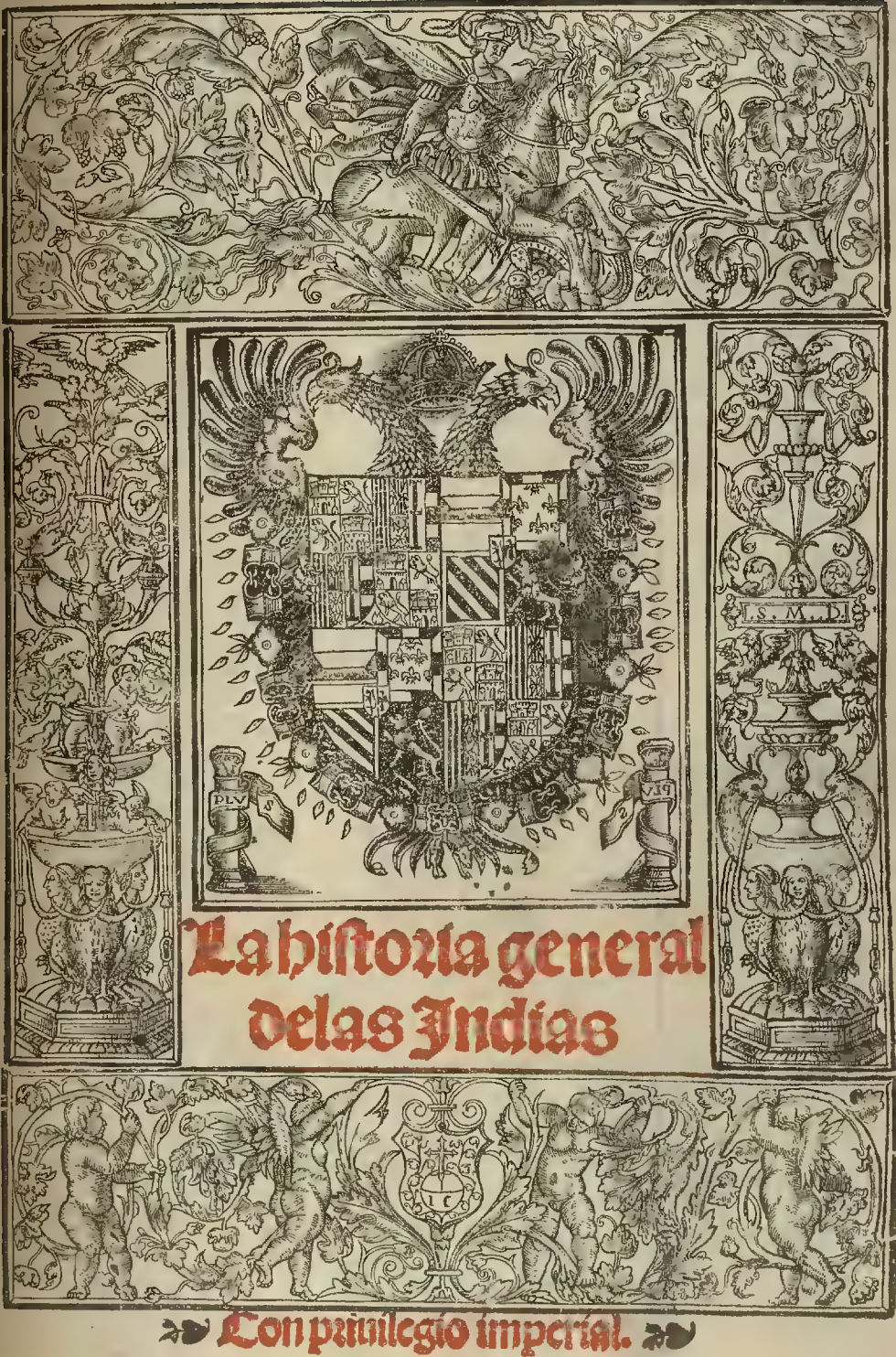
In his chapter of the *tabacos* or smokes to which the Indians are accustomed in this island of *Española* he writes:

The Indians of this island, among other of their vices, know one very evil thing—to indulge in smoking, which they call *tabaco*, in order to go out of their senses. They do this with the smoke of a certain herb, which, as I have been able to gather,

¹ *V.* n. 14.

² *Ibid.*

³ *V. supra*, p. 196.



TITLE OF OVIEDO, 1535

is of the quality of henbane, but it is not of the same form or shape to the view, for it is of four or five palms in height, and its leaves are narrow, thick, soft and velvety. Its green is somewhat like that of the leaves of common oxtongue or *Buglossa* so called by the herbalists and doctors. The plant, as I say, is very similar to henbane.⁴ They take it in this manner: the *Caciques*, or principal men, have hollow sticks about a span long, less than the thickness of the smallest finger. These tubes have two channels, merging into one, just as the diagram shows, and the whole forms one piece.⁵ And these two [ends] they put in their nostrils and the other end in the smoke of the burning herb. [This instrument] is smooth and well polished. They burn the leaves of this herb, folded or wrapped in the way in which the court pages are used to blow out their puffs of smoke [*i.e.* squibs].⁶ Then they place the other part of the tube in the burning plant and they breathe in the smoke once, twice, thrice, or as often more as they can, until they lose their senses, and for a great space they lie stretched out on the ground without intelligence and stupefied as if in a dream. And the Indians who could not get these little [forked] sticks take this smoke through common grass reeds or cane. It is to this instrument with which they inhale the smoke that the Indians give the name *tabaco*⁷ and not to the herb or the resulting stupor, as some have believed. The Indians consider this herb very precious, and grow it in their gardens for the purpose just told. They let it be understood that taking this herb and its smoke is not only a very healthy but also a very holy thing to do. And as the *Cacique* or chief lies on the ground, his wives (who are many) take him and put him in his bed (*hamaca*) if he has told them before to do so.⁸ But if he has not thus instructed them before, he wishes to be left there until the drunkenness and sleepiness passes off. I cannot think what pleasure is taken from such an act unless it is the gluttony of drinking [the smoke] (until he falls on his back).⁹ Already some Christians use it, especially those who are touched



⁴ Despite this vague description, several scholars have accepted the likely opinion that Oviedo was referring to a variety of the indigenous *N. rustica*. *N. Tabacum* was brought in from the mainland about 1535 (v. the *Introduction*, p. 82).

Oviedo's comparison of tobacco with henbane was followed by many botanists of the period.

⁵ Cf. n. 2, n. 21.

⁶ V. Las Casas' similar reference, given in n. 14. It must be observed that Oviedo first says (*supra*) that the act of smoking was called *tabaco*, and many students believe that *tabaco* originally meant just that. But by 1557, when Oviedo added to his *Historia* and revised it in part (unpublished for many years), he used the word in a modern sense—by that date a natural transposition. He then recognized the leaf, the thing smoked, as *tabaco*, and he gave an account of the cigar and its use, 1529, at Nicoya in Nicaragua (modern Costa Rica). *Histoire du Nicaragua*, in Ternaux-Compans' *Voyages* [etc.], 1840, vol. 14, pp. 211–212, or *Hist. Gen.*, 1855, IV, p. 96 (v. *infra*, p. 208).

⁸ V. the illustration reproduced in n. 10, and a

reference in n. 158 "d" to the same custom in Brazil.

⁹ Prof. Wiener (whose accounts of the *tabaco* passages in Oviedo have been helpful here) points out an important addition made by that author when he revised his work, first published in the full edition, 1851–1855 (v. *infra*, p. 208). In place of the phrase bracketed thus () above, Oviedo inserted a passage which Prof. Wiener translates: "which at first they do by taking the smoke or *tabaco*, and some drink so much of a certain wine which they make that, before they begin to smoke, they fall down drunk, but when they feel that they are full, they take this perfume. And many, however, without drinking too much, take the *tabaco* and do as has been said, namely, fall on the back or side on the ground, but without nausea, only like a sleeping man." (i, pp. 117–118.)

Prof. Wiener's conclusions that this correction constitutes an admission on the part of Oviedo that his first account of the *tabaco*-intoxication of the Indians was wrong, that it was only wine which was the inebriating agency, and that it provides sufficient evidence to destroy the belief in the Amer-

ican origin of tobacco cannot be readily accepted. The passage only adds to the realization of how imperfect Oviedo's memory was and how obscure he could be. The sense of "drinking" in the original account was that the Indians "drank" (*i.e.*, inhaled) the smoke; in the revised passage, although involved, it seems to imply that smoking tobacco was an accompaniment of drinking wine. V. in this connection a repetition of this passage in Liébault's relation, n. 28 (at n. 7).

¹⁰ V. the *Introduction*, p. 5, and n. 1.

¹¹ The inaccuracies in this account resulted in critical investigations by a number of students. Among these should be especially considered Dr. A. Ernst's paper, "On the Etymology of the Word Tobacco," *Amer. Anthropologist*, II, April, 1889. He believed that Oviedo never saw an Indian using the little implement which he described and illustrated, but that the old historian confused an ancient native custom, imperfectly known to him by hearsay, with that of smoking cigars, then practised by the Spaniards. But it must be remembered that Columbus (v. n. 14) and Las Casas (v. n. 2, at n. 5) had observed the use of the *tabaco*; why not, then, Oviedo? Oviedo was correct, Dr. Ernst remarked, in giving the name *tabaco* [accurately *taboca*] to the Y-shaped inhaler still in use among certain South American tribes for the absorption of narcotic powders [chiefly derived from *Piptadenia peregrina*], but that it could not be employed to inhale smoke as he had himself proved by repeated experiment. The Haitians, he thought, employed the *taboca* to snuff up some exciting powder—perhaps pulverized tobacco mixed with some other substance. (V. in this connection Dr. Safford's notes in n. 2. He identified *cohoba* as a powdered form of the *Piptadenia peregrina*.) The word *taboca* is of Guarani

In reporting the expedition of Juan de Grijalva to Mexico, Oviedo states that in Yucatan, in 1518, the Spanish captain and his men were welcomed by an old chief who instructed his attendants to build a shelter under which the Spaniards sat.

Then he gave to the captain and to each one of the Christians who were seated a small tube burning at one end. These are so constructed that after being lit

origin: the name of a tube, generally made of the long bone of a tapir, used to snuff up stimulating powders.

As the result of his investigation of the word "tobacco," Dr. Ernst came to the conclusion that Oviedo's report referred not to smoking, but to the absorption of tobacco-powder through the nose. This, it seems, rather ignores the evidence. Oviedo certainly does refer to *smoking*. Oviedo was probably acquainted with the original of Columbus' "Journal" (v. the *Introduction*, p. 17, and n. 14), and both he and Las Casas (v. n. 14) may have derived their accounts of smoking from that source.

Tobacco was not, he says, the native name of the plant universally so called now, and the Spanish *tabaco* is probably not a faithful rendering of the term used by the aborigines of Haiti. What that word was is now unknown. Dr. Ernst suggested among other things an Arawak source and gave an imaginary case of a native being approached by Spaniards who saw him with his customary lighted "fire-brand." In the assumed response to a natural question relating to what the Indian was then doing, the native might have said, "I am smoking," which in modern Arawak is *dattukúpa*. A syllable is transposed: *dattupaku*, of which the initial syllable should not be easily discernible to a foreign ear, resulting in *tupaku*—a word not dissimilar to *tabaco*.

The source and original form of the word "tobacco" have long been matters for conjecture. Dr. Ernst's opinion, it seems, is as unacceptable as those of the old historians who derived "tobacco" from Tobago, the island, or from the Mexican state, Tabasco. The term *tabaco* (or its equivalent) must have been in use in the West Indies when the Spaniards first came. V. the introductory note to the *Glossary*, Las Casas, in n. 14, and Hernández, n. 114.

they slowly consume themselves without giving forth a flame, until they have ceased burning, just as do the incense sticks of Valencia. And they are of fragrant odor, as is the smoke which comes from them. The Indians made signs to the Christians that they must not allow that smoke to be lost or pass away [in other words, to inhale it] as one does who is taking *tabaco*. [f_{vij}^a]

In the same chapter the author relates that when Grijalva returned, on June 20th, at the *cacique's* invitation, he again presented the captain and the "principal Christians" with the same tubes. [*ibid.*]

Although it has been doubted that these tubes contained tobacco,¹² it seems only reasonable to accept the general opinion that they were a kind of reed-cigarette, filled with tobacco and aromatic substances, and the same as those later described by De l'Escluse (n. 73), by Hernández (n. 114), and by Bernal Diaz (n. 177).¹³ The notice of this incident was the first published which displayed the fact that the custom of smoking with strangers was a fraternal gesture among the Aztecs. That the practise was of great antiquity and common to American Indians, wherever tobacco was known, will be further indicated in this history.

Another portion of Oviedo's *Historia* was, by curious circumstance, to assume a place of inferential importance in the history of tobacco. In Book XI, Chap. V, he gives the description of a wild plant, *perebecenuc*.¹⁴ This has not been identified. It was employed as a surgical dressing by the Indians much as tobacco was to be used later. Oviedo does not call it tobacco nor even suggest its relation to that plant, nor can modern botanists and students of the subject do so.¹⁵

But in his Latin translation of Monardes, 1574 (n. 18), De l'Escluse (the foremost French botanist of his day) wrote that Oviedo said tobacco was called *perebecenuc* on the island of Hispaniola, and the word was often thereafter employed as an Indian term for tobacco. De l'Escluse may have been creating an error; he may have had access to some contemporary manuscript which made this statement; or he may have accepted some local tradition which, by that time, had identified *perebecenuc* as tobacco. At any rate, none of the early travellers to the New World witnessed¹⁶ the American natives' use of tobacco to heal wounds or treat the serious diseases catalogued by Liébault (n. 12), Monardes (n. 15), and others. Thevet (n. 21), who was in Brazil, specifically denies the statements made in this regard. Benzoni (n. 10), who travelled widely about Central America and the West Indies, De Léry (n. 26), who visited Brazil, Le Moyne, who knew the habits of the Floridan Indians (n. 39), are all silent on the subject. Neander (n. 148), in 1622, expressed his opinion that *perebecenuc* was not tobacco.

But *perebecenuc*, from Oviedo's account, did exist and was employed by the Indians as a vulnerary. It is not improbable that this Indian simple (rather than another) became confused with tobacco by the Spaniards in America, and that the medicinal virtues and uses of the former were thus transferred to the nicotian plant.¹⁷ When tobacco first came into Europe, it was not known as a plant of great medicinal

¹² Wiener, *Amer. Anthropologist*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 1921, pp. 86-87.

¹³ V. Linton (p. 9) for a notice of the archaeological finds of cigarettes, etc.

¹⁴ This word frequently appeared as *Pete be cenuc*.

Magnenus, 1648 (n. 234), seems to have been the earliest to publish this form of it.

¹⁵ Comes (p. 16) says *perebecenuc* was not tobacco.

¹⁶ Cf. n. 114, n. 9, ¶3 and ¶4.

¹⁷ Cf. a suggestive passage in Monardes, n. 15 [B₄^{a-b}].

worth,¹⁸ but its physical appearance may have justified a belief that it was the sanatory herb, *perebecenuc*, whose virtues Oviedo praised so highly. If this be so, it is the reason (or at least a contributory one) for the opinion which spread so swiftly about Western Europe, after 1560, that tobacco was a sovereign specific.¹⁹

As a matter of record, Oviedo's account of the plant is given here in its essentials:

In this Spanish island [Hispaniola] there is a weed or plant, called *perebecenuc*, marvellous and excellent for wounds, proved by many others and myself, of which there is a great quantity.

There must be innumerable other plants suited by nature to cure human pains, but the old Indians are dead and their knowledge has died with them. What has been discovered of value has not been with the aid of the present jealous Indians, but because they could not conceal it. . .

I shall speak only of well-known things, or those which I have tried and seen, like this plant of which I now speak, called *perebecenuc*. There are great quantities

of it in this island, in the city as well as in the fields and estates . . . so it could not become expensive. These plants have many wide leaves with sharp points and in form they appear like a horseman's lance, as if they wished to show man that they were a cure for the wounds of these lances. They are very thin and green and the points are a little purple; the stems or stalks from which the leaves spring are also a little purple. Some of the leaves are not pointed but are blunter, but both kinds have the same color, between purple and tawny. The plant produces long red flowers, clustered or loose-hanging like the fennel, but separated. These flowers are long and thin.



PEREBECENUC

When the weed or plant is full grown it is as tall or taller than a man. Its operation is marvellous; it cures so easily that it seems as if God wished to show it to others as excellent for wounds even if they are old and evil-looking, inflamed, or almost past cure. They use the medicine of this weed in this way: they twist a handful of the stems and tenderer leaves, about the thickness of a wrist [and set it to boil]. After the full amount of water has evaporated one third they remove the pot in which it has been cooking from the fire and leave it until almost cold. Then, with a clean cloth dipped in it they bathe the wound, and after it is well washed they dry it clean with their linen cloths. This done they take raw leaves of the same plant and twisting, beating or crushing them between their hands bring out the juice. They wet lint of clean white linen in that liquid

¹⁸ Cf. n. 12, at n. 6, and n. 15, at n. 2.

¹⁹ V. the *Introduction*, pp. 29 ff.

and then place the saturated cloth on the wound. This done twice a day cures a wound in good time.

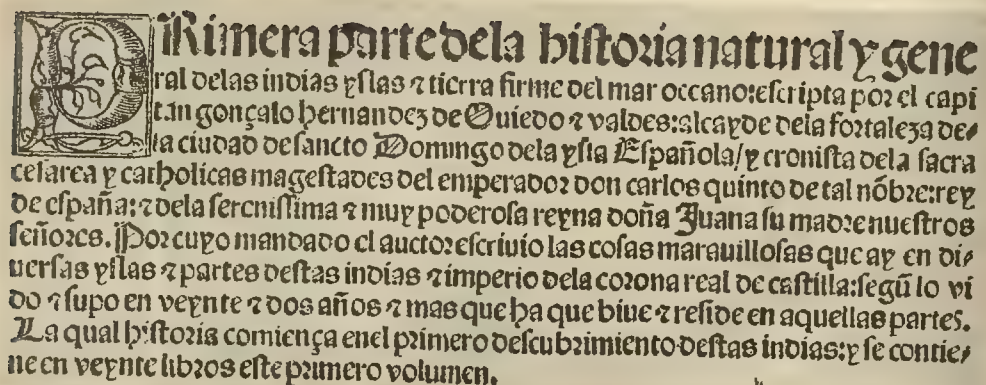
Some do not use the lint, but twist the plant, wash it and then place it directly upon the wound. But this is for old wounds, which then heal rapidly.

Moreover in my house I have cured or have had cured many Indians and negro slaves and Spaniards, who were permanently healed of wounds which would have otherwise cost me much money for a surgeon. And I do not know even that he could have cured them; in this way without giving either money or thanks the patients are cured by God alone. . . The leaf of that plant is like the picture which is drawn here. [nⁱ^b-n^{ij}^a]

FIRST EDITION. Small folio (8⁴; a-z⁸; 2¹⁰ [last, blank, lacking]. Colophon on 2^{vij}^b).

NUMEROUS WOODCUTS.

MOROCCO, by Capé. Size of leaf: 11 1/4 x 7 13/16 inches. A considerable portion of the fore and lower border, etc., of the title has been extended, the missing part being skilfully, but inaccurately, supplied by pen-and-ink facsimile. (Bound with *Libro. xx. Dela segunda parte dela general historia delas Indias*, printed at Valladolid by Francisco Fernandez de Cordoua, 1557.)



VERSO OF THE TITLE OF OVIEDO, 1535

At the foot of folio xciiij (*Carta missiva*) the author has signed his name, "Fernandez"—his usual practise. This is barely recognizable, probably owing to the washing of the leaf. The arms of Oviedo occur on the v^o of the last leaf.

From the collections of the Del Monte family (21 June 1888, n. 363) and John Jay Paul, with the ex libris of both.

REFERENCES: Har., n. 207. C., n. 71. W., ii, 343 *et seq.* Wi., i, 114 ff., 186-187; ii, 135 ff., 343 ff. Safford, 549 *et passim* (v. in References, n. 2). Mason, 13-14. Steinmetz, in 2 *NQ.*, 100, p. 426. Comes, 15-16.

The *Historia General*, 1535, is much fuller than Oviedo's work of similar title published in 1526, with which it is sometimes confused. The earlier is an entirely different composition and does not contain any mention of the *taboca* or of *perebecenuc*. The edition of 1535 is complete in itself but Oviedo left a much fuller account of the "Indies" in manuscript. His death while the second part was in press, prevented the publication of the succeeding books, and his manuscript was scattered. Finally reassembled, the complete work, *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, was first printed by the Real Academia de la Historia, at Madrid, 1851-1855.

This first volume, 1535, contains nineteen books and a portion of the fiftieth, which deals with shipwrecks. The twentieth book (the first book of the second part) was printed in 1557.

Fewer than ten copies of the 1535 edition appear to be recorded. There is an example in the British Museum, John Carter Brown, Huntington, New York Public (Lenox) libraries and the Library of Congress.

Oviedo's *Historia General* is an extensive collection of facts relating to the natural history of the West Indies, etc., the customs of the natives and the existing political conditions of the far-flung Spanish colonies. Prescott considered that the author showed an enlightened curiosity and a shrewd spirit of observation which placed him far above the ordinary range of chroniclers. He was, he says further, indefatigable in amassing material for his narratives. Part of his work, however, was based on uncertain sources and popular traditions—a reason, perhaps, why much of the information he presents is inconsistent, contradictory and perplexing.

Las Casas (v. n. 2, concluding notes), who despised Oviedo, wrote, "[He] should have written at the head of his history: This book was written by a conqueror, robber and murderer of the Indians, whole populations of whom he consigned to the mines, where they perished." ("Gen. Hist. de las Yndias," Cap. XXIII, MS.; quoted by Har., p. 257, n. 16.)

* * *

No. 4-a This library contains also the succeeding (augmented) edition of this work, *Coronica delas Indias, La hystoria general de las Indias agora nueuamente impressa corregida y emendada. Y con la conquista del Peru*, Salamanca, 1547.

The chapter on tobacco, the cut of the nostril-tube (reengraved), and the other passages given in n. 4 occur on the same pages in this edition.

CARTIER, Jacques (1491-1557)

BRIEF RECIT. Paris, 1545.

[*Translation of title*] Brief recital and succinct narrative of the navigation made to the isles of Canada, Hochelaga [Montreal], Saguenay, and others, with the distinctive manners, language and ceremonies of the inhabitants thereof, most delightful to observe. [Publisher's device] With the privilege. Sold at Paris . . . by Ponce Roffet, called Faucheur, and Anthoine le Clerc Brothers. 1545.

TO A restless Breton mariner, Cartier, we owe the first observations published which clearly relate to the North American Indian custom of smoking tobacco in pipes. At Hochelaga (Montreal), sometime in 1535-1536, on his second voyage to Canada, he saw and wondered at the Iroquoian braves who thus inhaled smoke through elbow-pipes. His brief report of the practise suggests by inference that he had never observed the habit before, although he was constantly in association with sailors returned from the New World.¹

On D,² occurs Cartier's account,² which was first fully presented to English readers in 1580³ by John Florio, who translated it thus:

There groweth also a certain kind of Herb, wherof in Sommer they make greate prouision for all the yeare, making great accompt of it, and only men vse of it, and

¹ Cf. the *Introduction*, p. 20, n. 7.

² Thevet employed this passage. *V.* n. 8 [V⁶].

³ *V. infra*. Hacket's translation of Thevet (n.

11-A) was actually the first published description of pipe-smoking, etc., in English, but Thevet's text was a garbled version of Cartier's passage.

first, they cause it to be dried in the Sunne, then weare it aboute their necke wrapped in a little beastes skin made like a little bagge, with a hollow peece of stone or wood like a pipe:¹⁴ then when they please they make powder of it, and then put it in one of the endes of the fayd Cornet or pipe, and laying a cole of fire vpon

Brief recit, &

succincte narration, de la nauigation faicte es yslles de Canada, Hochelage & Saguenay & autres, avec particulieres meurs, langage, & ceremonies des habitans d'icelles: fort delectable à veoir.



Avec priuilege.

On les uend à Paris au second pillier en la grand
salle du Palais, & en la rue neufue nostredame à
l'enseigne de lescu de frâce, par Ponce Roffet dict
Faucheur, & Anthoine le Clerc freres.

1 5 4 5.

TITLE OF CARTIER, 1545

From the copy in the British Museum

it, at the other ende sucke so long, that they fill their bodies full of smoke, till that it commeth out of their mouth and nostrils, euen as out of the Tonnel of a Chimny. They say that this doth kepe them warm and in health; they neuer go without some of it about thē. We our selues haue tryed the same smoke, and hauing put it in our mouthes, it seemed that they had filled it with Pepper dust, it is so hote.¹⁵

¹⁴ I.e., a musical instrument.

¹⁵ Cf. the last excerpt in Lescarbot (n. 92).

The species used by the Indians was *Nicotiana rustica*, a wild tobacco inferior in quality to *N. Tabacum*. The latter was then practically unknown north of Mexico.

In his work on Cartier (*v. infra*), J. P. Baxter employed for his text the manuscript (n. 5589) in the Bibliothèque Nationale. In the vocabulary appended to Cartier's account are several words and phrases not published in the first edition of 1545. Among these occurs: "They call the herb which they use in their pipes during the winter, Quiecta."¹⁶ (P. 214 in Baxter.)

FIRST EDITION. Small octavo (A⁸; b⁸; C-F⁸).

PHOTOSTAT OF THE COPY IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. (Only two other copies are known: Bibliothèque Mazarin and the Preussische Staatsbibliothek.)

REFERENCES: Har., n. 267. C., n. 125. W., iv, 63-64. Singer, 130-131. *A Memoir of Jacques Cartier*, J. P. Baxter (1906), 261-296. Wi., i, 135-137, 184-185, 187. Dunhill, 37-38. Atkinson, n. 74. Comes, 41-42.

Cartier's "two Nauigations" were his first voyage up the Gulf of St. Lawrence, 1534, and his second, the ascent of the river as far as the present site of Montreal, in 1535. The original MS. of the first voyage was long lost, and Ramusio's Italian version, 1556, was the only early printed information relating to it. Not until the discovery of Cartier's manuscript, in 1867, was it known how widely the account in Ramusio differed from the facts related in the original.

Florio's translation depended upon Ramusio's version for the first voyage, and upon the *Brief Recit*, 1545, for the second. It first made available to English readers Cartier's relations of his explorations and appeared as: A shorte and briefe narration of the two Nauigations and Discoueries to the Northweast partes called Newe Fravnce: First translated out of French into Italian, by that famous learned man Gio: Bapt: Ramutius [Ramusio], and now turned into English by Iohn Florio: Worthy the reading of all Venturers, Trauellers, and Discouerers, London, 1580. The excerpt given above occurs on K.₁₁^{a-b}.

DODOENS, Rembert (1517-1585)

CRŨYDEBOECK. Antwerp, 1554.

[Translation of title] Herbal, in which the entire history of herbs used in physic, that is, the kinds, forms, names, natures, virtues and effects of those growing in this country as well as abroad, is fully expounded and described with greater diligence [than heretofore]. With accompanying illustrations of these plants from nature. Dedicated to the noble and most illustrious queen and lady, Lady Maria, Dowager Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, Regent and Sovereign of the Netherlands. By Dr. Rembert Dodoens, Physician of the city of Mechlin.

[Translation of colophon] Printed at Antwerp by Jan van der Loe . . . 1554.

¹⁶ Cartier seems to have been the only one to have recorded this word for tobacco, which is of uncertain origin. Prof. Dixon says of it (p. 28) "Transliterated into phonetic spelling, Cartier's word would probably be something like *kiyekta* (Cf. Iroquois, *ki-enkwa-thas*, *ki-yenkwa-l'as*, to put tobacco in one's

pipe) in which the *-yek-* may be a dialectic form of *yenkw*." Prof. Wiener (i, p. 185) says the word is apparently derived from the Iroquoian *quea* (: smoke), and gives fuller attention to it (p. 313) in "The Philological History of Tobacco in America" (*v.* in the References to the *Glossary*).



TITLE OF DODOENS, 1554

BECAUSE of its solanaceous characteristics it was quite naturally assumed by the old herbalists that tobacco was a variety of the familiar *Hyoscyamus*.¹ Apparently the earliest botanist to publish the opinion that it belonged in this genus

Hyoscyamus luteus.

Geelen Bilsen.



YELLOW HENBANE

The first published illustration of *N. Rustica*

Portugal and France.⁵ It was undoubtedly the *H. luteus* illustrated in this 1554 *Cruidenboeck* to which De l'Escluse referred when he wrote, in 1574,⁶ that Dodoens had become "acquainted with this species [of tobacco] about twenty years" earlier.

¹ V. the various entries under Henbane and *Hyoscyamus* in the *Glossary*.

² V. the *Introduction*, p. 9.

³ Henry Lyte, who made the first translation of this work into English (London, 1578), heads the chapter, "Of Henbane."

⁴ Comes (whose references are to the 1563 edition) iterates the statement that Dodoens had seen this

was the renowned Dodoens, and his classification² continued to be accepted up to the period of Linnaeus. In his general chapter on *Hyoscyami*³ Dodoens includes an account of *H. luteus* (yellow henbane), which gives its physical characteristics. Nothing in the text indicates that this "second variety" of henbane was of American origin, or of recent introduction into Europe, or that the cut of *H. luteus* which accompanies the text was intended to represent a tobacco plant. [MM_j^b-MM_{ii}^b] (In this regard it should be observed that when this chapter reappeared in his work of 1574, n. 17-A, Dodoens remarked that the plant was so rare that it was not to be found in Belgium except occasionally in gardens, and that it was of medicinal value. References are made there to the notices of "yellow hyoscyamus" in the works of Pliny, Dioscorides, and Galen. The opinions of these old writers are given as to which kind of *Hyoscyamus luteus* was and how they rated it for medicinal uses.) Dodoens had, therefore, confused a variety of henbane long known, with a rare plant occasionally seen in Belgium.⁴ That this was tobacco is indicated by the cut of *H. luteus* here, for this definitely illustrates *N. rustica* (var. *texana*, according to Comes, p. 71). If this cut was made from an example of the plant cultivated in Belgium (or even from an imported specimen), it indicates that this variety of tobacco was known there several years earlier than the first recorded appearance of *N. rustica* in

variety of *N. rustica* growing in Belgium before 1561, and remarks that the Belgian herbalist erred in classifying it as the "second kind" of *Hyoscyamus* (of Dioscorides and of Pliny), from which it differs completely except for some medicinal properties. (Pp. 62, 71, 75-76.)

⁵ Cf. n. 12.

⁶ See the last excerpt in n. 18.

FIRST EDITION. Folio (*6; ***; ***6; First part, A-P⁶; Second part, Aa-Nn⁶; Oo⁴; Third part, AA-MM⁶ [last, blank, except for printer's woodcut device on v⁹]; Fourth part, a-f⁶; g-h⁴; Fifth part, aa-ii⁶; kk-ll⁴; Sixth part, aaa-iii⁶; kkk⁴; Register, lll⁴; mmm⁶. Colophon on v⁹ of last. Each of the individual parts has a sectional title.).

WOODCUT PORTRAIT OF DODOENS (reproduced in n. 17-A) and several hundred woodcuts⁷ of plants largely derived from the octavo edition of Fuch's work, 1545. Cut of *H. luteus* on MM_{ii}^a.

ORIGINAL STAMPED VELLUM. Augsburg binding of late XVIth-early XVIIth century. Bound for the Jesuit College at Augsburg (Bavaria).⁸ The large panel-stamp bears the legend "Societatis Jesu Augustæ." Size of leaf: 12½ x 8½ inches.

Library stamp, Bibliothèque A. de Bruyne, Malines.

REFERENCES: BM. Arber, 72, 190. Bru., ii. Graesse, ii, 416. Pritzel, n. 2653. *Recherches historiques . . . sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de R. Dodoens*, P. J. van Meerbeeck (1841).

Dr. Garrison, who provides a brief account of Dodoens, writes that he was, like Gesner (n. 22) and Bauhin, a polyhistorian, now best remembered as a botanist. Born in Belgium, he became physician to Maximilian II and Rudolph II.

PANE, Ramon, in Peter MARTYR (1455-1526), translated by Richard EDEN (1521?-1576)

DECADES OF THE NEWE WORLDE. London, 1555.

On M_i^b and M_{ii}^{a-b} occur, respectively, the excerpts recorded in n. 2. They represent the first account in English of the strange inebriating powder, *cohoba*, long believed to be tobacco snuff.

FIRST (THE "TOY") EDITION. Small quarto ([a]-b⁴; a-d⁴; A-Z⁴; Aa-Zz⁴; AAa-ZZz⁴; AAAa-ZZZz⁴; AAAAa⁶. Colophon on v⁹ of last: ¶ Imprynted at London in Paules Church-| yarde at the signe of the Bell by | Roberte Toy. | Anno. Dñi. M. D. LV. |). With the additional unpagged leaf inserted between ff. 309 and 310, marked liii_{ii}.

OCCASIONAL WOODCUTS IN TEXT. (Some copies contain Belleró's map of America.)

CALF. Size of leaf: 7½ x 5½ inches.

"John Rawlins of [London] his Booke 1647" and "Wm. Chase," inscribed on the titles; Rawlins' and another contemporary owner's names written in the text.

From the library of Samuel L. M. Barlow (1889, n. 1577), with his bookplate.

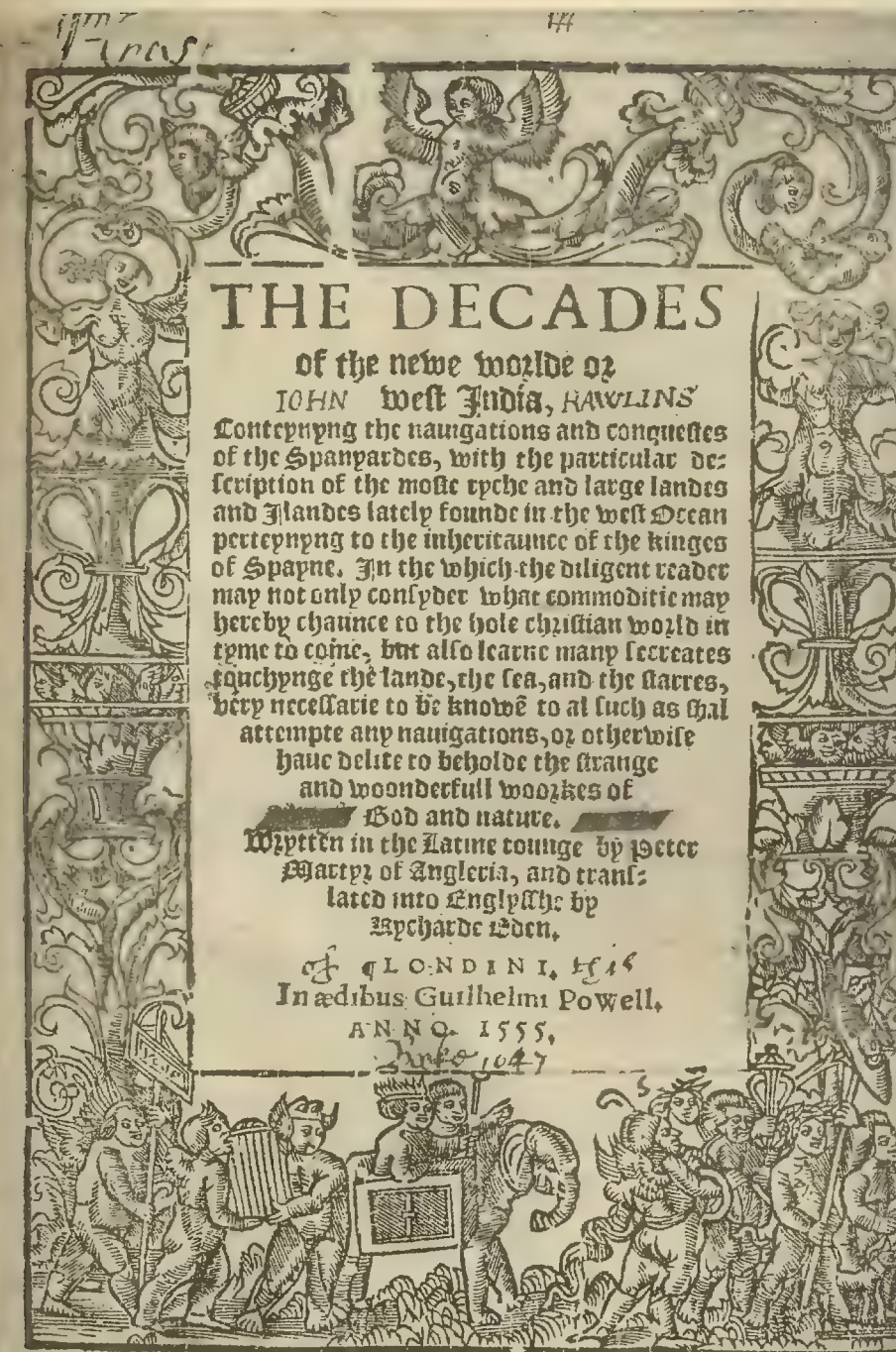
REFERENCES: STC., 648 [records three copies, but not this]. (There is another in the Lenox collection, New York Public Library.) C., n. 102. B., i, n. 196. *The First Three English Books on America*, Edward Arber (1895), 43-398. W., iii, 29 ff.

Four issues of this edition exist, alike in title and contents, but varying in the names of the printer in each colophon. No evidence of the priority of one over the other appears to have been adduced. The book was issued simultaneously by four printers, Richard Jug, William Seres, Edward Sutton, and Robert Toy. Copies are generally described by the printer's name.

⁷ Funck is of the opinion that the illustrations, for the most part, were designed by Fullmaurer and Meyer and engraved by Speckle of Strassburg (*Le Livre Belge à Gravures*, 1925, p. 305).

⁸ The binder is unknown. The information on the provenance of this binding, etc., has been derived from Mr. E. P. Goldschmidt through Mr. W. Griscome of the British Museum.

The chief portion of this work is composed of translations of Martyr's first Three Decades, and extracts from the last five. A précis of Cortes' first letter is included, as well as abstracts



TITLE OF MARTYR, 1555

from Oviedo, Pigafetta, Gomara, Vespucci, Münster, Ziegler, Ramusio, and other accounts of explorations in the new world. The bull of Pope Alexander VI, which divided the world between Spain and Portugal, is one of the interesting additions to the work.

L'HISTOIRE
NATVRELLE ET GENERALLE
DES INDES, ISLES, ET TERRE
FERME DE LA GRAND
MER OCEANE.
TRADVICTE DE CASTILLAN
EN FRANCOIS.

A PARIS,
De l'imprimerie de Michel de Vascosan, demeurant
rue saint Jacques, à la Fontaine.
M. D. LVI.
AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

TITLE OF OVIEDO, 1556

FERNANDEZ DE OVIEDO Y VALDÉS, Gonzalo (1478-1557), *translated by*
Jean POLEUR

1556

L'HISTOIRE NATVRELLE ET GENERALE DES INDES. Paris, 1556.

[*Translation of title*] The natural and general history of the Indies, islands, and mainland of the great ocean. Translated from Castilian into French. At Paris. From the printing-house of Michel de Vascosan . . . 1556. With the privilege of the King.

On n^v is the passage relating to the *taboca*, etc., recorded in n. 4, which, except for the slight omission of the physical description of the plant, is quite faithful to the original text.

FIRST FRENCH EDITION, SECOND ISSUE. Folio (a-y⁶ [a_v blank]; z⁴; A⁴). (The first issue was dated 1555.)

WOODCUTS IN TEXT; cut of *taboca* on n^v, reengraved from that in the first Spanish edition (n. 4).

CONTEMPORARY SHEEP. Size of leaf: 12¹³/₁₆ x 8³/₄ inches.

REFERENCES: S., xiv, n. 57993. Palau, iii, 215. W., ii, 346. Har., 340, n. Atkinson, n. 104.

This version of Oviedo (now a very rare volume) contains only the first ten books of the original edition of 1535. The translator is said to have been *valet de chambre* to Francis I.

THEVET, André (1502-1590)

1558

LES SINGVLARITEZ DE LA FRANCE ANTARCTIQUE. Antwerp, 1558.

[*Translation of title*] The Singularities of Antarctic France, otherwise called America, and of several lands and islands discovered in our time. By Brother André Thevet, native of Angoulême. [Plantin's device] At Antwerp, from the printing-house of Christopher Plantin . . . 1558. With the privilege of the King.

SOMETIME in 1555, Thevet, a Franciscan friar, in the strange new land of Brazil, observed a native custom of inhaling smoke, which he thought worthy of note. By reporting this curious operation in his book he presented the first clear notice of the cigar and its use.¹

Thevet was but a few months in America, returning to France in 1556; and if the claim he advances in his *Cosmographie Universelle* (n. 21) be true, he was the original introducer of tobacco seeds into his native land.²

There is a nother secrete herbe which they name in their language *Petun*, the which most commonly they beare about them, for that they esteeme it maruellous profitable for many things, this herbe is like to our Buglos.³ They gather this herbe very charely, and dry it [in the shade⁴] within their litle cabanes or houfes. Their maner to vse it, is this, they wrappe a quantitie of this herbe being dry in a leafe of a Palme tree which is very great, & fo they make rolles of the length of a

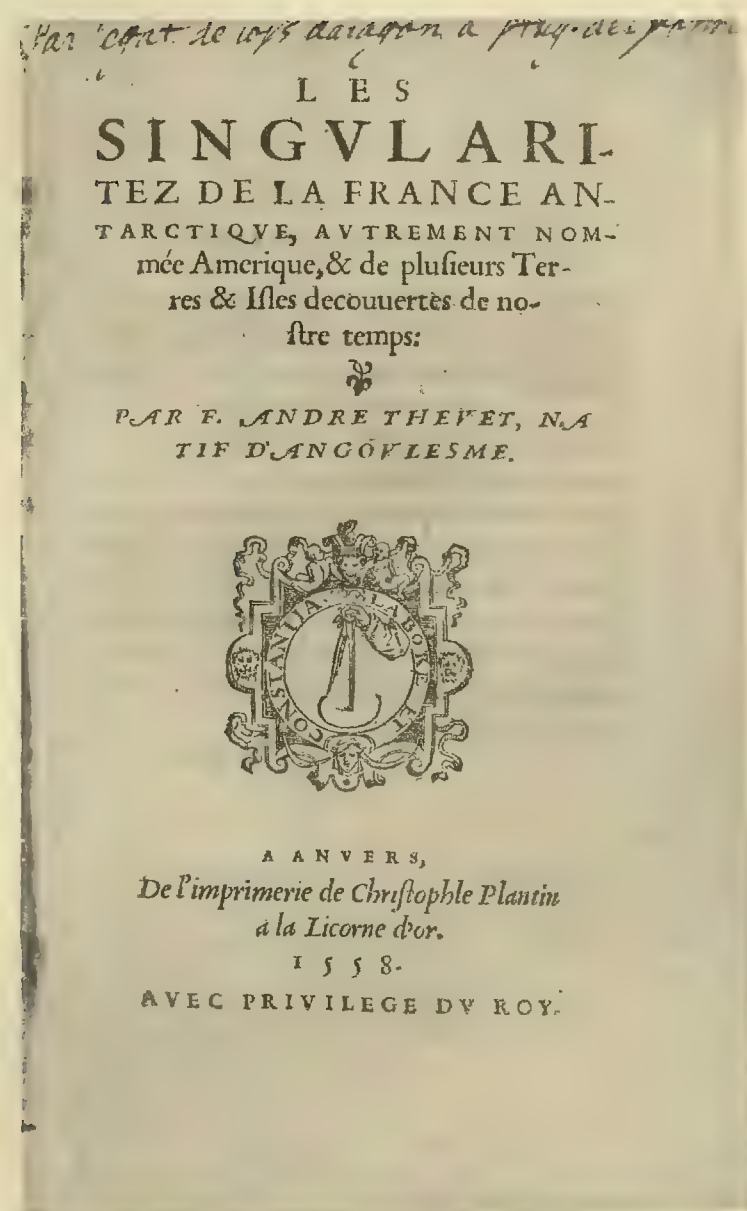
¹ Oviedo's chapter on *tabacos* (n. 4) referred only obscurely to cigars. His account of this object, seen in Nicoya (v. *ibid.*, n. 7), was still unpublished, as were the references to cigars in the writings of Columbus (v. the *Introduction*, pp. 17-18), and Las Casas (v. in n. 14).

² V. introductory and concluding remarks, n. 21.

³ The translation here employed was made by Hacket (n. 11-A).

⁴ The words bracketted (except those obviously explanatory) are additions from the original text, or corrections of Hacket's phrases, chiefly by Singer.

cādle, & than they fire the one end, and receiue the fmoke therof by their nose and by their mouthe. They fay it is very holefome to clenfe & confume the superfluous humors of the brain. Moreouer being taken after this fort, it kepeth the parties from hūger & thirst for a time, therefore they vse it ordinarily. Also whē they haue any secrete talke or coūfel among them felues, they draw this fmoke, & then



TITLE OF THEVET, 1558

they fpeake. The which they do customably one after another in the [councils of] warre, [for which purpose] it is very needeful. The women vse it by no meanes. If that they take too much of this perfume, it will make them light in the head, as the smel or tast of strong wine. The christiāns that do now inhabite there, are become very desirous of this [herb and] parfume, although y^t the first vse thereof is

not without danger, before that one is accustomed therto, for this fmoke caufeth sweates & weakenesse, euen to fall into a *Syncope*, the which I haue tried in my selfe. And it is not so strannge as it seemeth, for there are many other fruits that offende the braine, though that the tast of them is plesāt & good to eat.¹⁵ [*I*₃^{a-b} in Thevet; *H*₁^{a-b} in n. 11-A.]

Thevet unquestionably derived from Cartier (n. 5), whose work he acknowledges, the following notice of pipe-smoking among the Canadian Indians. It is pretty certain that he himself was never in Canada, and the inexact description of a pipe he gives here indicates that he had never observed the use of that instrument there.



BRAZILIAN INDIAN SMOKE THERAPY
The first illustration depicting the aboriginal use of tobacco smoke in the treatment of a malady.⁶



A BRAZILIAN INDIAN SMOKING
An illustration of how the Indians made fire. There is no reference to the smoker in the text.

Furthermore there is a litle fede very small like to Marioram [marjoram] feede, which bringeth forth an herbe somwhat great. This herbe is maruelloufly esteemed: also they drie it in the Sunne, after that they haue gathered a greate quantitie, and customably they hāg it about their neck, being wrapped in [little pouches of the skin of some animal. They have a kind of hollow trumpet (thorne) into one end of which they put some of the herbs thus⁷] dried, which after that they haue rubbed it a litle betwene their hāds, they put it to the fire, & so receiue the fmoke by the other end of ye horn into their mouths and they take therof in

¹⁵ It is occasionally remarked that the natives of Brazil never availed themselves of the pipe but smoked only cigars (*v. La., Europe*, p. 49). While references to the pipe in Brazil are infrequent, the use of that instrument by the aborigines there was reported by Cabral (*i.e.*, Osorio—*v. supra*, p. 20, n. 6), Nieuhoff, in 1650 (*v. Dunhill*, pp. 75–76), and later explorers. *V.*, too, Dunhill (pp. 76, 82 and 103), Wissler's map (reproduced in the *Introduction*, p. 18), and the *Introduction*, p. 15, n. 9.

⁶ *V. Singer*, pp. 128, 132 ff. The survival of the practise illustrated is recorded by W. C. Farabee. He observed a chief of the Parukutus who blew tobacco smoke upon a sick child's head—apparent proof of an old tribal custom (*The Central Caribs*, University of Pennsylvania, Anthropological Publications, 1924, Vol. X, p. 190). *V. Farabee's* "In-

dian Tribes of Eastern Peru" (referred to in n. 2, n. 21) for other ceremonies of medicine men depending upon tobacco smoke, etc., and Mason, p. 8.

The act of exhaling smoke over persons or objects, for religious purposes, too, was a long-established custom in North and South America. *V. the Introduction*, pp. 23–28, and *cf. nos. 10 and 315*.

⁷ Hacker's phrase here reads: "being wrapped in leather with a kinde of thorne, hauing a hole in one end, whereās they put an end of this herbe, being this dried . . ." This accurately translates the passage in Thevet's text. It was Singer's opinion that the errors corrected by him, and the words supplied, provide internal evidence that Hacker had never seen tobacco smoked. But the translator was not at fault here, and he could hardly have recognized the pipe from Thevet's incorrect account.

fuch quantitie, that it cometh forth both at the nose and at the eyes. And after that forte they parfume them all houres in the daye: The people of *America* [*i.e.* Brazil], doe parfume them after an other maner, as we haue before shewed. [*V*₆^a in Thevet; *R*_{vj}^a in n. 11-A.]

SECOND EDITION (*v. infra*). Small octavo (*A-X*⁸; *Y*⁴).

NUMEROUS WOODCUTS IN TEXT, after the school of Cousin, Goujon, and Pilon. (They are reduced and engraved [by A. van Londerzeel, says Gaffarel] from the cuts in the first edition and are not very good copies of the originals.)⁸ The two reproduced occur on *M*₆^b and *O*₃^a.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CALF. Size of leaf: 6¼ x 3⅓ inches.

With the arms of Joseph Bonnier, Baron de la Mosson [1702-1744], impressed on the front cover, and his name on the reverse cover. Title inscribed by an early owner, "Par legat de Loys d'Aragon a Aug. delfonn" [?].

From the collections of Maréchal Bonnier de la Mosson (1745) and the Earl of Ashburnham (1898, n. 3721).

REFERENCES: C., n. 108. W. (Dexter), iv, 11-12, 30-31. Singer, 131 ff. Wl., i, 131 ff. *Les Singularitez*, ed. Paul Gaffarel (1878). La., *Europe*, 48-49. Atkinson, 116. Comes, 30 ff.

Thevet's work was first published at Paris, 1557. The passages given above occur in the original edition on *p*_{iiii}^{a-b}, and *Q*_i^a, respectively.

The Paris edition of 1558 is of the same impression, except for the title-page, and may be regarded as the second issue. Some students are inclined to believe that the Anvers edition preceded that issued at Paris, 1558, but it seems impossible, from the available evidence, to establish the priority of one over the other. Of the two publications of 1558, Rodrigues (No. 2359) thought that brought out at Anvers the rarer. Winsor remarks that in the eagerness of the public for this edition, it was hurried through the press to the detriment of the text.

A copy of the Anvers edition, 1558, will be found in the British Museum, Huntington, John Carter Brown, New York Public (Lenox), and Harvard College libraries.

When the "wily and false" Nicholas Durand (whose assumed name was Villegagnon) went to establish a French colony on the coast of Brazil, in 1555, Thevet accompanied the party as a volunteer. The attempt at colonisation was a failure. Thevet's observations and account of his experiences were considered unreliable by some contemporaries, and his statements were challenged by De Léry, Belleforest, and others. The former, who went to Brazil after Thevet's return to France, wrote an account of the enterprise (n. 26) and in the second edition of that work devoted a preface to an exposure of the "errors and impostures" of Thevet. It has been suggested by George Dexter (W., iv, pp. 31-32) that some allowance be made for the *odium theologicum* of De Léry, a Calvinist, disputing with Thevet, a monk. But even so late an editor as Paul Gaffarel⁹ commences his biographical account by admitting the imperfections of Thevet's relation.

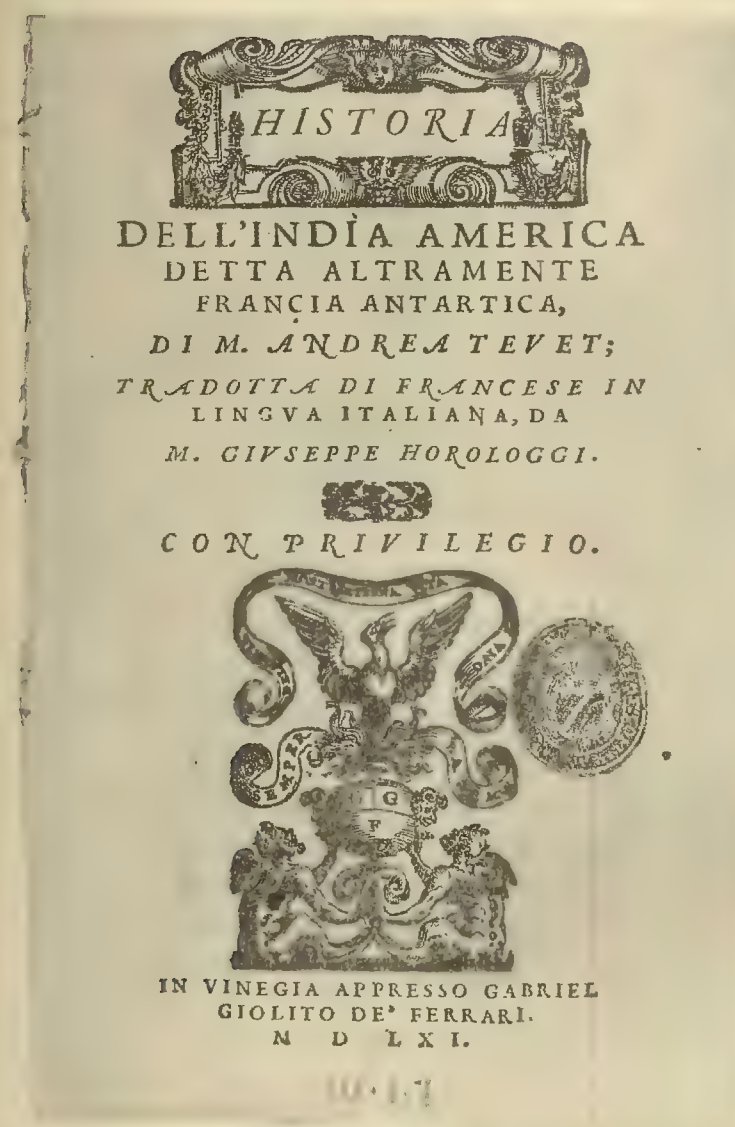
It has been pretty well established that Thevet never made the voyage along the American coast of which he pretends to give an account. Henry Stevens (quoted in C., No. 107) said, however: "André Thevet was a good, honest, credulous writer, who knew personally all the contemporary French navigators to Canada and Brazil, and believed everything they told him. His book therefore has great value as an honest record, but must be read with care and caution!" But to Winsor (viii, pp. 391-392) he was "a mendacious Franciscan."

After the publication of this book, Thevet became almoner to Catherine de Medici and later historiographer, cosmographer and *garde des curiosités*. Cf. n. 21.

⁸ De Bry made use of the same cuts later.

⁹ *V.* n. 21, n. 13.

HISTORIA DELL'INDIA AMERICA. Venice, 1561.



TITLE OF THEVET, 1561

[*Translation of title*] History of American India, otherwise called Antarctic France, by André Thevet, translated from French into the Italian language by Giuseppe Orologio. With the privilege. [Giolito's device] At Venice, from the press of Gabriel Giolito of Ferrara. 1561.

On *I*_{iii}^{a-b} and *X*_{vij}^a, respectively, occur the passages relating to *petun* and to pipe-smoking in Canada, as recorded in n. 8.

FIRST ITALIAN EDITION. Small octavo (*8; **8; *A-Z*⁸ [last, blank]. Colophon on *Z*₆^b; printer's large device on *Z*₇^a).

ORIGINAL VELLUM. Size of leaf: 5⅓ x 3⅞ inches. Undecipherable library stamp on title.

REFERENCES: B., i, n. 236. C., n. 112. W. (Dexter), iv, 31. Field, n. 1547.



HYOSCYAMUS TERTIUS
From the 1563 edition of Mattioli

MATTIOLI, Pietro Andrea (1500–1577), trans. by Georg HANDSCH (1529–1578)

NEW KREÜTERBUCH. Prague, 1563.

[Translation of title] New Herbal, with most beautiful and accurate illustrations of every plant, of which the like has never appeared before in any language. By the learned and renowned Dr. Pietro Andrea Mattioli, counsellor to His Majesty, the Holy Roman Emperor and personal physician to His Serene Highness Archduke Ferdinand. First published in Latin, then translated into German by Georg Handsch, M.D., and finally published for the general use and welfare of the German people. Ornamented with many fine new [cuts of] experiments on ingenious distiller's stoves; three well-arranged indices and other conveniences [for the readers] as may be seen by the preface. [Printers' devices] Printed at Prague by Georg Melantrich of Aventin at his expense and that of Vincent Valgrisi at Venice, 1563. With full privileges and permission of His Majesty, the Holy Roman Emperor.

Neu Kreüterbuch

Mit den allerschönsten vnd artlich-
sten Figuren aller Geweß / dergleichen vor-
mals in keiner sprach nie an tag kommen.

Von dem Hochgelehrten vnd weit-
berühmbten Herrn Doctor Petro Andrea Matthiolo, Rö: Kay:
May: Rath/ auch derselben/ vnd Fürstlicher Durchleuchtigkkeit Er-
herzog Ferdinanden 11. Leibdoctor. Erstlich in Latein
gestellt. Folgendes durch Georgium Handsch/ der
Ärney Doctorem verdeutscht/ vnd endlich
zu gemeinem nutz vnd velfart Deut-
scher Nation in druck
vrfertigt.

Gezieret mit vilen feinen neuen experimenten/ künstlichen
Distillierstößen/dreien wolgeordneten Registern/vnd andern
nutzbarkeit/wie auß der Verrieb zuerschen.



Gedruckt zu Prag/ durch Georgen Melantrich von Aventin/ auff
sein vnd Vincenit Valgrisi Buchdruckers zu Venedig vnterschen.

M. D. LXIII.
Mit Röm: Kay: May: Freyheit vnd Privilegien.

TITLE OF MATTIOLI, 1563

THE tobacco plant (chiefly *N. rustica* at first) as a garden ornament and botanical curiosity had spread throughout most of Western Europe by the time Mattioli published this German edition of his great herbal. The famous botanist illustrated his notice of the "third kind of Hyoscyamus" with a cut (as reproduced) of *N. rustica* var. *texana* (on Hhhⁱⁱⁱ^b). It appears to be the second original illustration of this variety of tobacco published, having been preceded by that in Dodoens' *Crüjdeboek*, 1554 (n. 5-A), and was the first to occur in a German work.

In his brief description¹ of the physical appearance of this botanical rarity Mattioli says nothing of its American origin nor does he relate it to the "physic" plant recently introduced into France by Nicot (v. n. 12). He recognized its rarity among the varieties of Hyoscyamus by remarking that it was occasionally observed in gardens as a "foreign guest." As the specimen he illustrates here seems to have been sent to him during his stay in Bohemia by a friend in Italy (v. n. 11, excerpt), there was apparently no example of tobacco then available in Bohemia. [Hhhⁱⁱⁱ^b—Hhhⁱⁱⁱ^a]

FIRST EDITION IN GERMAN. Folio (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, each in sixes; 6, in eight; A-Z⁶; a-z⁶; Aa-Zz⁶; Aaa-Zzz⁶; Aaaa-Dddd⁶. Melantrich's large device on Dddd^v^b; printers' devices on v^o of last leaf; r^o blank.).

SEVERAL HUNDRED WOODCUTS OF PLANTS; portrait of Mattioli.

OLD SHEEP. Size of leaf: 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

REFERENCES: BM. Graesse, iv, 446. V. those in n. 11.

This German edition was preceded by one in the Bohemian language, Prague, 1562, which does not, however, contain the cut or account of "III Hyoscyamus." For an interesting notice of it see "A Little-Known Bohemian Herbal," by S. Savage, *Transactions*, Bibliographical Society (London, Sept., 1921), pp. 117 ff.

Mattioli, regarded by many authorities as the greatest Italian herbalist after Fabio Colonna, was physician to Archduke Ferdinand in Bohemia and to Emperor Maximilian II.

BENZONI, Girolamo (1519-1570?)

LA HISTORIA DEL MONDO NVOVO. Venice, 1565.

[*Translation of title*] The History of the New World, by Girolamo Benzone of Milan. Treating of the islands and seas newly discovered, and also of the new towns seen by him [in travelling] by water and by land during fourteen years. [Portrait of Benzone] With the privilege of the illustrious Seignior of Venice, for twenty years.

[*Translation of colophon*] At Venice. From the press of Francesco Rampazetto. 1565.

IN THE course of his peregrinations about Central America and the West Indies between 1541 and 1555, Benzone, a young Milanese, observed the primitive method of inhaling, swallowing and retaining the smoke of crude cigars for the purpose of inducing stupor. A comparison of part of his account with that of Oviedo (n. 4) suggests that Benzone was familiar with the Spaniard's testimony and, perhaps, with that of Ramon Pane (n. 2). Writing of this custom later, he may have derived

¹ Cf. that in n. 11 which repeats the botanical information.



TITLE OF BENZONI, 1565

some of his information from these sources. He repeats the first statement of Oviedo, as corrected below, that the act of smoking (or the smoke?)¹ was called *tabaco*.

Benzoni's passing reference to the Indian method of curing tobacco leaves adds a little to Thevet's notice of it (n. 8). A rather obscure phrase in the conclusion of the following passage confirms the evidence provided by the illustration reproduced in Thevet (*ibid.*) that medicine-men employed tobacco smoke in the treatment of patients—an ancient custom still practised by some primitive South American tribes.²

It should be observed that Benzone, who travelled extensively in the territories where tobacco was first discovered by white men, nowhere mentions that he saw it employed by Indians in antiseptic applications.³

¹ V. n. 4, n. 7, and the quotation in ¶ 1 of n. 9.

² V. the Farabee reference in n. 8, n. 6.

³ McGuire (p. 376) quotes a passage from Benzone

which would seem to contradict this assertion. But it is not to be found in Benzone. He appears to have intended his reference to relate to Monardes.



TOBACCO NARCOTISM

tight together; then they set fire to one end, and putting the other end into the mouth, they draw their breath up through it, wherefore the smoke goes into the mouth, the throat, the head, and they retain it as long as they can, for they find a pleasure in it, and so much do they fill themselves with this cruel smoke, that they lose their reason. And there are some who take so much of it, that they fall down as if they were dead, and remain the greater part of the day or night stupefied. Some men are found who are content with imbibing only enough of this smoke to make them giddy, and no more. See what a pestiferous and wicked poison from the devil this must be.^[4] It has happened to me several times that, going through the provinces of *Guatemala* and *Nicaragua*, I have entered the house of an Indian who has taken this herb, which in the Mexican language is called *tabacco*,^[5] and immediately perceiving the sharp fetid smell of this truly diabolical and stinking smoke,^[6] I was obliged to go away in haste, and seek some other place.^[7]

In *La Española* [Haiti] and other islands, when their doctors wanted to cure a sick man, they went to the place where they were to administer the smoke, and when he was thoroughly intoxicated by it, the cure was mostly effected. On returning to his senses, he told a thousand stories, of his having been at the council of the gods, and other high visions. [*G_{vj}^a—G_{vij}^a* in Benzoni; pages 80–82 of the translation made by W. H. Smyth—*v. infra*.]

⁴ *V. the Introduction*, p. 56, n. 1.

⁵ *Tabacco* was not a Mexican term for tobacco or its accessories. Benzoni's memory (or source) was imperfect here, or he was merely employing a popular word as a generic term for smoking, etc. The word *tabaco* (in various forms) was at first confined to the West Indies. In Mexico at that period, tobacco was known by the Aztec designation *yetl*, and its variations. *V. Hernández*, n. 114.

⁶ In this last sentence Smyth does not translate the passage in the original edition, 1565. It is from the altered, posthumously published version of 1572. Accurately rendered it reads: "I have happened to smell it even when merely walking along the road

In this island [Hispaniola], as also in other provinces of these new countries, there are some bushes, not very large, like reeds, that produce a leaf in shape like that of the walnut, though rather larger, which (where it is used) is held in great esteem by the natives, and very much prized by the slaves whom the Spaniards have brought from Ethiopia. When these leaves are in season, they pick them, tie them up in bundles, and suspend them near their fireplace till they are very dry; and when they wish to use them, they take a leaf of their grain (maize) and putting one of the others into it, they roll them round

in the province of Guatemala and Nicaragua; or on entering the hut of an Indian who had been taking this smoke, which the Mexicans call *tabacco*, suddenly smelling the sharp stench, I was forced to decamp with great rapidity."

The correction was made by one well qualified to offer his opinion, Andrew Steinmetz (2*NQ*, No. 100, pp. 425 ff.). Cf., also, De Léry's remark that the phrase had been inaccurately translated (n. 29, at n. 1).

⁷ To this passage Smyth appended a footnote, remarking: "Surely the royal author of the famous 'COUNTERBLAST' must have seen this graphic and early description of a cigar." If he did not, Wake remembered it, as he shows in n. 85.

FIRST EDITION. Small octavo (8⁴; A–Y⁸ [last, blank, lacking]. Colophon on Y^{vij}^b).

WOODCUTS IN TEXT. That which illustrates the passage above occurs on G^{vij}^a.

OLD CALF. Size of leaf: 5¹³/₁₆ x 3¹¹/₁₆ inches.

REFERENCES: Hakluyt Soc. edition, ed. W. H. Smyth (1857). S., ii, n. 4790. B., i, n. 253. W., ii, 346–347. Field, n. 117. Wi., i, 137–139. Comes, 16, 18.

Although the value of Benzoni's observations has been disparaged by later historians, his less critical contemporaries found his *Historia* of such interest that the original edition was succeeded by many coeval translations. Part of its popularity was undoubtedly due to its criticisms of the Spaniards, and it appears never to have been permitted to circulate in Spain.

It was Benzoni who first published a long-popular fable: the story of Columbus and the egg.

MATTIOLI, Pietro Andrea (1500–1577)

COMMENTARII IN SEX LIBROS. Venice, 1565.

[*Translation of title*] Commentaries, in six books, of Pietro Andrea Mattioli, doctor of Sienna, on the materia medica of Pedanius Dioscorides of Anazarbos. Revised anew by the author himself, with more than a thousand additions. With large and new pictures of plants and animals drawn from life, many more than were in the earlier editions. There are also references in the margins to the greatest possible number of Greek texts, drawn from the oldest codices, which restore the corrupted text of Dioscorides himself. With the most complete indices both to the herbals and to the medical material. With fullest privileges, which may be seen immediately after the preface to the readers. [Valgrisi's device] At Venice, from the printing-house of Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1565.

THE introduction of the tobacco plant into Italy followed closely upon its first appearance in France, *c.* 1560 (*v.* n. 12). The traditional date is 1561, at which time its sponsor, Cardinal Prospero di Santa Croce (1513–1589), then on a diplomatic mission to Lisbon as papal nuncio, is said to have sent (or brought) the seeds of tobacco into Italy. The sort he introduced is pretty certain to have been *N. rustica* (var. *texana*), then well known in Portugal.¹ It was at first employed only medicinally, as in Portugal and France. In honor of the cardinal's association with the plant his name was bestowed upon it—*Herba Santa Croce*—a designation chiefly popular in Italy (*v.* n. 66). *N. Tabacum* was certainly sent into that country a few years later.

But it is very likely that the custom of smoking may have been introduced in southern Italy early in the XVIth century because of the Spanish control of the Kingdom of Naples then. If it was practised there by foreign soldiers it would have been of only infrequent occurrence and, as venereal diseases had accompanied the mercenaries returned from America, this novel custom would have been regarded with suspicion

¹ The cut of *Herba Santa Croce* in n. 66 is, however, of a variety of *N. Tabacum*.

Petri Andreae
MATTIOLI
 SENENSIS
 MEDICI,

Commentarii in sex libros Pedacii Dioscoridis
 Anazarbei de Medica materia,

IAM DENVO AB IPSO AVTORE RECOGNITI,
 ET LOCIS PLVS MILLE AVCTI.

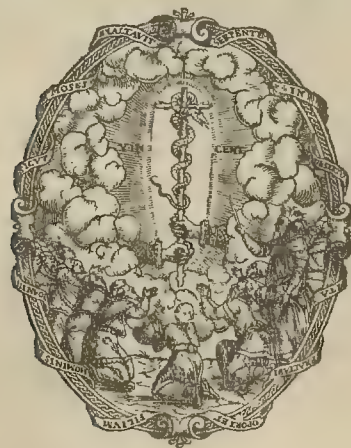
Adiectis magnis, ac nouis plantarum, ac animalium Iconibus, supra priores
 editiones longè pluribus, ad uiuum delineatis.

Accefferunt quoque ad margines Graeci contextus quàm plurimi, ex antiquissimis codicibus
 desumpti, qui Dioscoridis ipsius deprauatam lectionem restituant.

CVM LOCVPLETISSIMIS INDICIBVS, TVM AD REM

Herbariam, tum Medicamentariam pertinentibus. 10
n. 31. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

CVM PRIVILEGIIS AMPLISSIMIS,
 vt videre est statim post Praefationem ad Lectores.



VENETIIS,
 Ex Officina Valgrifiana. M D LXV.

TITLE OF MATTIOLI, 1565

by the people there. It needed, says Labat, the authority of princes of the church to dissipate this fear and to encourage Italians to indulge in the Indian habit of inhaling smoke as a social luxury (v. n. 538).

By the time Mattioli completed his enlarged popular commentary on Dioscorides (of whom he was a devoted disciple) he was able to add a little to the brief notice of the "new variety of Hyoscyamus" which he had published in 1563 (n. 9-A). His description and illustration of the plant appear to be the earliest published in Italy.

Some people have brought a certain new plant to Italy, really very beautiful to look at, which they include in the species Hyoscyamus. This puts forth half as many again stalks, round-branching, covered with fine down, and with wide, fat, soft leaves full of fine hair, bearing somewhat the appearance of soporific nightshade, but with a heavy odor. The flowers are yellow like Hyoscyamus. [Its color and parts are further briefly described.] It grows from a white root, a span in length, with numerous fibers on all sides, a finger-breadth thick. This was sent to me in Bohemia from Italy some time ago by J. Antonio Cortusi [etc.]. [*Vuuu*^{a-b}]

The cut of the plant (on *Vuuu*^b) is the same as that reproduced in n. 9-A. The caption has been altered from "III. HYOSCYAMUS" to "HYOSCYAMUS NIGER." The last word has been corrected to "Tertius" in a contemporary hand.

In relation to the introduction of tobacco into Italy, it should be noted here that specimens of *N. Tabacum* were sent into that country by Nicolò Tornabuoni, an amateur of botany. He was present in the court of France as papal nuncio and ambassador of Tuscany at the height of the interest in the Indian plant. The apparently successful operation of tobacco in curing various ailments caused him to send seeds to a relative, Bishop Alfonso Tornabuoni, at Florence, some time before 1574. (An account of this importation is provided by A. Cesalpino in his *De Plantis*, 1583, pp. 344-345.) Among those who became interested in the cultivation of the plant was the learned Duke Cosimo I de Medici. This variety became known as *erba tornabuona*, and a dried specimen of it was preserved in the Herbarium of Ferrara (1585-1598) classified as *tabacho* over *Herba Regina* ("tobacco or herb of the queen").

The fashion of smoking tobacco for pleasure did not take hold in Italy until some years had elapsed. It is said that credit for it is due Cardinal Crescenzo who, having acquired the habit from Virginio Orsino (who had learned it in England), made it known in Rome.² Both smoking and snuffing became rapidly popular among all classes in Italy after 1615. So widely, indeed, did these uses of tobacco develop that they were sometimes practised in church, even by the clergy—a matter which scandalized the stricter brethren and which was to call forth papal disapproval.³

FIRST LATIN EDITION OF THIS AUGMENTED VERSION. Folio (*⁶; **⁸; A-M⁶; A-Z⁶; Aa-Zz⁶; Aaa-Zzz⁶; Aaaa-Zzzz⁶; Aaaaa-Zzzzz⁶; Aaaaaa-Fffff⁶; Gggggg⁴; De Ratione Distillandi Aquas ex Omnibus Plantis, Hhhhhh⁶. Colophon on v^o and part of device on title on v^o of Gggggg⁴. Second device repeated on v^o of last leaf.).

WOODCUT PORTRAIT OF MATTIOLI, by Georg Handsch, on M₆, and over a thousand woodcuts of plants in text, by G. Liberale and W. Meierpeck (v. *infra*).

² Stella, n. 309, on N₄^b (citing Della Valle, *Viaggi*), and Hornstein (f. 1828), p. 12. Bergius (*Mat. Med.*, I, p. 121-122, cited by Comes, p. 83) gives the date

of this introduction as 1590, but the two authorities before cited indicate or imply that it was about 1615.

³ V. the *Introduction*, pp. 79-81.

ORIGINAL STAMPED VELLUM, over wooden boards, dated 1566, with the initials C. B. E. on front cover. Size of leaf: $14\frac{5}{16} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

The binder was Franz Lindener, who became a master binder at Wittenberg, 1535 (v. K. Haebler, *Rollen- und Plattenstempel*, 1928, i, pp. 260-261). C. B. E. has not been identified.

End-papers covered with notes in an early hand, and marginal annotations by several coeval readers. Among these is one alongside the excerpt given above, relating Mattioli's description of the new plant to tobacco.

From the collections of C. B. E., Christian Winkelmann (M.D., Halberstadt), and J. P. Moebius (1730). The last two were writers on medical subjects, recorded in Haller's *Bibl. Med. Prac.*, vol. iii. Their autograph signatures appear on the title.

REFERENCES: Arber, 81, 188, *et passim*. SG., 2d Ser., X. La., *Europe*, 8, 56. BM. Pritzel, 5985. Wi., ii, 151. Comes, 82 ff. Cf. those in n. 30.

The first edition of Mattioli's *chef-d'œuvre*, his *Commentarii in sex libros . . . Dioscorides*, was published at Venice, 1544.

Practically all the botanical information then available in Europe is to be found in the enlarged edition, 1565, the success of which was phenomenal. Its popularity may be partly ascribed to its inclusiveness and to Mattioli's open-handed credulity as to the charms and magical properties he thought inherent in certain plants.

Other editions followed the first—P. A. Saccardo, the Italian botanist, estimated there were more than sixty—but that of 1565 has always been most valued because of its superior illustrations and complete text. Valgrisi's publication of 1565 required nearly twice as many cuts as the prior editions,⁴ in order to meet the demands of the augmented text.

When he conceived his plan to produce a magnificent herbal to rival the best of the German publications, Mattioli employed an Italian artist, Giorgio Liberale da Udine, to copy numerous plants from nature. It is reported, too, that he was supplied with some sketches by the Italian professor, Luca Ghini, celebrated for his extensive botanical knowledge. Another artist was also concerned with the 1565 edition. Mattioli gives the names of both in the *Epistola nuncupatoria*: "Georgius Liberalis . . . et post ipsum Volgangus Meierpech Misnensis."

THEVET, André (1502-1590), translated by Thomas HACKET

THE NEW FOVND WORLDE. London, 1568.

BY HIS translation of Thevet (v. n. 8), Hacket presented the first account in English of a curious American custom—the smoking of tobacco by means of burning leaves wrapped into a small cylinder (the cigar), or in a pipe. These operations had undoubtedly already been practised by mariners who had returned to, or visited England.¹ The apparatus described by Thevet (second excerpt) would hardly have been familiar, as a tobacco pipe, even to the initiated.²

On H₁^{a-b} and R_{vj}^a, occur, respectively, the passages given in n. 8.

FIRST ENGLISH EDITION. Small quarto (*4; A⁴; B-S⁸; T⁴. Colophon, dated 1568, on re of last).

⁴ V. n. 9-A and the reference there to the Bohemian edition of 1562.

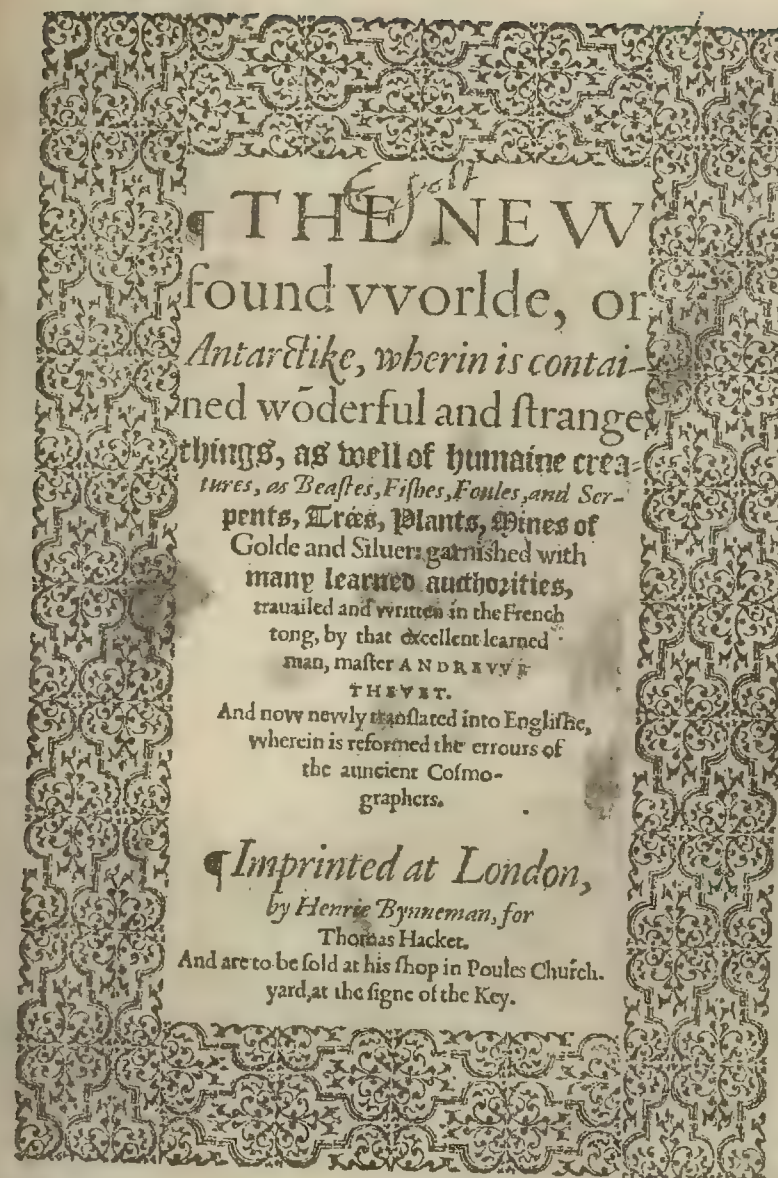
¹ Cf. *infra*, pp. 240-241.

² V. n. 8, n. 7.

No. II-A

[230]

THEVET



TITLE OF THEVET, 1568

Errors in foliation and signature marks occur as in the Church copy (No. 113), except that the running head-line of the dedication to the Cardinal of Sens here reads "The Epistle," not "The Preface | to the Reader." Sig. L_{111j} is correctly marked.

OLD CALF. Size of leaf: $6\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

From the library of the Marquess of Lothian (1932, n. 91), with the Newcastle Abbey library label and the armorial bookplate of William, Marquis of Lothian.

REFERENCES: STC., 23950. C., n. 113. J., i, 238. Singer, 133-135.

No. II-A

[231]

THEVET

L'AGRICVLTVRE ET MAISON RVSTIQUE. Paris, 1570.

[*Translation of title*] Agriculture and the country house, by Charles Estienne, Doctor of Medicine. In which is contained all that can be required to build a country house; provide for the changes and variations in the weather; prescribe for sick workmen; feed and give medicine to livestock and poultry of all kinds; lay out a kitchen garden and a physic garden, as well as flower-beds; manage honey bees; make conserves; confect fruit, flowers, roots, and barks; make honey and wax; plant, graft, and treat [surgically] all kinds of fruit trees; make oils and distil waters, with several pictures of alembics for the distillation of the same; stock fields, preserves, and ponds; cultivate grain fields; prune vines; plant woods of high trees and saplings; build a warren, a heronry, and a park for wild game. In addition, a brief account of hunting deer, wild boar, hare, fox, badger, cony, and wolf; and of falconry. To the very high and powerful lord Messire Anthoine de Crussol, Duc d'Uzès. At Paris, from the house of Jacques Du-Puys, licensed bookseller . . . 1570. With the privilege of the King.

BY 1570 tobacco was known to European botanists as a new plant from the Americas endowed with exceptional remedial powers. It was being cultivated in many gardens in Western Europe as an ornament and experimented with by some botanists, physicians and chemists, as will be shown. But up to this time no full description of the plant and its assumed remedial properties had been available.

A brief "and inaccurate" notice of tobacco appeared in Estienne's *Maison Rustique*, 1564,¹ which was corrected and increased by his son-in-law, Liébault, in the edition of the following year. It is the latter who is to be credited with the earliest detailed account of the subject, as it appears in this edition of 1570, and who first published the name for tobacco, *Nicotiane*,² by which it was so long known. He had, he says, private information concerning the plant from Jean Nicot³ himself (its supposed introducer into France), and thus he honored him.

The first translation into English of Liébault's chapter on *Nicotiane* (here employed) occurred in Frampton's version of Monardes, 1577 (n. 24). This has been thought by some to have been derived originally from Monardes.⁴ That author, however, nowhere refers to Nicot or to the introduction of the plant into France.

Nicotiane, although it bee not long since it hath beene knowen in Fraunce, notwithstanding it deserueth Palme and Price emong all other Medicinable herbes, it deserueth to stande in the first rancke, by reason of his singuler vertues, and as it were almost to be had in admiration, as hereafter you shall vnderstande. For that none suche as of auncient tyme, nor of late daies, that haue written the nature of plantes, did euer make mētion thereof. I haue therfore learned the whole History therof, the which I learned of a gentleman my very freende, the first authour, inuenter, & bringer of this hearbe into Fraunce, wherefore I thought good to publishe it by writyng for their fakes, that haue so often hearde speakyng of this faied hearbe, and yet neither knewe the Hearbe, nor the effectes thereof.

This Hearbe is called *Nicotiane*, of the name of hym that gaue the firste intelligence

¹ Steinmetz (*Ath.*, p. 974) is one of several authorities who make this statement. *V.*, too, n. 767.

² It is often stated that the name *Nicotiane* was first proposed by the Duc de Guise. *V.* Comes, p. 71.

³ Sieur de Villemain, 1530-1600.

⁴ Frampton failed to indicate that Liébault was the author of this chapter, and as it follows directly after Monardes' account of tobacco in the English translation (n. 24), the assumption was natural that it had been written by Monardes.

L'AGRICVLTVRE ET
MAISON RVSTI-
QVE DE M. CHARLES
ESTIENNE DOCTEUR
EN MEDICINE.

En laquelle est contenu tout ce que peut estre requis pour bastir maison champaigne, preueoir les changements & diuersitez des temps, medeciner les laboureurs malades, nourrir & medeciner bestial & volaille de toutes sortes, dresser iardin sās potager, medicinal, que parterre, gouverner les menisches à miel, faire Conserues, confire les fruicts, fleurs, racines & escorces, preparer le miel, & la cire, planter, enter & medeciner toute sortes d'arbres fruitiers, faire les huiles, distiller les eaux, avec plusieurs pourtraicts d'alembics pour la distillation d'icelles, entretenir les prés, viuiers & estangs, labourer les terres à grains, façonner les vignes, planter boys de haulte fustaye & taillis, bastir la Garenne, la Hauironniere, & le parc pour les bestes sauvages.

Plus vn bref recueil des chassies du Cerf, du Sanglier, du Lievre, du Regnard, du Blereau, du Counin, & du Loup: Et de la Fauconnerie.

Atreshault & trespuissant Seigneur, Messire
Anthoine de Crussol, Duc d'Uzès.

A PARIS,

Chez Jacques Du-Puys, Libraire iuré, demourant en la rue
saint Ican de Latran, à l'enseigne de la Samaritaine.

M. D. LXX.

AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

TITLE OF ESTIENNE AND LIÉBAULT, 1570

From the copy in the British Museum

thereof into this Realme, as manie other Plantes as haue taken their name of certaine Greekes and Romaines. . . . Some haue called this Hearbe the Queenes herbe,⁵ becaufe it was firste sente vnto her [Catherine de Medici], as hereafter shalbe declared by the Gentleman, that was the first inuenter of it, and since was

⁵ *V.* n. 17.

by her giuen to diuers for to fowe, where by it might be in this Lande [France]. Others haue named it the greate Priours hearbe, for that hee caufed it to multiplie in Fraunce, more then any other, for the great reuerence that hee had to his Hearbe, for the Diuine effectes therein contained.¹⁶ Many haue giuen it the name, *Petum*, whiche is in deede the proper name of the Hearbe, as they whiche haue traueiled that Countrey [Brazil—meaning South America—is implied], can tell. Notwithstandyng, it is better to name it *Nicotiane*, by the name of hym that fente it into Fraunce first, to the ende that he may haue the honour thereof, accordyng to his defert. For that he hath inriched our Countrey, with so singular an hearbe. Thus muche for the name, and now harken further for the whole Historie.

He then goes on to relate how Nicot, of the king's council, being ambassador to the King of Portugal, 1559–1561, once visited the prisons. He was there presented by the keeper⁷ with this herb as a strange plant brought from Florida. Nicot caused the plant to be placed in his garden where it grew and multiplied marvellously. A relative of one of Nicot's pages, who had long suffered with a *noli me tangere* (an eroding ulcer of the face, generally cancerous), experimented with the plant by making a poultice of its juice and crushed leaves. It created a sensation by curing him completely, excited the curiosity of Nicot and awakened the attention of the king's physician. Not long after, the ambassador's cook, mistaking his thumb for another piece of flesh, nearly dismembered it; he, too, was cured by the miraculous new plant. Thereafter the fame of the herb spread rapidly; it became known as "the ambassador's herb," and a number of people afflicted with ulcers, ringworms, "the king's evil" (scrofula), and the like, came to Nicot, used the leaves as directed, and were wholly cured. Having thus had proof of its great virtues Nicot sent specimens of the new plant, together with directions how to use it and an account of its remedial powers, to Francis II (1559–1560), to the Queen Mother, and to others⁸ at the court of France. His friend, the Lord of Jarnac, Governor of Rochelle, told one day at the queen's table how he had caused *Nicotiane* to be distilled, mingled with the water of euphrasia and drunk by one who was short-breathed (asthmatic) and who was thereupon wondrously cured.

This hearbe hath the stalke greate, berded and flymie, the leafe lardge and long bearded flymie, the doth growe in branches halfe foote to halfe foote, and is verry

⁶ *Herbe du grand Prieur* was a term sometimes applied to tobacco in compliment to the Great Prior of France, François, Duke of Lorraine, 1534–1563.

While the guest of Nicot at Lisbon, he had numerous occasions to witness the use of tobacco medicinally. Upon his return to France, he encouraged the cultivation of the plant. Perhaps impelled by curiosity or by the accounts found in Peter Martyr (n. 2), *et al.*, of the Indian methods of inhaling *cohoba*, he experimented with the powdered leaf of tobacco, then being grown in his garden, and discovered snuff. It is also probable that he had observed the medicinal use of snuff at Lisbon. Fermond (*Monographie du Tabac*, †, 1857, p. 22), among others, remarked that history relates that Nicot had sent a little box of tobacco snuff to the Queen Mother. In any event the Great Prior acquired such an earnest passion for the new sternutatory that it is said he consumed three ounces of it a day. (*Le*

Tabac Vengé, †, 1845, p. 20, cited by Fermond. *V.* also, Capus, Leulliot and Foëx, *Le Tabac*, †, 1929, vol. 1, p. 26, and *cf. n. 1* there.) He became its genial and active missionary, and, in the circles in which he moved, *tabac en poudre* or *tabac à priser*, etc. (its later names), became popular. The use made of medicated tobacco snuff by Catherine de Medici and her sons for the cure of headaches instituted a habit at court which soon lost its therapeutic purpose. But snuffing as a social custom did not become general among the aristocratic class until after the opening years of Louis XIII's reign.

⁷ According to another version, it was Damião de Goes, a Portuguese historian, etc., who made the gift and who, about 1558, first cultivated the plant in the royal garden at Lisbon (v. n. 28, at n. 3). It is said that he had acquired the seeds from a Flemish mariner returned to Portugal.

⁸ *V.* Nicot's letter, in the *Introduction*, p. 31.

full of leaues, and groweth in height foure or fue foote.¹⁹ In hot countries she is nine or tenne monethes in the yere laden, in one felfe tyme, with leaues flowers, and Coddess full of ripe graines, whiche is when they are waxed blacke, and to bee ripe, whiche is when they are yet greene, she sproutes forth neere the Roote muche, and reuiueth by a great quantitie of buddes, and notwithstanding the grain is the least seede in the world, and the rootes belike smale threedes. . . . *Nicotiane* doth require a fat grounde finely digged . . . She requireth the south Sunne, and to be planted by a wall . . . She groweth the better beyng often wattred . . . she hateth the cold [etc., etc.].

These were the first rules published relating to the cultivation of tobacco and concern the protection of the plant in winter, the method of removing the leaves, and of sowing the seeds, "40. or 50. graines in a hole in the grounde [made] with your finger." The time to sow it is in April.

As touchyng the vertues, it will heale *Noli me tangere*, all olde Soares, and cankered Ulcers, hurtes, Ringewormes, great scabbes, what euill foeuer bee in them, in stamping the leaues of the said hearbe in a cleane Morter, and applyng the hearbe and the Joyce [juice] together vpon the grieffe, and the parties muste abstaine from meate, that is, falte, fower, and fpiced, and from strong wine, except it bee well wattred.

It has other virtues. If the leaf be well dried and then cast upon a dish of burning coals, the smoke therefrom may be inhaled. The head must be well covered, and then will one void great quantities of phlegm—so much indeed that it will seem as if the body had been weakened by fasting. And if the dropsy hath not taken root, it is thought by some that this suffumigation will cure it.

[Moreover the inhabitauntes of Florida do norishe themselues certaine tymes, with the smoke of this Hearbe, the whiche thei receaue at the mouth through certain coffins,¹⁰ fuche as the Grocers do vse to put in their Spices.]¹¹ There be other

⁹ As Liébault appears to have had under consideration the plant introduced into France by Nicot from Portugal, it was the *N. rustica* (then prevalent in Florida) to which his account should be related. It was from Florida—by some then thought to be a vast continent, by others, an island, and by Liébault, apparently, a part of the South American mainland—that examples of this species, or their seeds, were first sent into Portugal (v. n. 29). The physical characteristics indicated by Liébault are thought by some students to fit *N. rustica*, although, in the next edition, 1574 (v. introd. to n. 28) he labels the plant "male petum," then a designation usually applied to varieties of *N. Tabacum*. Furthermore his chapters on *Nicotiane* in various translations later published (v. nos. 24, 28, 58, etc.) were illustrated with a cut of *N. Tabacum*. It is probable that at the time of composition Liébault had not seen the growing plant but had derived his information from Nicot (v. the end of his account).

Gohory (n. 17) charged Liébault with the commission of several mistakes in his description of the plant. According to De Léry (n. 26) botanists had been making the error of calling *petum* (Brazilian

N. Tabacum) *Necocienne* (*Nicotiane*), which he applied only to *N. rustica*. The nomenclature of tobacco was still arbitrary and confused. *Petum*, *tabaco*, *Nicotiane* (and its variations) sometimes served for both of the principal species of tobacco. *V.* Gerard, n. 50, and C. T.'s opinion on the classification of the plant, n. 120 (last excerpt).

¹⁰ A cigar is implied. The analogy of a coffin or cone was often employed in explanation. But it is certain from the reports of Sparke (v. *infra* pp. 240–241) and other visitors to Florida that the natives there were then accustomed only to the pipe.

¹¹ The original of the passage bracketted does not occur in all copies of the edition of 1570. It is omitted, for instance, in the British Museum copy (7073, c. 13), but is included in the copy at Harvard College (Fearing Collection). The latter is apparently of subsequent issue, as it contains textual additions and a fuller title, although both these editions are dated 1570. Frampton added for the benefit of English readers the explanatory phrase, "fuche as the Grocers do vse to put in their Spices." This passage occurs again, with a cut in the 1574 edition [B_{1v}^b]. *V.* an addition to this portion in n. 28 at n. 7.

oyntmentes prepared of the faied hearbe, with other fimples, but for a truth this only fimple hearbe, taken and applied as aforefaide, is of greater efficacie, notwithstanding one may make thereof an oyntment, which is fingular, to cleanfe, incarnate, and knit together all maner of woundes.

The first known medical recipe which included tobacco in its ingredients is given. A pound of the fresh leaves, mixed with new wax, rosin, common oil (each three ounces) boiled together until the juice of the tobacco be dissipated, and with three ounces of "Venice turpentine" added thereto, is strained through a cloth and makes a valuable unguent, to cure all manner of wounds.

Lo, here haue you the true Historie of *Nicotiane*, of the whiche the faied Lorde Nicot . . . hath made mee priuie aswell by woorde as by writyng, to make you (frendly Reader) partaker thereof, to whom I require you to yelde as hartie thanks as I acknowledge my felf bounde vnto hym, for this benefite receiued. [v₃^b-x₁^b in Liébault; L₁₁^a-M₁^a in n. 24.]

And thus ends Frampton's version of Liébault's text from the 1570 edition. Its next appearance in English occurred in Surflet's translation (n. 58) of the 1583 edition, in which the text is considerably augmented.

Liébault's relation has a unique place in the history of tobacco. It first (1570) disseminated the idea that the American plant, tobacco, had marvellous remedial powers, expressing thereby a belief of recent origin already popularly accepted. But no one appears to have used tobacco medicinally before *circa* 1560. There was no Indian tradition to that effect, and none of the earlier explorers had observed the use of tobacco by native Americans as an antiseptic or as a vulnerary.¹² Tobacco was not introduced into Europe as a medicinal plant.¹³

What had induced the supposed discoverer of its remedial virtues (an obscure Portuguese) first to use this "Indian vegetable" as a poultice? Had he, perhaps, read Oviedo's account of *perebecenuc* (n. 4) and thought it the same as the new herb that bloomed in Nicot's garden? Had some returned adventurer¹⁴ advertised that he had found its leaves effective as a vulnerary? Had, indeed, a local tradition confused tobacco with some old European simple of known worth because of physical likenesses? Or was the discovery but the result of a general attempt to find medicinal value in all the botanical products of the New World?

Only one certain fact emerges from the tangle of these unanswerable questions: it was before 1560, in or about Lisbon, that the gospel of tobacco as a panacea was evolved.

Thus falsely endowed with exceptional curative attributes (perhaps of a now unknown Indian simple) tobacco took its place in the materia medica of Europe as God's greatest gift to man. There it remained for more than two centuries—a remedy crowned sovereign by inexplicable chance—the "divine herb," "the panacea," a household necessity, first aid of physicians, and the chief ornament of the charlatan's cabinet!

Once the doctrine of tobacco's worth had been originated, it found numerous missionaries who advertised it with enthusiasm. Indeed, for no nostrum were more

¹² *V.* the reference to this subject, *supra*, p. 206.

¹³ *V.* the summary, given above, of the first cures

reported, and *cf.* Monardes, n. 15 at n. 2.

¹⁴ *V.* *supra*, p. 206, and n. 15 [B₄^{a-b}].

extravagant claims made than for tobacco.¹⁵ The elements of a therapeutic code were soon developed for it by physicians and others: it must not be taken with spiced meats or with wines, etc., etc., as by its nature it induced heat.¹⁶ It was "hot in the second [third, or fourth] degree," said the herbalists; and at a time when alchemy, astrology and witchcraft still warped an intelligent comprehension of the properties of plants and drugs, tobacco was gladly welcomed into the materia medica. Its real or imagined virtues developed a considerable literature and instituted heated, and occasionally absurd, controversies among physicians, botanists, students and laymen.

It will be readily observed that while the unguents, etc., partly composed of tobacco, were sometimes successful in healing certain sores and wounds, some credit must be given to their other ingredients. The medicinal use of the plant was not invariably effective—Liébault says so himself at the conclusion of his account of "male" *petum* in a later edition (v. n. 28), but he lays the failure to neglect in its proper cultivation or use. As one of the earliest propagators of the doctrine that tobacco was a panacea, he had a faith in the plant that was not to be lessened by the scoffing of skeptics or by occasional failure in operation.

FIRST EDITION OF LIÉBAULT'S AUGMENTED VERSION. Quarto (a⁴; e²; a-z⁴; A-Z⁴; Aa-Xx⁴). Clamorgan's *La Chasse du Loup*, at the end, is dated 1569. [Collation of the British Museum copy.]

The original edition of this work is not in this library, but it has been treated here because of its historical importance. Under n. 28 is described another edition, in German, which contains some valuable additional material.

REFERENCES: BM. La., *Europe*, 22, 50. Ferguson, ii, 36 (on Liébault). *Mémoire sur Jean Nicot*, Adolphe Pieyre (1886). Comes, 70 ff.

Estienne published his *Prædium rusticum* in 1554. In this were collected various articles which had been previously printed separately. He afterwards prepared a French version, which, under the title *L'Agriculture et Maison rustique*, was edited by his son-in-law, Jean Liébault, and issued at Paris, 1564. Another edition of the same work was published, with additions by Liébault, in 1565, and with further changes in 1570. The latter was often reprinted and was translated into several other languages: v. nos. 24, 28, 34, 58, 123, and *cf.* also n. 17, for which it served partly as a source of nicotian information.

PENA, Pierre, and Matthias de l'OBEL (1538-1616)

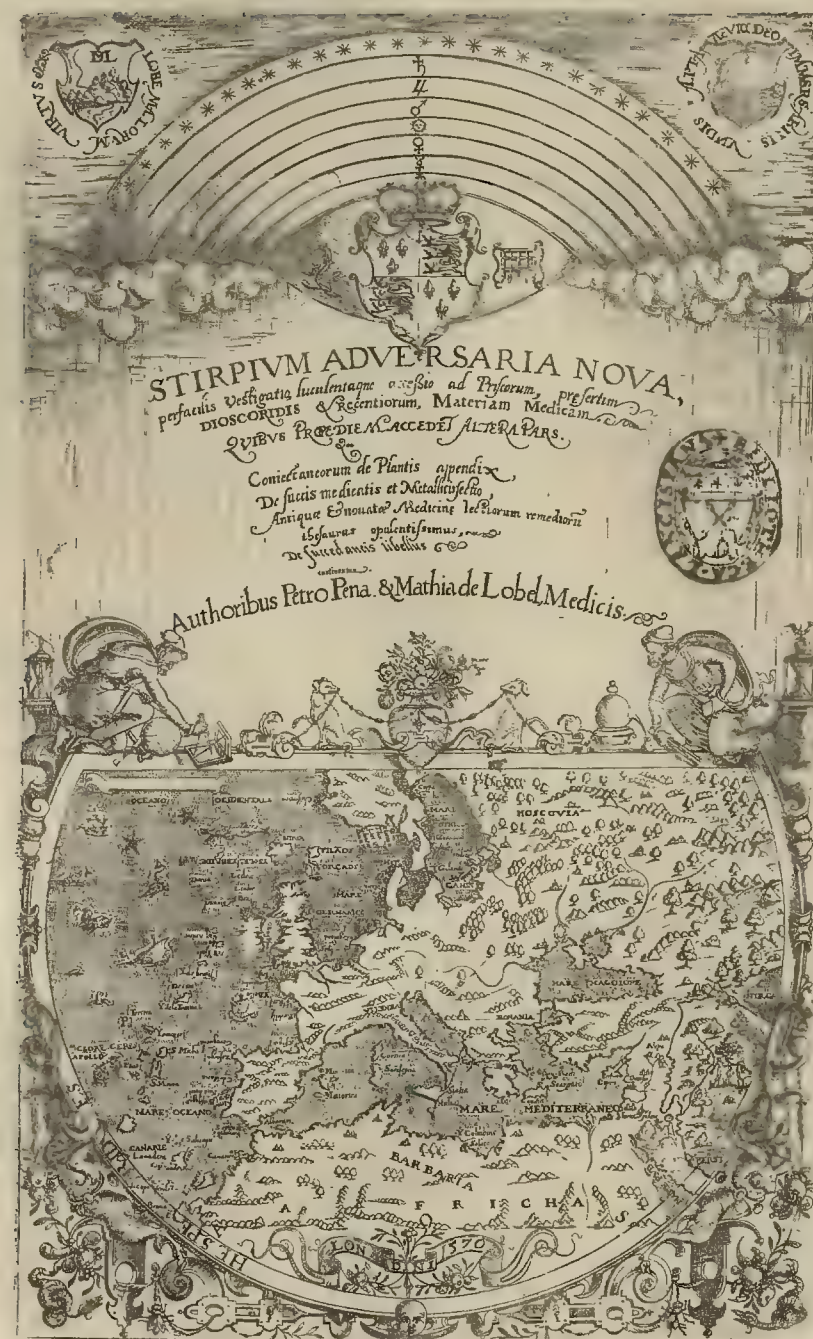
STIRPIVM ADVERSARIA NOVA. London, 1570-1571.

[*Translation of title*] New Notebooks of plants. A simple examination of, and rich accession to the materia medica of earlier [writers], especially of Dioscorides, and of later ones. Another part will be added to this first section. In which are contained an appendix of things relating to plants, a section on medicated and metallic juices, a very complete lexicon of selected remedies of ancient and modern medicine, and a small treatise of conclusions. Pierre Pena and Matthias de l'Obel, authors. London. 1570.

[*Translation of colophon*] At London, 1571, the calends of January. Published by Thomas Purfoot . . .

¹⁵ *V.* the *Introduction*, pp. 29 ff., and nos. 13, 15, 17, 28, 32, etc.

¹⁶ *V.* especially n. 146.



TITLE OF PENA AND DE L'OBEL, 1570-1571

THE approximate period when tobacco was first cultivated in England may be stated by inference from the following account by these two authors, one a famous botanist. Their work was in manuscript in 1569 or earlier, and they write of tobacco as a familiar product of gardens in England and elsewhere. Although they relate the plant to yellow henbane, a designation for *N. rustica* usual with the early herbalists, it cannot be said that they describe that species here. The illustration, probably produced on the Continent from a specimen of the plant available there, and the earliest of this species known, represents *N. Tabacum*, var. *brasiliensis*.

Yet historical and internal evidence suggests that they may well have had *N. rustica* in mind. Hawkins (*v. infra*) had observed that species in Florida, whence he returned in 1565, and while he cannot be certainly credited with the introduction of the plant or its seeds into England, the probability remains that he (or one of his crew) did so. Harrison, in 1573 (*v. n. 31*), suggests the presence of *N. rustica* in England prior to that date. Pena and De l'Obel link the cultivation of tobacco in England with that in Portugal, where Nicot (*v. n. 12*) had obtained the seeds of *N. rustica* from Florida, and had exported them to France. They place their account under "Nicotiana of the French" (very likely to be *N. rustica*), and they do not associate it with the species then growing in Spain, where *N. Tabacum* was most prevalent (*cf. n. 15*).

It is obvious, therefore, that while both of the principal species of tobacco in several varieties were then known in Europe, they had not been differentiated with exactness by the botanists, and that the nomenclature of tobacco specimens was still variable.

The co-authors were the earliest to indicate that returned mariners were responsible for the introduction of smoking in England.¹ It would appear, from their brief description of the "little funnels" in which tobacco was smoked, that they referred to a kind of tube-pipe, but the cut which illustrates this chapter seems rather to display an exaggerated cigar made from twisted leaves. (*Cf. the cigars shown in the engraving reproduced in n. 21.*)

In the passage on *Indorum sana Sancta sive Nicotiana Gallorum*, i.e., "Holy healing [herb] of the Indians, or Nicotiana of the French," they write that some petty disparagers of botany may reproach this plant for its worthlessness. But sincere students are grateful for the zeal of those who (not many years ago) made this product of the New World an inmate of the gardens of Portugal, France, Belgium and England. It is not unlike comfrey in its appearance and in its effects on external and internal disorders. But it is to be preferred to that plant or to any other highly praised panacea for its value.

It is usually larger than our comfrey, though found flourishing in the same well-watered spots of rich earth, exposed to the sun. It has very wide leaves, of oblong shape, hairy quality, wider, rounder, and larger than those of comfrey. They are of the same color as the yellow hyoscyamus (*Hyoscyamus luteus*) . . . and many grow from a very slender, very fibrous root, like lettuce. The stalk grows three cubits high in France, Belgium and England, and very often four or five cubits when it is sown early enough in warmer parts of Aquitaine and Languedoc. It bears flower calyxes in August of a pale, somewhat reddish green, almost an inch

¹ For notices of the assumed or actual introductions of the seeds or of the custom of smoking, etc., by

Hawkins, and by Drake, Lane, or Raleigh, *v. infra* pp. 298-299, 314-315, and 342.

1570-
1571

The Indians
and sailors
smoke nico-
tiana from
a funnel in
which they
have insert-
ed it.



INDORUM SANA SANCTA

The first published illustration of *N. Tabacum*

thirst are allayed, their strength restored, and their spirits refreshed. And they declare, also, that their brain is lulled with a pleasing drunkenness, and that an incredible quantity of phlegm is expelled. We have found, nevertheless, that while we drink this in, it does not inebriate quickly, nor drive one mad, nor benumb the senses as does hyoscyamus, but it fills the ventricles of the brain with a certain vaporous fragrance. No proved harm is done to us by this yellow hyoscyamus, so truly called the *holy herb*, and its fame is now resounding everywhere. Our age has discovered nothing from the New World which will be numbered among the remedies more valuable and efficacious than this plant for sores, wounds, affections of the throat and chest, and the fever of the plague.² [X_v]^{a-b}]

An important piece of historical evidence relating to the first introduction of tobacco and of pipe-smoking into England is contained in the report of John Sparke, the

² In relation to this work, it should be noted that in his *Plantarum seu stirpium icones*, 1576 (v. *infra*), De l'Obel gives a brief, but involved account of tobacco under the title of *Indorum sana SANCTA*, *fiue NICOTIANA Gallorum*, *Petum Clusij & Recentiorum*. *Hyoscyamus Peruvianus* Dod. (Holy healing [herb] of the Indians, or Nicotiana of the French, Petum of Clusius [De l'Escluse] and of more recent [authors]. Dodoens' henbane of Peru.) Cf. nos.

18, 27, and 17-A. This botanico-chemical analysis of tobacco is accompanied by two cuts of the plant often used: *HERBA sancta, fiue TABACVM minus*, now classified as *N. Tabacum* var. *fruticosa* or var. *angustifolia*, reproduced in n. 27, q. v., and *Sana Sancta, fiue TABACVM minimum*, which corresponds partly to a variety of *N. rustica*, perhaps *texana* (Comes, p. 77), reproduced in n. 18-a. Cf. *Devarfe Tabaco* in n. 184.

long, and the seed ripens in the little pods thrown out, very much like the yellow hyoscyamus, because of which some think it is a species of that plant. Indeed there is something of heat in both. It cannot be hyoscyamus as some were convinced it was, because they had seen many become inebriated after smoking it. For you will observe ship-masters [sailors] and all others who come back from out there [*i.e.* America] using little funnels, made of palm leaves or straw, in the extreme end of which they stuff [crumbled dried leaves] of this plant. This they light, and opening their mouths as much as they can, they suck in the smoke with their breath. By this they say their hunger and

younger, of Hawkins' second voyage to the West Indies. In July of 1565 (Hawkins returned home in September), when searching for fresh water along the coast of Florida, the English commander came upon the French colony under Laudonnière.³ The English saw some new wonders; among them, Sparke remarked that

The Floridians when they trauell, haue a kinde of herbe dried, who with a cane and an earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbs put together, doe fucke thorow the cane the fmoke thereof; which fmoke satiffieth their hunger, and therwith they liue foure or fiue dayes without meat or drinke, and this all the Frenchmen vsed for this purpose: yet do they holde opinion withall, that it causeth water & fleame to void from their stomacks. [V_u^b, Vol. III, in n. 57-A, q. v.]

The pipe employed by the natives and the French colonists was so unfamiliar an object to Sparke that he could not name it. His is the first published observation of an English explorer relating to tobacco. It seems only reasonable to believe that some of the seamen who saw that Indian novelty—pipe-smoking—would have had the desire and the ingenuity to convey home both the instrument and the leaves used in it. Some of the more provident would have thought, perhaps, to obtain the seeds of the plant.⁴ But we are on conjectural grounds here; the first actual importers into England of the habit of smoking and of the tobacco plant or seeds, while unquestionably seamen, cannot be specified with certainty.⁵

FIRST EDITION. Folio (Engraved title; A-B² [last, prob. blank, lacking]; *⁶ [first, signed * * *]; A-Z⁶; Aa-Oo⁶; Pp⁸ [last, blank, lacking]. Colophon on Pp_{vii}^b). With the privilege of Charles IX, in French, dated 1570.

ENGRAVED TITLE. This is one of the earliest produced in England and appears to be the work of a goldsmith. William Rogers, fl. 1580-1610, has been suggested as the engraver, but it antedates by several years the earliest known example of his work.

ABOUT 1500 WOODCUTS OF PLANTS. Separate slips, with cuts, inserted to face pages 33 and 150; that for p. 11 not present. The cut reproduced and that on p. 400 are laid down.

CONTEMPORARY VELLUM. Size of leaf: 11¾ x 8½ inches.

From the collections of Giovanni Maria Lancisi [1654-1720], Cardinal Alexandre Albani [1692-1729], with the stencil-stamp of both on the title, and George Weare Braikenridge (Sotheby's, 1908, n. 605), with his armorial bookplate.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 19595 [records three copies, but not this]. Pulteney, chap. 8. *SG.*, 2d. Ser., XII. Singer, 138 ff. (1576 ed.). Arber, 78-79. Dunhill, 39-40. Osler, n. 3640. Comes, 75 ff., 99 ff.

This volume, now so scarce, was not a best seller in its day. Plantin purchased eight hundred copies of it and reissued it at Antwerp in 1576 with De l'Obel's *Plantarum seu stirpium icones*, making considerable changes in the preliminary matter, etc. Pulteney, among others, mistakenly regarded the entire work, except a few leaves, as a product of Plantin's press. In the archives of the Plantin Museum, however, it is recorded that the famous printer paid 1320 florins for the unsold sheets of Purfoot's edition, with the wood blocks.

The professed intention of this work, as Pulteney pointed out, was to investigate the botany and materia medica of the ancients, particularly of Dioscorides.

Matthias de l'Obel, once physician to William the Silent, migrated to England about 1569

³ Cf. n. 39.

⁴ Brown (*The Genesis of the United States*, †, 1890, p. 5) remarks that the English in Hawkins' compa-

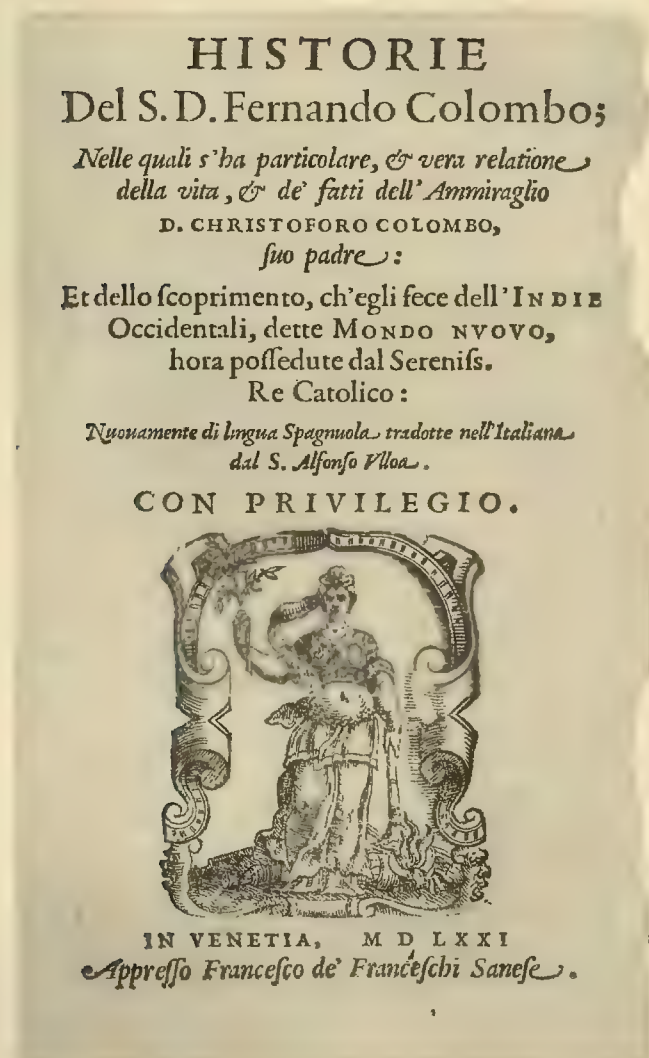
ny brought tobacco, potatoes, etc., back to England. He gives no authority for the statement, however.

⁵ Cf. *infra*, pp. 298-299.

1570
-1571

Tobacco
& the
great
vertue
thereof.

with his friend Pierre Pena, and was commissioned to superintend the gardens of Lord Zouche at Hackney. He finally became botanist to James I, and his services to botany were such that his name has been honored in its nomenclature. (For his association with the English herbalist, Gerard, see n. 50.) It has been thought that De l'Obel was perhaps inclined to minimize the value of Pena's work. The latter eventually abandoned the subject of botany to devote himself to medicine and became physician to Louis XIII.



TITLE OF COLOMBO, 1571

COLOMBO, Fernando (1488-1539), translated by Alfonso de ULLOA (d. c. 1580)

HISTORIE . . . D. CHRISTOFORO COLOMBO. Venice, 1571.

[*Translation of title*] History of Don Fernando Colombo, in which there is a particular and true relation of the life and deeds of the Admiral Don Christoforo Colombo, his father, and of the discovery he made of the West Indies, called the New World, now possessed by the most serene Catholic King. Newly translated from the Spanish tongue into the Italian by Signor Alfonso Ulloa. With the privilege. [Printer's device] At Venice, 1571, from the press of Francesco de' Franceschi [Franciscus], of Sienna.

AMONG the gifts the natives offered to Columbus upon his first landing, at San Salvador, were some dried leaves of the tobacco plant.¹ These he saw again in a few days, and two members of his crew, not long after, witnessed the use of the leaves in cigars. The first printed notice of the two latter incidents occurred many years after the events, in this biography of the Admiral, attributed to his natural son, Fernando, who, at the age of fourteen, accompanied his father on his last voyage to the New World. This *Historie* includes passages (some abridged) from Columbus' own manuscript narrative, together with the complete treatise of Ramon Pane. It contains, too, an observation or two by Fernando which confirm the reports of Vespucci (n. 1) and others that tobacco-chewing was a custom of the Indians in and near South and Central America.

In the "Journal" of the first voyage, Columbus had recorded the fact that on October 15 there had been seen, near the island of *Fernandina*, a man in a canoe, who had some dry leaves greatly esteemed by the Indians.² In this *Historie* the incident is noticed, with the comment that the leaves were of sweet scent and wholesome. [G_{vj}^b] As related in the then unpublished "Journal," the author of the *Historie* reports that on the first voyage the Admiral sent two sailors³ ashore, November 2, 1492. They landed on the island of Cuba (some believe it was Haiti) to report on the country. They went inland with an Indian guide and returned the night of November fifth.

On the way they had found many people who always carried a burning firebrand to kindle fire, and thence to perfume⁴ themselves with some herbs which they brought with them. [H_{ii}^a]

Las Casas records this important incident more fully, in his "Historia de las Indias":⁵

These two Christians met many people on the road, men and women, and the men always with a firebrand in their hands, and certain herbs to take their smokes, which are some dry herbs put in a certain leaf, dry also, after the fashion of a *musket* [squib, or tube] made of paper, such as boys make on the feast of the Holy Ghost.⁶ [These are] lit at one end, and at the other they chew or suck and take in with their breath that smoke which dulls their flesh and as it were intoxicates and so they say that they do not feel weariness. Those *muskets*, or whatever we call them, they call *tabacos*. I have known Spaniards in this isle of Hispaniola who were wont to take them, and being reproved for it and told that it was a vicious habit, they replied that it was not in their power to stop taking them. I know not what pleasure or comfort they find in them. (Trans. from *Colección de Documentos Inéditos, para la Historia de España*, 1875, vol. 62, p. 332.)

¹ *V.* the *Introduction*, p. 17, n. 6.

² *Ibid.*

³ One of these men, the first Europeans to see cigars smoked, was Luis de Torres, a learned Jew. Because of his linguistic equipment, he was thought to be a fit ambassador for any one whom he might meet from the court of the Grand Khan of Cathay. The other was Rodrigo de Jerez of Ayamonte.

⁴ *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (ed. 1906, vol. 12, p. 165) remarks that "It is asserted that a Jew named Luis de Terres [*sic*], who accompanied Columbus on his expedition in 1492, settled in Cuba, learned the use of tobacco, and introduced it into Europe."

⁵ The early commercial history of tobacco would be considerably clarified could one find some accurate basis for this assertion. *Cf.* the *Introduction*,

p. 82, n. 5, in regard to the will of Diego Columbus.

De Jerez, too, has been glorified in nicotian annals. It is stated by Corti (p. 50) that he was the first to smoke tobacco in Europe, demonstrating the habit in his native town. There, his alarmed neighbors, assuming that the devil had possessed him, notified their priest, who took the case to the Inquisition. De Jerez, Corti continues, was jailed, remaining in duress vile for some years and upon his release found his countrymen calmly engaged in a habit for which he had had to pay so dearly. Thus is the history of tobacco made romantic!

⁶ *Cf.* the *Introduction*, p. 4.

⁷ Compiled after 1527.

⁸ *V.* a similar phrase in n. 4 (at n. 6) suggesting a common source—perhaps Columbus' "Journal."

In his own relation of the religious customs of the Haitians observed on his second voyage (here published in an abridged form derived from his MS. narrative) the Admiral gives the earliest notice of the ritualistic use of *cohoba* (cf. n. 2). Having briefly described the houses set apart for the worship of idols, he writes:

In this house they have a finely wrought table, round like a wooden dish in which is some powder . . . then with a cane that has two branches which they place in their nostrils they snuff up this dust. . . With this powder they lose consciousness and become like drunken men.¹⁷ [*Q_v^a*]

"The Treatise of Friar Roman [*i.e.*, Ramon] On the Antiquities of the Indians," in twenty-six chapters (here first published—v. n. 2, *passim*), occupies *Q_{vj}^b*–*T_i^b* in this *Historie*.⁸ One of the passages deals with a mythical character who, having asked another for *cazzabi* (bread), had a *guanguaio* hurled at him.⁹

This *guanguaio* was full of *cogioba* [*cohoba*] which he had had made that day; the *cogioba* is a certain powder which they take sometimes to purge themselves, and for other effects which you will hear of later. They take it with a cane about a foot long and put one end in the nose and the other in the powder, and in this manner they draw it into themselves through the nose and this purges them thoroughly. [*R_{iiij}^b*–*iiij^a*]

On *R_{vj}^{a-b}* is a relation¹⁰ of the practise of medicine by the *Bohuti*.¹¹ A further report contains a reference to "some herbs of the *Gioia* . . ." (Bachiller y Morales¹² thinks this a textual error, *cogioba* being intended). This occurs on *R_{vj}^b*. Another notice of the ritualistic use of *cohoba*, this time before a tree which was seen moving and which was, therefore, haunted by *Zemes*, is to be found on *S_i^a*–*S_{ij}^b*. The *Bohuti* who performed the rite inhaled *cogioba* through the nose, became intoxicated and saw visions. The ceremony of *cogioba* is explained in the same chapter.

On the fourth voyage Fernando observed that

In the island of Beragua [Veragua or Costa Rica] the Admiral left his brother, the Prefect, to investigate the country and its possibilities for a settlement. . . About seven leagues west of the river Betlem [Bethlehem] [they met a *cacique*, or chief, with about twenty attendants who brought gifts to the white men]. And while they stood there, the Cacique and the principal men did not stop putting a dry herb in their mouths and chewing it, and sometimes they put a certain powder that they carried together with that herb, which seems a very ugly habit. . . These people of Beragua . . . when they eat are always chewing a certain herb, which we believe is the reason that their teeth are quite rotten and decayed.¹³ [*Ee_i^a* and *Ee_{ij}^b*]

⁷ Translated by Bourne, p. 5. Cf. Pane's report, n. 2 (where is repeated the account of the act of snuffing up *cohoba*), and Oviedo's, n. 4.

⁸ This is translated by Bourne. His excellent version of the friar's "Treatise," made from the *Historie*, is chiefly used in the excerpts following. *V. supra*, p. 199, for an account of Ramon Pane.

⁹ This object was a bag for holding tobacco, according to the definition of Brasseur de Bourbourg, referred to by Bourne, p. 17, n. §.

¹⁰ It was from the manuscript version of this passage that the excerpt in n. 2 was derived.

¹¹ *V.* the note on this word in n. 2, n. 4.

¹² *Op. cit.*, n. 2, n. 4.

¹³ The habit of chewing leaves had already been observed in 1499, by Vespucci (n. 1), and by Niño and Guerra, as recorded in *Il Libretto* (v. n. 1, n. 3).

Thacher (ii, p. 607) states, in relation to this reference by Fernando Columbus, that it is "doubtless to the use of tobacco."

FIRST EDITION. Small octavo (a–b⁸; c⁴ [last, blank, lacking]; A–Z⁸; Aa–Hh⁸ [last, blank, lacking]).

MOROCCO. Size of leaf: 5½ x 3⅝ inches.

REFERENCES: C., n. 114. B., i, n. 279. S., iv, n. 14673. W., ii, 64 ff. T., iii, *et passim*. Mason, 3. Comes, 6, 10–11. The *Historie* is translated in Churchill, *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (ed. 1744), ii, 479; the text of Ramon Pane's treatise, in Bourne, and in Wi., i, 72 ff.

There is a copy of this rare work in the British Museum, John Carter Brown, New York Public (Lenox), Huntington libraries, and the Library of Congress.

The origin of this biography (attributed to Fernando Columbus), the chief source for many of the events of Columbus' life, is obscure and a matter of dispute. Although said to have been composed in Spanish, no Spanish original is known. The present translation is believed to have been made by Ulloa at the instigation of G. Baptista Marini, a Genoese patrician. It is said that in 1568 Luis Columbus, "a person of debauched character" (the son of Diego), came to Genoa bringing with him the manuscript "Historie" which he sold to another patrician of Genoa, Baliano di Fornari, from whom it passed to Marini. (These statements appear in the official publication of the Genoa Municipal Council, *Codice Diplomatico Colombo-Americano*, 1823, and are made by the editor, Spotorno.) On the other hand, Harris (Fernand Colomb, 1872) contends that Luis Columbus could not have been in Genoa at the period assigned and that in many particulars the work itself does not bear critical examination. It is his opinion that this present version was based on a work which is known to have been at one time in the Biblioteca Colombina (formed by Fernando Columbus), Fernandi Perez de Oliva's *tractatus . . . de vita et gestis D. Christophi Colon*. Oliva's work, says Harris, was composed about 1525 "at Seville, probably under the eyes of Fernando and with documents furnished by him. The work is unhappily lost, but the fact that this work was written and was at one time in the library is incontestable." It is possible, he says further, that Oliva's work was taken to Genoa by some adventurer, sold to Fornari, who had a translation made. Ulloa, who was notoriously free in his translations, may himself have added the chapters to which critical objections have been made. The *Historie* is dedicated to Baliano di Fornari.

MONARDES, Nicolás (c. 1512–1588)

SEGUNDA PARTE . . . DE LAS . . . INDIAS OCCIDENTALES. Seville, 1571.

[*Translation of title*] Second part of the book of the things which are brought from our West Indies, useful in medicine. Treating of tobacco and sassafras, and of the Sancto Carlo and many other herbs and plants, seeds, and liquids, which have lately come from those parts, of great virtues and marvellous effects. By Dr. Monardes, physician of Seville. There is added a book on snow, wherein those who [make drinks] cold with it will see many things worth knowing and very remarkable, concerning its use in chilling. By the same Dr. Monardes. At Seville, from the house of Alonso Escrivano, printer, 1571. With the privilege of His Royal Majesty.

IN HIS account of the botanical and other products of the West Indies first published in 1565 and reissued in 1569, Monardes made no mention of tobacco. Upon the appearance of *La Maison Rustique*, 1570 (n. 12), with its account of *Nicotiane*, it became incumbent upon an author who wished to be in style to say something about the most popular plant from the New World, and essential for a patriotic Spaniard to claim it for Spain. In his dedication to the king in this new work Monardes suggests an excuse for his omissions by saying that he intends to write in this "Second part"

about those things which had come from the Indies since the appearance of his earlier volumes. But there can be no question that tobacco had been brought into Spain before this;¹ Monardes himself says that it was then growing in Spanish gardens.

Enthusiastic over the medical properties he thought inherent in tobacco, Monardes wrote an account of them which rapidly superseded that of Liébault (n. 12) in popularity. His work, rather than Liébault's, became the chief source of information on the subject in Europe. It was familiarly quoted and contemporaneously translated into many languages. It first appeared in English through the translation Frampton made of it in 1577 (n. 24), from which the text below has been derived.

SEGVNDA

PARTE DEL LIBRO,
DE LAS COSAS QUE SE
traen de nuestras Indias Occidentales,
que sirven al uso de medicina. Do se tra
ta del Tabaco, y de la Saffrafas: y del
Carlo Sancto, y de otras muchas yeruas
y Plantas, Simientes, y Licores: q̄ ago
ra nuevamente han venido de a quellas
partes, de grandes virtudes, y marauillo
los efectos.

¶ Hecho por el Doctor Monardes Me
dico de Seuilla.

¶ VA AÑEDIDO VN LIBRO DE
la Nicot. Do veran los q̄ tienen frio con ella, cosas
dignas de saber, y de grande admiracion, cerca
del uso del enfriar con ella. Fecho, por el mismo
Doctor Monardes.

En seuilla

En casa Alonso Escriuano, Im
pressor. Año de 1571.

¶ Con Preuilegio de su Real Magestad.

TITLE OF MONARDES, 1571

There was little Monardes could add to Liébault's profuse praise of tobacco, but he propagated the latter's creed and expanded the first catalogue of diseases for which tobacco was a panacea. He made it a household remedy throughout Western Europe, and his gospel was accepted by the majority of European physicians for more than two centuries, to the disadvantage, it may be assumed, of suffering patients.

¹ *V. the Introduction*, p. 22, and n. 114.

Of the Tabaco, and of his greate vertues.

This hearbe which commonly is called *Tabaco*, is an Hearbe of muche antiquitie, and knowen amongst the Indians, and in especiall ye among theym of the newe Spaine [Mexico], and after that those countries were gotten by our Spaniards, beyng taught of the Indians, they did profite themselues of those thinges, in the Woundes whiche they receiued in their Warres, healyng themselues therewith, to the greate benefite of them.



TABACO

N. Tabacum, var. *havanensis* or *macrophylla* (Comes, p. 63).
This cut first appeared in this edition of Monardes, on A₃^a.

Within this few yeres there hath beene brought to Spaine of it, more to adorne Gardeines with the fairenes thereof, and to geue a pleasaunt sight, *rather then that it was thought it had the marueilous Medicinable vertues, whiche it hath*,^[2] now we doe vse of it more for his vertues, then for his fairenes. For surely they are suche which do put admiration. [He says in a paragraph how it is sown and how it grows.] The proper name of it amongst the Indians is *Pecielt*,^[3] for the name of *Tabaco* is geuen to it of our Spaniards, by reason of an Ilande that is named *Tabaco*.^[4]

² The italics are not in the original or the translation. The passage is thus especially indicated to emphasize that part of the evidence which shows that tobacco was not originally brought into Europe as a medicinal plant. *V. supra*, pp. 29, 206-207, and 236.

³ This Mexican (Nahuatl) word properly applied only to *N. rustica*, and not to *N. Tabacum*, which Monardes describes. *V. Pecielt* in the Glossary.

⁴ Tobago (or perhaps Tabasco) is meant, but the opinion is erroneous.

His botanical description of it conforms with that of *N. Tabacum*. He says its "complexion is hot and drie in the seconde degree," and begins his long account of its "vertues in generall." While he believes that the root, too, has medicinal value, similar to rhubarb, he has experimented with only the leaves. It cures the headache which comes of a cold humor or windy cause, if the leaves be placed hot upon the grief, although some first anoint the afflicted part with oil of orange. Any pain of the body induced by a cold cause is helped by tobacco. Grievs of the breast are alleviated by tobacco syrup, partly made from sugar. The smoke taken at the mouth expels the cause of moist complaints. The methods of applying tobacco, through the use of warmed leaves, salves, clysters, etc., for "Opilations of the stomacke, and of inner parts . . . or hardnes . . . in the belly" (internal congestion, stomach-ache, constipation), "grief of the stone, of the Kidneis and Raines" (kidney stones), "griefes of windes" (flatulence), and for other maladies are described. In the "greffe of women, whiche is called the euill of the Mother" (ailments of the gestation period and labor pains), a leaf of the plant, very hot, is to be applied to the navel,⁵ which should be first rubbed with oil of liquidamber, etc. The women of the Indies cure their children of "naughtie breathing" (halitosis) by anointing their bellies first with lamp oil and then applying the heated leaves of tobacco. To expel "wormes out of the guttes" (helminthiasis) tobacco is invaluable, and it is also recommended for "euill of the Joyntes" (rheumatism), "fwellings" (tumefactions), "cold Impoftumes" (abscesses), tooth-ache, chilblains and venomous wounds. Furthermore it alone is "sufficient to refraine any fluxe of blood." An account is given of an experiment made by Dr. Barnarde, royal physician, who at the king's command wounded a dog, poisoned it with a certain herb, and then cured the animal with the aid of tobacco leaves. In venomous carbuncles, "bityngs of venemous beastes," "cuttinges," "strokes," etc., galls of cattle, etc., old or new sores, and the like, tobacco works marvellous effects. It cures most quickly wounds which are rotten and cankered. A case history is presented of a man whose nose had been almost eaten away by rotten old sores (ozena). Monardes, as physician, treated him with tobacco juice and at the second treatment "he did caste out . . . more then twentie little wormes . . ." A girl who had "fkuruie in her hedde" (scurf) was similarly cured. [A₄^a-C₂^b in Monardes; I._{ii}^a-K._{ii}^b in n. 24.]

Monardes included in the foregoing portion a highly significant passage. He remarks that the Indians had been accustomed to treat the wounds caused by poisoned arrows with some drug—he says "sublimatum." But on one occasion, when some Spaniards and natives had been attacked by hostile Indians and dangerously wounded (at the island of "Saint Ihon Depuerto Rico"), they found themselves without their usual remedy. Whereupon "they did remember to put upon the woundes the Joyce of the *Tabaco*, and the Leaues stamped." This unguent saved their lives and awakened "greate admiration," so that thereafter tobacco was employed in other hurts and wounds as well. [B₄^{a-b} in Monardes; I._{iii}^j in n. 24.]

The incident, if accurately reported, suggests that the natives of the West Indies had been accustomed, before the advent of the Spaniards, to use some American simple other than tobacco. Perhaps the herb was Oviedo's *perebecenuc* (v. *supra*, pp. 206 ff.). From Monardes' report (repeated frequently by later writers) it was the Spaniards who first experimented with tobacco as a vulnerary, perhaps confusing it, as has been suggested before, with some American plant of known remedial powers, not available at the time of the specific accident reported by Monardes.

⁵ V. the *Introduction*, p. 32, n. 5.

He relates that the Indian priests intoxicated themselves with the smoke of tobacco taken through a "Cane" (*i.e.*, a tube)—a passage obviously taken from Oviedo, n. 4.

In like forte the reste of the Indians for their pastyme, doe take the smoke of the *Tabaco*, for to make them felues drunke withall, and to see the visions, and thinges that doe represent to them, wherein thei dooe delight: and other tymes thei tooke it to knowe their businesse, and successe . . . And as the Deuill is a deceiuer, and hath the knowledge of the vertue of Hearbes, he did shewe them the vertue of this Hearbe, that by the meanes thereof, thei might see their imaginations, and visions, that he hath represented to them, and by that meanes doeth deceiue them.⁶

He compares the use of tobacco to induce visions with what Dioscorides wrote of ancient plants, García de Orta of bhang, etc. The negroes' and Indians' habit of smoking tobacco is again described⁷—a custom, he says, not unlike that of using opium or other drugs from the Orient. He goes on to say that the black people have become so habituated to taking this violent drug that they are for a time incapacitated for work, and that their masters therefore "doeth chaften them for it, and doe burne the *Tabaco*," whereupon the slaves take it secretly in the "defartes." He has himself seen the slaves thus inebriated by tobacco in Seville—a statement which suggests that the negroes had learned from the Indians how to mix narcotics with tobacco, or inhale it fully so as to bring on the desired intoxicating effects.⁸

One of the purposes of the Indians in using tobacco is to relieve themselves of the pangs of hunger and thirst when travelling through deserted or unpeopled countries.

Thei doe vse of these little baules, whiche thei make of this *Tabaco*, thei take the leaues of it, and doe chewe it, and as thei goe chewyng of thē, thei goe mingling with them certaine pouder, made of the shelles of Cockles burned, and thei goe minglying it in the mouthe all together,⁹ vntill that thei make it like to dowe [dough], of the whiche thei make certaine little baules, little greater then Peafon [peas], and thei put them to drie in the shadowe, and after thei keepe them, and vse them in this forme followyng.

When thei vse to trauaile by waies, where thei finde no water nor meate: Thei take a little baule of these, and thei put it betwene the lower lippe and the teethe, and thei goe chewyng it all the tyme that thei doe trauell, and that whiche thei doe chewe, thei doe swallowe it doune, and in this forte thei dooe iourney, three or fower daies, without hauyng neede of meate, or drinke, for thei feele no hunger, drieth [drought], nor weakenesse. . .

He attempts to explain the reason why tobacco taken in such wise provides such sustenance. The saliva swallowed retains its natural heat and thus nourishes the stomach! He concludes his account with the remark that this is all he had been able to gather about the wonder-plant, tobacco. [C₂^b-D₂^a in Monardes; K._{ii}^j-L._j^b in n. 24.]

⁶ This conceit was long to be remembered by antitobacconists. V. the *Introduction*, p. 56, n. 1.

⁷ This information was probably derived from the observations of Oviedo (n. 4), Benzoni (n. 10), et al.

⁸ *Ibid.*, *ibid.*

⁹ In relation to this account Safford (*op. cit.*, n. 2, n. 2), p. 389, states that the leaf of green tobacco together with lime, prepared for chewing,

was called *tenexiell* (from *tenexli*, lime, and *yell*, tobacco) by the Mexicans. The source of his information (p. 390) is Jacinto de la Serna, *Manual de Ministros para el conocimiento de idolatrias y extirpacion de ellas*, in *Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, vol. 104, p. 165.

Cf. the observations recorded by Vespucci, n. 1, and Fernando Columbus (at Veragua), n. 14 [*E₁*].

It is to be observed that Monardes nowhere writes of tobacco smoked by white men for pleasure, and indeed the accounts he gives (derived from Oviedo and others) of the Indians' and negroes' recreative use of it would have discouraged its adoption. Nearly all of the remedies he prescribed depended for their success, as usual, upon something in addition to tobacco. But this fact in no wise disturbed the faith of European physicians in the marvellous remedial powers of the Indian plant alone.¹⁰



NICOLÁS MONARDES
From the 1580 edition of Monardes

FIRST EDITION. Small octavo (A-Q⁸; R⁴ [last, blank]. *Libro 2^o de Trata de la Nieve*, Seville, 1571, A-F⁸). Sig. K in proper arrangement—cf. J., i (ii).

WOODCUTS IN TEXT.

OLD VELLUM. Size of leaf: 5¹³/₁₆ x 3¹³/₁₆ inches. Occasional marginal annotations in an early hand.

REFERENCES: B., i, n. 287. Br., n. 2. M., i, n. 219. S., xii, n. 49937. Pritzel, n. 6366 ff. Wi., ii, 145, 158 ff. Comes, 13, 63 ff. *The Old English Herbals*, Eleanor S. Rohde (1922), 121-133.

The details of the author's life are fairly obscure. Despite his knowledge of American plants, he never visited the New World; indeed, it is believed that he never wandered far from his center of activity, Seville.¹¹ He was an extremely popular and successful physician and was medical adviser to the Archbishop of Seville and other notables. It has been suggested that as he lived a full span of years, he never used his own tobacco recipes. He was by no means an ignorant man (in an age of conspicuously ignorant physicians), and according to Espasa he was one of the earliest to diagnose malignant quinsy, or diphtheria. Cf. note in n. 19.

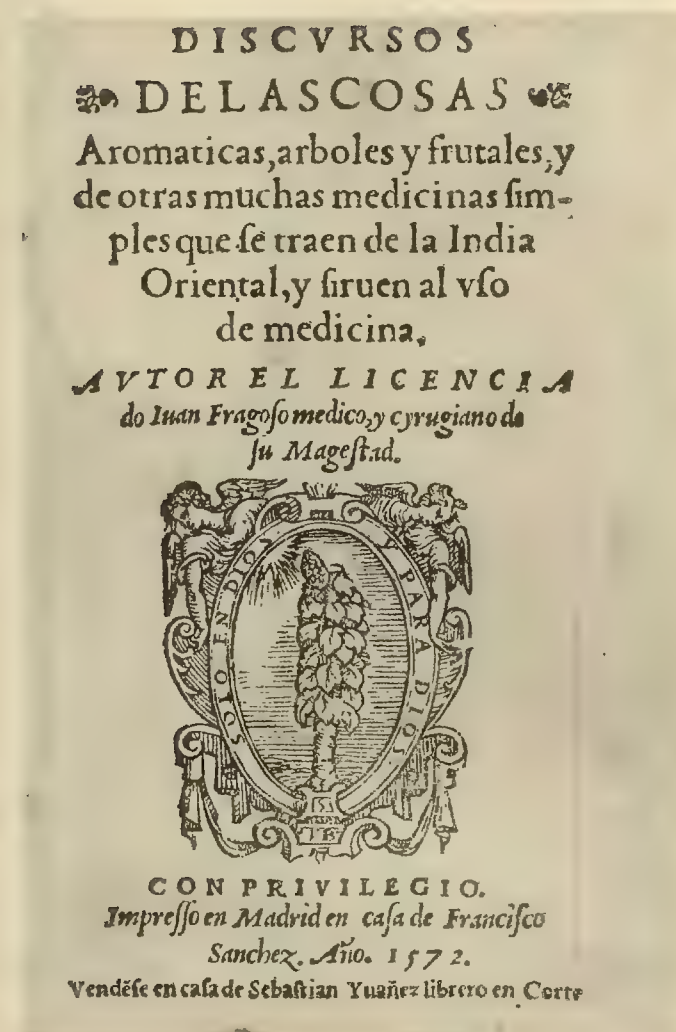
¹⁰ In relation to this work, Laufer (*Europe*, pp. 55-56) points out that while the exact date of the introduction of tobacco into Spain is unknown, it is of "no consequence." Spain contributed nothing to the diffusion of the plant over Europe, but it did

produce Monardes' doctrines, and it popularized the cigar. The Spanish never took to the pipe, but in accordance with the practise of the aborigines of the Antilles and Mexico, adopted the cigar and cigarette.

¹¹ *Enciclopedia*, ed. Espasa, XXXVI, p. 23.

DISCVRSOS DE LAS COSAS. Madrid, 1572.

[*Translation of title*] Treatise of aromatic things, trees, and fruits, and of many other medicinal simples, which are brought from the East Indies, and are useful in medicine. By Juan Fragoso, licentiate, physician and surgeon to His Majesty. [Printer's device] With the privilege. Printed at Madrid from the house of Francisco Sanchez, 1572. Sold at the house of Sebastian Ibañez, bookseller . . .



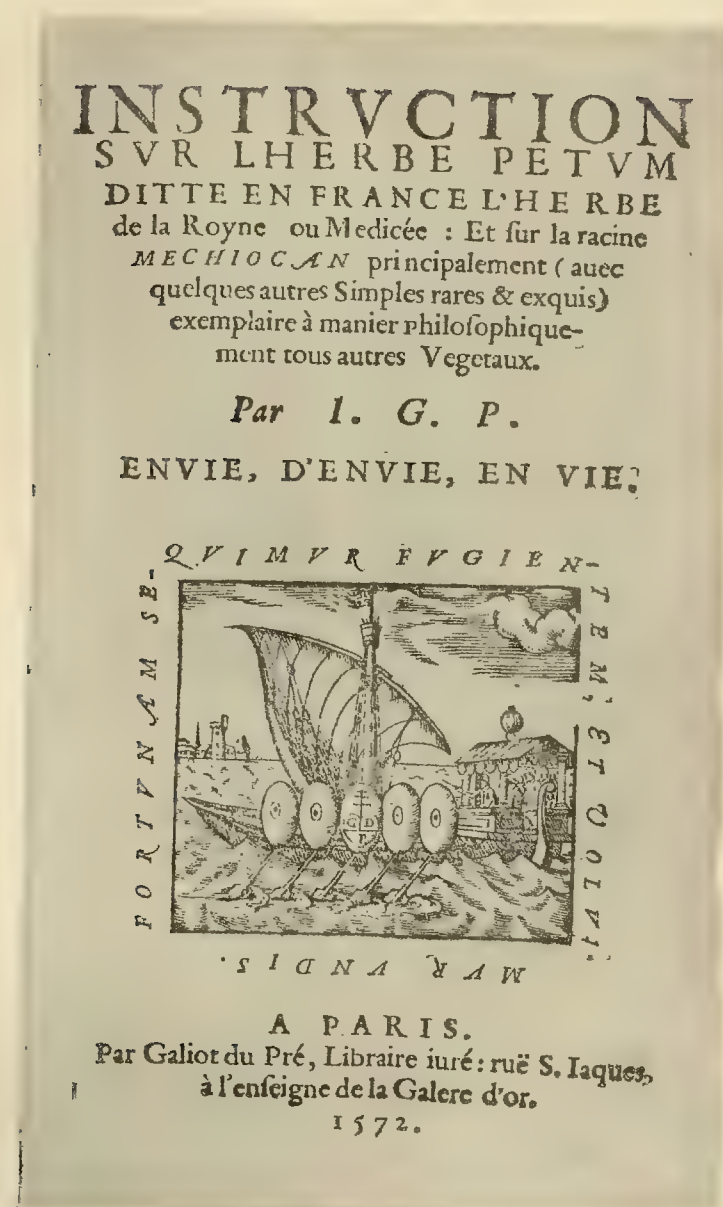
TITLE OF FRAGOSO, 1572

THE author, who was surgeon to Philip II, and a botanist, accompanied Hernández (v. n. 114) on scientific expeditions. The material for this work he found in Monardes, García de Orta, De l'Escluse, *et al.* He was one of the earliest to classify tobacco with other narcotic plants. The account of tobacco [F^a-G^b], included in the chapter on bhang, is obviously derived from Monardes (n. 15), without apparent credit to that author, and contributes nothing new to this history.

FIRST EDITION. Small octavo (¶⁸; A-Z⁸; Aa-Ee⁸; Ff⁴. Colophon on Dd^a; printer's device on Ff^a.)

CONTEMPORARY VELLUM. Size of leaf: $5\frac{7}{16} \times 3\frac{13}{16}$ inches. Contemporaneous marginal notations.

REFERENCES: BM. M., i, n. 223. S., vi, n. 25418^a. Palau, iii, p. 268. *Bibliografía Madrileña*, Pérez Pastor (Madrid, 1891) n. 58.



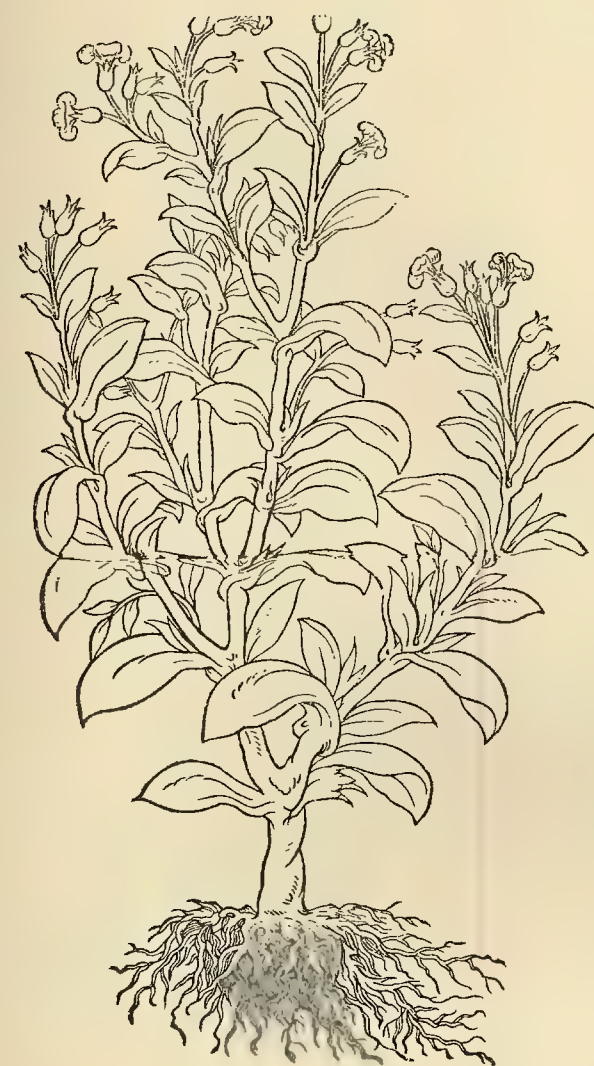
TITLE OF GOHORY, 1572

GOHORY, Jacques (*d.* 1576)

INSTRVCTION SVR L'HERBE PETVM. Paris, 1572.

[*Translation of title*] Instruction on the herb Petum, called in France the herb of the Queen, or Medicée, and on the root Mechoacan, principally (with some other rare and exquisite simples) [showing the philosophic manner in which to treat of] all other vegetables. By [Jacques] G[ohory], P[arisian]. [Author's motto; followed by that of the publisher, surrounding his device.] At Paris, by Galliot Du Pré [II], licensed bookseller . . . 1572.

THIS is the earliest published work devoted chiefly to the subject of tobacco. It has been mistakenly stated by some students that it is entirely copied from Monardes (n. 15), but the tobacco portion can be readily traced to the *Nicotiane* chapter in *La Maison Rustique* (n. 12).¹



PETUM, OR MALE MEDICÉE

This is intended to illustrate a variety of *N. Tabacum*

Despite the author's extraordinary facility for becoming dull and remaining obscure, some facts pertinent to tobacco's history have been recovered from his pages. He repeated² (as his own idea, apparently) a suggestion then popular in the French court,³ that tobacco be called *Herbe de la Royne* [i.e., *Reine*] ou *Medicée*, etc., in honor of Catherine de Medici, the Queen Mother. He seems to have been a shrewd, if not wholly successful, courtier, but the names he proposed for tobacco were never popular

¹ The portion dealing with mechoacan comes from Monardes, to whom Gohory gives credit.

² *V.* n. 12, at n. 5.

³ *V.* a phrase in this regard in n. 12, *ibid.*

and soon held only an academic interest.⁴ Gohory's account of the earnestness with which the medical profession was experimenting with the plant and how extensively it was then being cultivated in the "physic gardens," makes an especially valuable contribution to the early history of tobacco in France.



PETUM, OR FEMALE MEDICÉE
This illustrates an offspring of *N. Tabacum*

After years spent in the study of abstruse sciences, philosophy, alchemy and the like, more practical matters attracted my attention. I turned to the preparation of the herb *petum* for use in external surgery, because of its marvellous effects. France is today greatly obliged to the queen who caused it to be planted here, and from whom it should rightly take the name *Caterinaire*, or *Medicée*.

He cites historical precepts for it. The author has caused it to be portrayed here by the excellent artist Baptiste Pelerin.

⁴ Buchanan (n. 165), aimed a rude epigram at Catherine for her presumption in accepting the tribute.

This little treatise was sent to the royal physician, Dr. Léonard Botal, "the supreme doctor among surgeons." I presented myself to the Queen Mother to learn whether she would permit this discourse to be published and which of the names for the herb she preferred. Her Majesty graciously replied that she found everything good which conduced to the public welfare,⁵ and that she did not refuse to be the godmother. Indeed, ancient princes have been remembered longer for the plants to which they gave their names than for their feats of arms.

Gohory concludes his preface with advice on raising tobacco in cold climates. He says that it should have the same care as orange or lemon trees, and repeats briefly the account of Nicot's introduction of the plant into France (June 1, 1572).

He goes on to say that he composed his book on *petum* so that fuller knowledge of its remarkable virtues might be available. With some other rare simples, he has grown both "male" and "female" *petum* in the garden he recently acquired in the Faubourg St. Marceau in Paris.

There are two sexes or varieties in *petum*, "male" and "female." But it is the opinion of some that the female of the *petum* is the satyrium or priapic plant, designed, on the testimony of Juvenal, to awaken virility. The plant grows to the height of seven feet or more in the garden of Dr. Chapelain, recently deceased, who was once first physician to the king. The flowers are white with a red border; the leaves very large, oblong and of a yellowish green color.

In his account of tobacco's virtues and properties he refers to *La Maison Rustique* and to the record of its medicinal use in Portugal, as reported by Nicot.

In France a certain surgeon has been planting *petum* in a garden near the Temple so that it might readily be used. For the cure of sores I myself have made use of the powdered leaf, having been abundantly supplied with this material by the king's mathematician, who also grew the plant in his garden. I have cured a contusion more than two years old with powdered tobacco, and have given various other treatments.

Under the preparations of the leaves he states that the leaf serves as a remedy in its natural state but that oil, water and salt may be derived from it by distillation. In order to understand the recondite methods used to obtain these things he explains what the leaf is and how the water and oil are distilled from *petum* or *Medicée*. (He finds philosophy, alchemy, history and even verse helpful here.) A receipt is given for an unguent made from powdered leaves, as well as a notice of tobacco salt.

A friend, a scientific man, effected wonderful cures in treating sores and wounds by pouring tobacco water on the afflicted parts. These preparations of water, oil, salt and unguent—treated in the philosophic manner—are known to so few people that I did not think it proper to publish them without the permission of the Queen Mother.

In his consideration of various opinions on the preceding preparations the author discusses the plant further and refers again to *La Maison Rustique*, a work much admired by him.

⁵ This was in the year of the St. Bartholomew massacre!

He does not, however, agree with its author [*sic*] on all points, saying that he is often ambiguous, unphilosophic, and that he has committed several errors in his description of the plant. He finds fault with other matters of information in the work of Liébault. Furthermore, in the preparation of unguents, he does not think it necessary to use new wax, and several other ingredients—just one of those recommended would be sufficient because of the viscosity of *Medicée*. Too many ingredients interfere with its successful operation. He is, too, opposed to the method whereby all the juice of the leaves is consumed in the distillation of unguents, as it is this very juice which works the cures. The addition of euphrasy to *petum* in the cure of asthmatic complaints is not necessary.

It is a remarkable thing, if it be true, as a friend has affirmed, that the natives of Florida use the perfume of *Medicée* by means of a vaporizer through the nose,⁶ and that this sustains them without food for several days.

He concludes his dissertation with a Latin compendium concerning *Medicée*, but only repeats what he has said before in his dreadful "philosophic" manner. [A_{ij}^a–B_{vii}^a]

FIRST EDITION. Small octavo (A–B⁸; Second part, Mechoacan, A⁸).

TWO WOODCUTS OF THE PLANT, by [B. Pelerin], as reproduced. These occur on B_{iii}^b–B_v^a and B_v^b.

MOROCCO, by Riviere. Size of leaf: 6¼ x 3¾ inches.

REFERENCES: BM. BN. Har., note to n. 264, p. 411. Bru., ii. Br., n. 3. Atkinson, n. 228. Comes, 70.

The author, Gohory (or Gohorri, or Jean de Gorris), concealed himself under the pseudonyms of "Le Solitaire," "Leo Suavius," etc. He was a teacher of mathematics who is said to have composed verse and who dabbled in philosophy, alchemy and astrology. He did not attempt to restrain his interest in all these matters, for they pervade the pages of this little work.

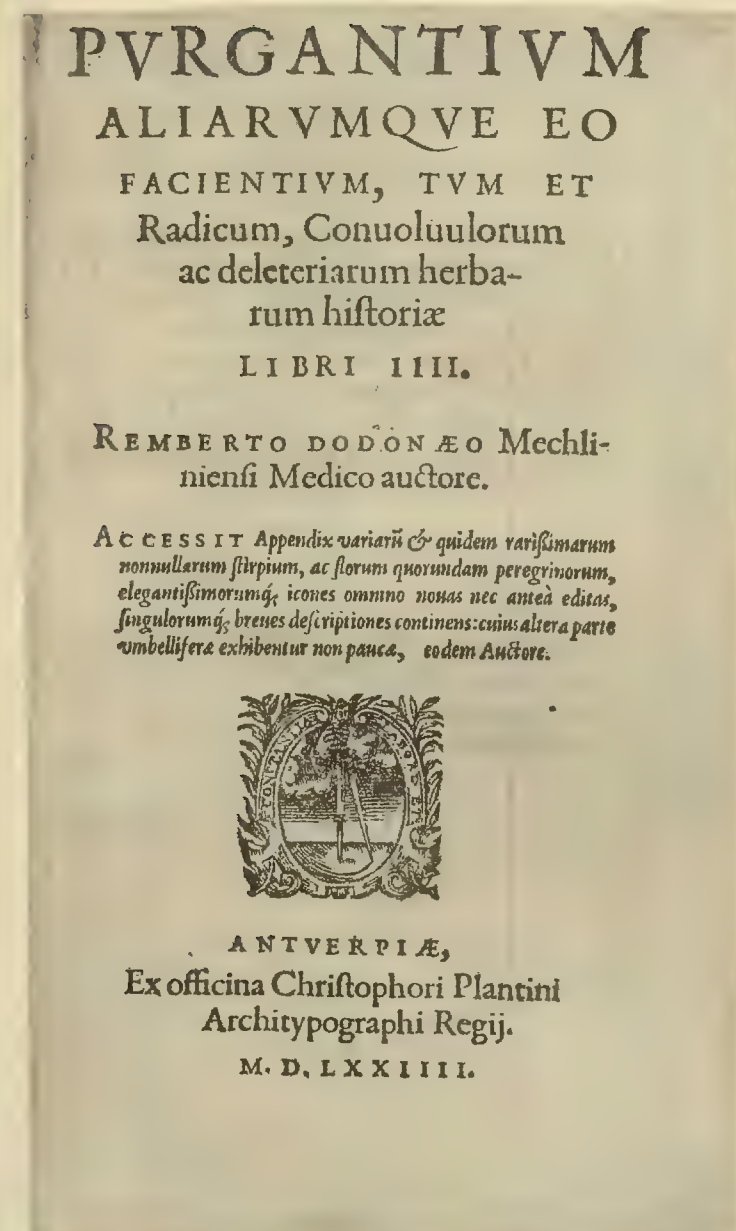
DODOENS, Rembert (1517–1585)

PVRGANTIVM ALIARVMQVE EO FACIENTIVM. Antwerp, 1574.

[*Translation of title*] Four books describing purging roots, convolvuli, and harmful plants, together with others having [cleansing] effects. Rembert Dodoens of Mechlin, physician, the author. An appendix is added, containing new figures heretofore unpublished, of various shrubs of great rarity and of certain foreign and very elegant flowers, together with brief descriptions of each. In the second part of which some umbelliferous [plants] are presented by the same author. [Plantin's device] At Antwerp. From the printing-house of Christopher Plantin, royal printer, 1574.

⁶The author had, apparently, never seen a tobacco pipe or a cigar in use.

FOLLOWING his chapter on Hyoscyami, Y₄^b–Y₆^b (of which the notice of *H. luteus* has been given in n. 5-A), the old herbalist provides an account and an illustration of *Hyoscyamus Peruvianus* (henbane of Peru). The physical characteristics of this plant are described and it is compared with *H. luteus*. The author



TITLE OF DODOENS, 1574

states that it comes "from the provinces of America which they call the West Indies, among which is the kingdom of Peru."¹ Its various names, including *Petun*, are given. It is remarked that the use of the plant (apparently when smoked) induces sleep, or stupefies, or produces a condition akin to drunkenness.

¹ Apparently the origin of the misnomer "Henbane of Peru," for varieties of *N. Tabacum*. V. n. 95.

HYOSCYAMUS LUTEUS.



YELLOW HENBANE

HYOSCYAMUS PERUVIANUS.



HENBANE OF PERU

These illustrations first appeared in this work. The prototype of the cut of Yellow Henbane (*N. rustica*, var. *texana*) occurred in the 1554 *Crůjdeboek* (n. 5-A), and, in enlarged form, in the 1563 edition. (Cf. the illustration of the same variety in n. 9-A.) The cut of Henbane of Peru represents *N. Tabacum*, var. *brasilienis*.

The "nature" of the plant is cold. The *modus operandi* of smoking the dry leaves wrapped in a palm leaf (a cigar) is described.

The smoke or steam from this object, taken into the mouth and nostrils alleviates pain, hunger and thirst and provides a certain joyousness of the spirit. After continued use intoxication is induced, as from the purest wine. They say that many superfluous humors of the brain are cast forth from the mouth by this means. The Belgians use the leaves of this plant against the itch, diseases of the skin, and as a cure for wounds. The cold and repercussive force of this herb quickly cures the itch, as it acts as a repellent which causes the humor to retire inwards, &c.,



REMBERT DODOENS
From the 1554 edition of Dodoens

&c. The leaves also help wounds, preventing inflammation and excess heat, but they should be applied only to warm and robust bodies. The use of this plant is not safe for weak or old people. And it is for this reason, it seems, that the women in America abstain from *Petun*, as Thevet [n. 8] says.

It is of advantage to mix the leaves of this herb with others in order to moderate its coldness. Therefore olive oil in which the leaves have been thoroughly steeped, and the unguents made from this composition must be considered more useful, &c., &c. [*Y*₇^b–*Y*₈^a] (Illustrated with woodcuts, on *Y*₅^b and *Y*₇^a, as reproduced.)

FIRST EDITION. Small octavo (A⁸; B–Y⁸; a⁴; Appendix [with separate title], a₅–8; b–i⁸).

221 FULL-PAGE WOODCUTS, by Gérard van Kampen. Some of the illustrations are colored by hand.

ORIGINAL VELLUM. Size of leaf: 6½ x 4½ inches. Occasional contemporaneous notations to cuts.

REFERENCES: BM. BN. Arber, 72–74. *Christophe Plantin*, Max Rooses (1896), 324 ff. SG., 1st Ser., III. V. those in n. 5-A.

MONARDES, Nicolás (c. 1512–1588), translated and edited by Charles de l'Escluse (1526–1609)

DE SIMPLICIBVS MEDICAMENTIS. Antwerp, 1574.

[Translation of title] Of medical simples brought from the West Indies, useful in medicine. The author, Nicolás Monardes, physician of Seville, and the interpreter, Charles de l'Escluse of Artois. [Plantin's device.] At Antwerp. From the printing-house of Christopher Plantin, royal printer, 1574.

IN THIS Latin translation and abridgement of the first two books of Monardes (n. 15), De l'Escluse disregarded certain matters related by the Spanish author about tobacco, chiefly, however, of slight significance. Following his summary the translator made some valuable comments of his own:

This plant is called *petum* by the Brazilians, from [whose land] the seed was first brought into Portugal.¹

The translator repeats the account of Nicot's introduction of tobacco into France, and gives its French name, *Nicotiane*.

Others have called it the *herba sancta* because of its distinguished virtues. Oviedo in Book XI, Ch. V, of his history tells that it is called *perebecenuc*² on the island of Hispaniola, where it grew extensively at that time. To me it seems most to agree with the description of *hyoscyamus niger*.³

He gives a fairly full description of Brazilian *petum* (or *N. Tabacum*), and says that there are two "species" of it.⁴

[This second species] grows in the hotter regions in June and July; the seed matures in September. I have seen it blooming in Portugal the whole winter, and it blooms there from the month of August. [He provides some details of its cultivation and advice on its sowing.] Among us [French] it is sedulously cultivated, not so much for the sake of ornament, as for its remarkable faculties, especially by certain noble matrons who are enthusiastic botanists. They use its green leaves or those dried in the shade, or their liquor extracted by distillation in glass vessels, for old sores, corrupt and malignant gangrenes, scabies, dim eyesight [etc.], with felicitous success and thus many wretched rustics are helped.

There are those who direct that its leaves be chewed every day in the morning while fasting, in order to be free from gout. This induces a flow of phlegm to the mouth and thus prevents the humor from dropping to the lower members of the body. Charles Estienne⁵ recommended the leaves of tobacco or its distilled liquor for many ailments. To sum up, it is a panacea for diseases of all kinds.

In conclusion he gives a short account of *N. rustica* (var. *texana*).

Dodoens, who became acquainted with this species about twenty years ago, calls

¹ De l'Escluse's comments seem to imply that *petum* (i.e., *N. Tabacum* from Brazil) was of recent introduction into Portugal. Historians are generally agreed that the species of tobacco first brought into Portugal was the *N. rustica* of Florida (cf. n. 12, n. 9).

² De l'Escluse appears to have been the first to identify the plant Oviedo called *perebecenuc* with tobacco. *V. supra*, p. 206.

³ *V. supra*, pp. 224 and 229.

⁴ Illustrated in the 1579 edition. Cf. n. 27.

⁵ Liébault was intended. *V. n. 12*.

it *hyoscyamus luteus*.⁶ It is considered good for many things, though indeed far less potent than the larger variety. [B₂^b–B₆^b]

DE
SIMPLICIBVS
MEDICAMENTIS
EX OCCIDENTALI INDIA
DE LATIS, QVORVM IN
MEDICINA VSVS EST.

Auctore D. NICOLAO MONARDIS
Hispalensi Medico;

Interprete CAROLO CLVSIO Atrebate.



ANTVERPIÆ,
Ex officina Christophori Plantini,
Architypographi Regij.
M. D. LXXIIII.

TITLE OF MONARDES, 1574

FIRST LATIN EDITION. Small octavo (A–E⁸; F–G⁴).

OCCASIONAL WOODCUTS IN TEXT (but not the two of tobacco present in the 1579 edition, n. 27).

MOROCCO, by Scroll Club Bindery. Size of leaf: 6⁷/₁₆ x 4¹/₁₆ inches.

REFERENCES: J., i (ii). Palau, v, 211. S., xii, n. 49941. Comes, 63, 64. Charles de l'Escluse, F. W. T. Hunger (1927), 129, 372. Pritzel, n. 2657.

⁶ A cut of this species was published by Dodoens, 1554 (n. 5–A).

Nicotiane ou Tabaco.

NICOTIANE OR TABACO

A variety of *N. Tabacum* (probably *brasiliensis*)*Nicotiane petite des Indes.*

SMALL NICOTIANE OF THE INDIES

A variety of *N. rustica* (probably *texana*)⁷

No. 18-a This library also contains the *Histoire des Drogues, Espiceries* [etc.], Lyons, 1619, the second edition. On 4B⁸-4C⁸ occurs the translation, by Antoine Colin, of De l'Escluse's version of Monardes (n. 18), which conforms with its source except for a concluding line. On 4C⁶ and 4C⁷ occur the cuts of the tobacco plant reproduced here.⁸ That of *Nicotiane petite des Indes* is reengraved from the second cut in De l'Obel's *Plantarum* . . . 1576 (there captioned *Sana Sancta, sive TABACVM minimum* (v. n. 13, n. 2). The name given (apparently by the editor) to this species of tobacco is incorrect, for *Nicotiane petite* then applied to a variety of *N. Tabacum* (v. the *Glossary*) and not to a variety of *N. rustica*.

This work is not a reprint of the first edition of 1602, but has additions to the text and illustrations. It is a translation, from De l'Escluse, of the writings of De Orta, Christoval Acosta, Monardes, and Alpinus. The section on tobacco occurs in the original edition, 1602, on Ll³-Mm¹; the cuts on Ll⁸ and Mm¹, respectively.

⁷ In reply to my query, Prof. Setchell stated that he had never seen such a combination as is here illustrated, for while the leaves represent a variety of *N. rustica*, the flowers are those of *N. Tabacum*.

He agreed, however, that the cut was intended to represent a variety of *N. rustica*. Cf. Comes, p. 77.

⁸ Both were published by D'Alechamps in his *Historia Generalis Plantarum*, 1587.

PRIMERA Y
SEGUNDA Y TERCERA
PARTES DE LA HISTORIA

MEDICINAL DE LAS COSAS
que se traen de nuestras Indias Occi-
dentales que sirven en
Medicina. Tabla. folias. 124.

TRATADO DE LA PIEDRA
Bezaar, y de la yerua Escuerconera.
folias. 125.

DIALOGO DE LAS GRAN-
dezas del Hierro, y de sus virtudes
Medicinales a
folias. 137.

TRATADO DE LA NIEVE
y del beuer frio.
folias. 186.

HECHOS POREL DO.
ctor Monardes Medico
de Seuilla.

VAN EN ESTA IMPRESSION
la Tercera parte y el Dialogo del Hierro nueua-
mente hechos, que no han sido impressos
hasta agora. Do ay cosas grandes
y dignas de saber.

Con licencia y Preuilegio de su Magestad.

EN SEVILLA
En casa de Alonso Escriuano.

1574.

Tabla de las cosas que contienen estos tres libros folias 124.
Piedra bezaar y la yerua escuerconera . 125.

[*Translation of title*] First, second, and third parts of the medicinal history of the things brought from our West Indies, useful in medicine. A treatise on the bezoar stone and on the herb Escuerçonera. A dialogue on the properties of iron and its medicinal virtues. A treatise on snow and drinks chilled with it. Made by Dr. Monardes of Seville. In this edition are contained the third part and the dialogue on iron, which have been recently written and not printed heretofore. All great things worthy to be known. With the license and privilege of His Majesty. At Seville, from the house of Alonso Escrivano, 1574.

On F₈^a–H₂^b is the chapter on tobacco recorded in n. 15. The same cut of the plant occurs on the title to the Second Part, F₈^a.

FIRST COMPLETE EDITION. Quarto (A⁶; B–Z⁸; Aa–Cc⁸; Dd⁸ [last, blank]. Title to Second Part, F₈; to Third Part, O₁, and sectional titles on R₈, X₈, and Bb₂. Colophon and device on Dd₆^b).

ORIGINAL VELLUM. Size of leaf: 8 1/8 x 5 15/16 inches. (One leaf, Dd₇, is lacking.) Notations on title, margins and last leaf in an early hand.

WOODCUTS IN TEXT of Second Part, as in the first edition, 1571.

REFERENCES: B., i, n. 299. S., xii, n. 49938. Palau, v, 211. Osler, n. 3431.

It was from this edition that Frampton made his translation, 1577 (n. 24).

Monardes' account of the bezoar stone and the herb *Escuerçonera* (as stated in the title) will give an indication of the credulity of physicians and naturalists of the period, and explain why they so readily placed tobacco in the materia medica. The stone was a globular concretion found in the bladder or kidneys of mountain goats and worn by some savage tribes as an amulet. Enlightened Europeans, such as Monardes, however, were not disposed to accept such a superstition. They believed instead that the stone was not only a panacea for venoms but also a perfect object for indicating poisons concealed in plants or animals. Monardes reports several cures affected by the pulverized stones sent from America.

The *Escuerçonera*, also an antidote against poisons, was chiefly effective in treating the bite of a venomous toad (*escuerzo*). It was found in a root shaped like that amphibian.

* * *

No. 19-a The second complete edition of this work, Seville, 1580, is also in this library. The chapter on tobacco, E₇^a–F₇^a. Cut of the plant identical with that in the first edition. Woodcut portrait of Monardes on A₃^a (reproduced in n. 15), from the edition of 1569.

MONARDES, Nicolás (c. 1512–1588), *translated by* Annibal BRIGANTI (fl. 1550–1560)

DELLE COSE . . . DALL'INDIE OCCIDENTALI. Venice, 1575.

[*Translation of title*] Of the things which are brought from the West Indies, useful in medicine. Collected and written by Dr. Nicolás Monardes, physician of Seville. First [and second] part. Newly translated from the Spanish into our Italian language. In which is also treated of poisons and their antidotes. Supplied with two indices, one of the principal chapters, the other of the more essential things which are contained in the whole work. [Printer's device] With the privilege. At Venice. Press of Giordano Ziletti, 1575.

On a₂^a–b₄^a of the Second Part is the chapter on tobacco recorded in n. 15. The cut of the plant, identical with that in n. 13 (but without the negro's head) occurs on a₂^a.

DELLE COSE
CHE VENGONO
portate dall'Indie Occidentali
pertinenti all'uso della
MEDICINA.

Raccolte, & trattate dal Dottor Nicolò
MONARDES, Medico in Siuiglia,

PARTE PRIMA.

Nonamente recata dalla Spagnola nella nostra
lingua Italiana.

Doue ancho si tratta de' VENENI, & della lor cura.

Aggiuntini doi Indici; vno de' capi principali; l'altro delle cose
piu rileuanti, che si trouano in tutta l'opera.



CON PRI

VILEGIO.

IN VENETIA, Presso di Giordano Ziletti. 1575.

TITLE OF MONARDES, 1575

FIRST ITALIAN EDITION. Small octavo (*8; A–I⁸ [last two, blank; one lacking]; Second Part, *4; a–I⁸. Colophon on k₈^a).

WOODCUTS IN TEXT of Second Part of the same subjects as in the 1571 Spanish edition (n. 15).

MOROCCO, by Petit. Size of leaf: 6 1/6 x 4 inches.

REFERENCES: J., i (ii). Palau, v, 211. S., xii, n. 49939.

"The original Italian translation . . . is very rare. Not cited by Ternaux, nor by Haym." Leclerc (quoted in S.).

No. 20-a The second edition of this work, Venice, 1582, is also in this library. The chapter on tobacco, H₄^b-I₄^b. Cut of the plant identical with that in the first edition. (Bound with De Orta's *Due Libri*, Venice, 1582.)

No. 20-b This library contains as well the following Italian edition: DELLE VIRTU' | DEL | TABACCO | Sue grandissime, e maravigliose | operazioni. | *Tratto, nel quale ogn' uno può | cavare non poco profitto.* | DI NICOLÒ' | MAINARDES. | [ornament] | IN VENEZIA, | Per Domenico Lovisa. | *Con Licenza de' Superiori.* [c. 1675] Sm. duodecimo (A, 12 leaves [first, blank]).

This appears to be the first separate printing, with identical contents, of the chapter on tobacco in the first Italian edition, 1575.

THEVET, André (1502-1590)

LA COSMOGRAPHIE VNIVERSELLE. Paris, 1575.

[Translation of title] The Universal Cosmography of André Thevet, cosmographer of the King. Illustrated with various figures of the most remarkable things seen by the author and unknown to the ancients and moderns. First [and second] volume. [Chaudière's device] At Paris, from the house of Guillaume Chaudière¹ . . . 1575. With the privilege of the King.

BY 1575 both of the principal species of tobacco² (in several varieties) imported from America were generally known to French botanists and physicians. The name, *Nicotiane*, too, was fairly well established there, although it had popular rivals in the equivalents of "herb of the queen" and (occasionally) "female" *petun*, etc. Little attention was paid to Thevet's anticlimactic claim, therefore, that he had first (*v.* the introduction to n. 8) brought the seeds of tobacco to France and cultivated it in his garden in Angoulême. Indeed, the apparent success of remedies depending upon tobacco consolidated Nicot's position in royal and public favor, and he continued to be credited with the initial introduction of the plant into France. At a time, too, of fierce religious dissension and other turbulent matters, there could have been little interest in the name of a plant and its academic history.

Thevet could not persuade his contemporaries to accept his designation for the species of the tobacco plant then best known in Paris and its environs (obviously introduced by Nicot) and historical evidence has approved their decision. For if he made the importation upon which he insisted, the seeds he brought in were of a different species from the *Nicotiane* then fairly common in French physic gardens.

In the first of two passages on tobacco in this work (the account of *petun*), Thevet repeats in essence what he had already recorded in his *Singularitez* (n. 8). This, with some additions, relates to the Brazilian custom of smoking. He says, after writing of the benefit of inhaling *petun*, that even when engaged in conversation the natives puffed continuously. He alters an opinion or two he held twenty years before, saying, ". . . the women use it infrequently." In his earlier work he had said emphatically that they "use it by no means." Perhaps he had forgotten whether they did or not. He repeats further information from the *Singularitez*, and then writes:

¹ The imprint in the John Carter Brown Library copy has the name Pierre l'Huillier, indicating that the work was handled by these two publishers.
² *V.* the *Introduction*, pp. 38-41.

Ex Biblio: Wisensteigensi: 1626.
LA

COSMOGRAPHIE VNIVERSELLE D'ANDRE THEVET COSMO- GRAPHE DV ROY.

ILLVSTREE DE DIVERSES FIGVRES DES
CHOSSES PLUS REMARQVABLES VEVES PAR
l'Auteur, & incogneues de noz Anciens & Modernes.

TOME PREMIER.

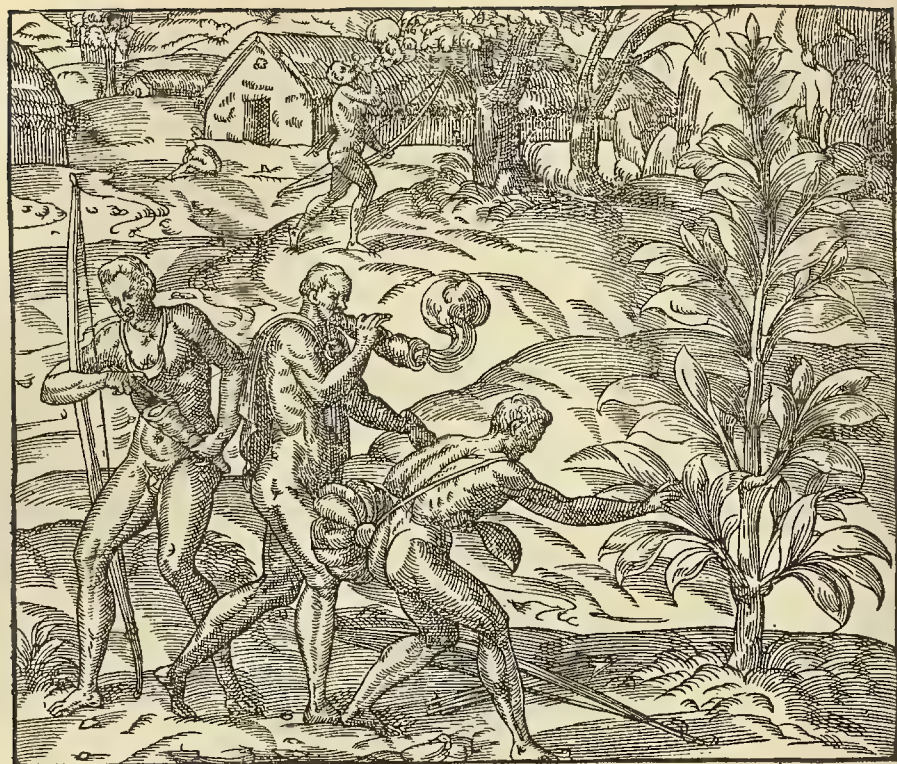


A PARIS,
Chez Guillaume Chaudiere, rue S. Iaques, à l'enfeigne du
Temps, & de l'Homme fauage.
1575.
Avec Priuilege du Roy.

TITLE OF THEVET, 1575

I can flatter myself to have been the first to bring the seed of this plant to France, and likewise to have sowed it and called it *l'herbe Angoumoisine* [sic].³ Since

³ After his birthplace, Angoulême.

BRAZILIAN SMOKERS AND TOBACCO PLANT⁴

then a certain person [Nicot] who never made the journey [to America], some ten years after I returned⁵ gave it his name.⁶ It is foolish to wish to convince me [of the fantastic conceit] that the savages used the leaves of this plant (as some have said) to cure their illnesses, and especially for wounds and ulcers. It has no other virtue or efficacy except what I have said [*i.e.*, to clear the head of superfluous humors, sustain one when hungry or thirsty, etc.]. Furthermore I am disgusted by others⁷ who recount that there are two kinds of *petun*, that is, *male* and *female*, as if that were not a common thing in plants . . . It need not be remarked here that one plant is higher than another or that some leaves are wider than others.

The same is true of other plants which display such natural variations either when cultivated, or when left to grow wild.

The claim has been advanced that water can be drawn from my *herbe Angoulmoisine* by distilling it in an alembic, which I well believe, for it can be done with all plants. But to say that an oily extract can thus be obtained is ridiculous. And let no empirics, alchemists, extractors of quintessences or *antimonialists* attempt to persuade me of it.

⁴ The side-note describes this cut as a portrait of the herb *Petun* or *Angoulmoisine*. The tips of the leaves seem characteristic of *N. Tabacum* (var. *brasilensis*; Comes, p. 7) and, as Thevet introduced the seeds of that variety into France, it is that species which should be illustrated here. (V. Comes, *Monographie*, p. 14.) But even so competent an authority as Prof. Setchell found the cut too perplexing to

classify. (V. the introductory note to n. 26.)

⁵ Thevet returned to France in 1556 (v. *supra*, p. 217), whereas Nicot's introduction of the plant occurred in 1559-1560.

⁶ Nicot was not responsible for naming the plant. V. n. 12.

⁷ V. Liébault, n. 12, n. 9, Gohory, n. 17, *et al.*

There is, moreover, a certain Italian⁸ who wrote curious things of the properties of this plant and in telling the most stupid imaginable lies about it proves that he never travelled at all. He assures the reader that the vapor of the dried plant sustains the poor barbarians (in Florida, whence it is brought) four days without food, and that they take the vapor of it through the nose, lying in a couch [hammock].⁹ I am ashamed to read such absurdities, for no man living ever saw a single plant of *petun* in Florida¹⁰ nor in the circuit of a thousand leagues [*sic*]. To sum up, the savages with whom I had intercourse for a long time did not use this plant for any other purposes than those I have related above, which you may see portrayed from nature herewith. [Vol. II, 5D_{vj}^b-5E_i^a] (Illustrated by a cut.)

On 5T_{iii}^a, Vol. II, is the account, with some alterations, of the use of tobacco by the Canadian Indians (v. second excerpt in n. 8). Thevet here calls the herb *Theniot*,¹¹ describes its use briefly and compares it again with the Brazilian *petun*.

The Indians of [South America] use the herb by smoking it wrapped in a palm-leaf because they enjoy its odor.

The cuts reproduced in n. 8 occur in this work, on a larger scale, on 5F_{iii}^a and 5F_{vj}^a.

Thevet's opinions came too late to have any effect. The information available—accurate or otherwise—relating to tobacco had long been accepted without question by those interested. It was firmly believed that tobacco intoxicated Indian priests, cured dangerous wounds, and served as a substitute for food and drink, etc. Everyone seemed to know that it was Nicot and no other who had introduced the plant into France, and that the Indians had employed it medicinally since the remote past. Thevet came in for some sharp criticism based upon the assertions he made in the first tobacco passage cited above. De Léry in 1578 (n. 26) and later Liébault (v. a passage in n. 28, n. 5) were among those who challenged him.¹² But the most important of Thevet's statements here is his denial that the American natives used tobacco as a vulnerary. In this he was but reporting his own actual observations, thus agreeing with those of the earliest explorers in America. In no work before Liébault's (n. 12) does there appear to be any notice of the antiseptic uses of tobacco.

Thevet's demand that he be credited with the original introduction of tobacco seeds into France received little consideration from his contemporaries. A few biographies, botanical works and encyclopedias paid casual attention to the matter but disdained to examine it critically. Paul Gaffarel in his edition of Thevet (1878) made the first earnest attempt to honor him in this respect. The only proposition to be considered here is whether or not Thevet really brought back with him from Brazil the seeds of tobacco. He did not claim the honor of this importation in the account of his visit to America (published 1557); it was only after tobacco became an object of wide public interest in France that he presented himself as its original importer.

⁸ Benzoni (n. 10) is implied.

⁹ But the first part of this statement does not appear in Benzoni's text; it does, however, occur in that of Liébault and others.

¹⁰ If Thevet was referring to the territory now known as Florida (v. n. 12, n. 9), he was correct in the assertion that *petun* (the *N. Tabacum* of Brazil) was unknown there at that time. The only species

which was indigenous to that region was *N. rustica*.

¹¹ This word seems to be unknown in the Canadian Indian languages, and may possibly have represented a further attempt on Thevet's part to identify himself with the introduction of tobacco into France (v. *supra*) by using a word reminiscent of his name.

¹² V. the concluding remarks in n. 8.

According to Gesner (n. 22), *petun* was already associated with Thevet's name by 1565, and it is certain that the *N. Tabacum* of Brazil was growing in France before 1570,¹³ despite the negative evidence provided by De Léry's researches.¹⁴ Perhaps it really was Thevet who was responsible for the first appearance of that species there. The only motive which would have prompted him to collect the seeds of tobacco in Brazil would have been the natural curiosity of a scientific man about the plant the



ANDRÉ THEVET
From the 1575 edition of *Thevet*.

natives put to so strange a use. He would not have undertaken this importation because of any assumed remedial value in tobacco, for he ridiculed the opinions of those who later advertised it as a vulnerary, and, of course, he could have had no pre-science of its great commercial worth.

If, therefore, Thevet's statement was based on fact, his importation would have antedated Nicot's by at least three years.¹⁵ A further phase must be considered which may explain the original unwillingness to accept Thevet's claim, and which has long been the cause of confusion. The species of tobacco brought in from Brazil

¹³ *V.* the references in the introductory notes to n. 26.

¹⁴ *V.* n. 26.

¹⁵ In this event he is entitled to the credit bestowed upon him by his biographer, Paul Gaffarel, who

eulogized Thevet as the principal enricher of the public treasury. As the species now used almost exclusively in France is *N. Tabacum*, it provides the greater source of the revenue derived by the government monopoly. *V. La., Europe*, pp. 48 ff.

is almost certain to have been a variety of *N. Tabacum*,¹⁶ while that passed on by Nicot from Florida via Portugal was *N. rustica*, which, by 1575, was being extensively cultivated in French gardens for use in medicine. To many people, particularly those without scientific botanical knowledge and with a confused opinion of tobacco's geographic sources, these two species were unrelated, "having," as De Léry (n. 26) said, "nothing in common in their form or in their properties."

FIRST EDITION. Two volumes. Folio (I: ã⁸; ã⁶; 7⁶; a-z⁶; A⁶; B⁴; C-Z⁶; 2a-2z⁶; 2A-2H⁶; 2I⁸ [last, blank]; Table, ã⁶; ã⁶. II: ††⁴; ã⁴; 2K-2Z⁶; 3a-3z⁶; 3A-3Z⁶; 4a-4n⁶; 4o⁸; 4p-4f⁶; 4t² [last, blank]; 5A-5V⁶; 5X⁴ [last, blank]; Table, α⁶; β⁶; γ⁶ [last, blank]).

FOUR FOLDING MAPS; portrait of the author (as reproduced) on ã⁸; numerous woodcut illustrations.

CONTEMPORARY CALF, gilt ornaments on sides. Size of leaf: 14³/₁₆ x 9⁷/₁₆ inches.

Armorial stamp on both titles; manuscript inscription, "Ex Biblio. Wissensboigensi: 1626." Manuscript inscriptions at end of each volume dated (Vol. I) 1592 and (Vol. II) 1589, signed by Dr. John Exling.

REFERENCES: BM. J., i (ii). Wi., ii, 151. Singer, 136-137. La., *Europe*, 48 ff. W. (Dexter), iv, 31. Rodrigues, n. 2361. Atkinson, 249. Comes, 69, 71. *V.* concluding notes to n. 8.

GESNER, Konrad von (1516-1565), edited by Caspar WOLFF

EPISTOLARVM MEDICINALIVM. Zurich, 1577.

[Translation of title] Three books of medical epistles, of Konrad Gesner, philosopher and physician of Zurich. To these have been added an affirmation, by the same [author], of Dioscorides' first [book on] aconite, as well as a little treatise concerning the description and use of both oxymel and hellebore. All now for the first time published by Caspar Wolff, a physician of Zurich. [Printer's device] Published by Christopher Froschouer, at Zurich, 1577.

IT WAS quite natural that the introduction into Europe of a new plant, widely advertised for its miraculous medicinal powers, should excite the attention of Gesner, affirmed the greatest naturalist since Aristotle. As is indicated below, he maintained a steady correspondence with European scholars. Many of these sent him specimens for his gardens and botanical museum at Zurich, where he had founded a college of medicine and surgery. Among his letters are several written in the year he died from the plague, which he had twice checked in Zurich. These display the considerable interest then manifested by him and by others in tobacco. His friend Aretius had already grown the new plant in Berne; Occo, famous German medical author and then city physician at Augsburg, had received it from France, and Gesner received it from the latter, his brother-in-law, through Funck.

To Dr. Johann Funck, at Memmingen. (Excerpt)

The leaf sent from France in August was distinctly new to me, and therefore I wished to taste it. But I immediately perceived its acrimony, of the third degree,

¹⁶ Comes (*Monographie*, p. 14) credits Thevet with this importation and classifies it as *N. Tabacum* var. *brasiliensis*, nob. It was this variety which spread

thereafter to Italy, the Netherlands, Germany and Hungary, and which constitutes the base of the so-called indigenous tobacco of Europe.

EPISTOLARVM MEDICINALIVM, CON-

RADI GESNERI, PHILOSOPHI
ET MEDICI TIGVRI-
NI, LIBRI III.

HIS ACCESSERVNT EIVS-
dem Aconiti primi Dioscoridis Affeueratio, &
De Oxymelitis Elleborati vtriusq; descriptione
& vsu Libellus. Omnia nunc primum per CA-
SPARVM VVOLPHIVM Medi-
cum Tigurinum, in lucem data.



TIGVRI EXCVDEBAT CHRISTOPH.
FROSCH. ANNO M.D.LXXVII.

TITLE OF GESNER, 1577

which induces the greatest amount of watery saliva. [He compares it, in its effects, with laurel and thyme water.] After a little while I even felt dizziness, to which I am otherwise not subject. The next day when I again chewed it, again it produced hiccoughs and dizziness, whereupon I washed my mouth and took a

spoonful of vinegar,¹ and so the vertigo was dispelled. Whatever it is, I do not think it lacks venom; I should have tried it on a dog if I had had a little more, but I was reluctant to tear up the whole leaf. Therefore I shall merely describe it [in my notebooks] until I obtain a more complete leaf, or, what I should prefer, a whole plant. . . . So that it may no longer be anonymous, I shall call it *Vertiginosa* [producing dizziness] until I hear some other name for it. I wish that Dr. Occo could obtain for me somewhere the whole plant and the seed, and that he would find out and write me something concerning its nativity, name and powers.² Let him inquire for, and try to procure also the seed of another new herb recently brought to France. (Lyons knows it by the name of *Nicotiana*, after the ambassador, and some call it *Pontiana* or *Potium* [meaning, *Petunia* or *Petum*] of Thevet [v. n. 8] who wrote on Antarctic France.) I have a picture of it, but an imperfect one, and quite wonderful things have been written me about its faculties. Zurich, 1564 [1565³], November 5. [a₄^b]

To Dr. Adolph Occo, Jr., Augsburg. (Excerpt)

The leaf which Dr. Funck recently sent to me, after receiving it from you, I suppose was sent to you from France with no mention of its name or properties. When I tasted a small part of it, only chewing it without swallowing, it affected me in a wonderful way, so that I seemed to be inebriated and overtaken with vertigo. It was as if I were sailing down a river on a ship. Upon repeating the experiment three or four times the same thing happened, as I have written to Dr. Funck several times. I have asked him to send these letters to you. After I had written to him, I gave a small quantity of this leaf, mixed with meat, to a dog. After a few hours it vomited rather copiously, but did not suffer otherwise that I know of, for I sent it away. And when I read in the book by the French monk, Thevet, in which he described Antarctic France [n. 8], that the plant called *Petum* among the Americans brings on similar effects to the bugloss, and yet is in daily use among those peoples, I threw a small shredded portion of the leaf on the coals. Then I drew the smoke into my nostrils and mouth through a funnel and felt no inconvenience except a sensation of sharpness. The following day I took a larger supply and felt dizziness, but less than when I chewed the leaf. Its power and speed in causing dizziness and a species of intoxication is indeed wonderful. For this reason those nations [of Indians] when about to undergo dangers of battles or other perils, inhale this smoke. I am no longer doubtful that this is the same [plant]. I hear that it is called *Nicotiana* by the French, from the name of a certain envoy who brought it to France, and by others *Pontiana*. If you have some supply of it, send more so that I may try other properties of it which a certain friend has described to me. This I do willingly, not only for the knowledge of things itself, but also that I may write better concerning every single detail, and to teach others, or warn them, when there is need. Zurich, 1565, November 5. [V₃^b]

¹ Steinmetz (*Ath.*, p. 974) refers to this passage and remarks that vinegar is actually the antidote which modern science has proved will neutralize the poisonous alkaloid of tobacco.

² The leaf Gesner had experimented with was, of

course, tobacco, but it was not until later that he was to know it, and relate it to the plant he calls *Nicotiana* (*v. infra*).

³ Schloezer (n. 882 [Vol. III, L₆^a]) makes this correction of the misprint in the date.

On the 24th of November, 1565, Gesner wrote to the famous naturalist, Prof. Benedict Aretius—who had already grown the plant in his garden in Berne—desiring information about this botanical rarity. Here, again, he refers to it as *Pontiana*. [h,^b] Aretius' response contained an illustration of tobacco.⁴

Two days later, in a postscript to a letter to Dr. Theodore Zwinger, then at Basle, Gesner says:

I hope to have in a short time the seeds of a plant brought from the new world, parts of the leaves of which, when chewed but not swallowed, or the smoke of which when inhaled, will suddenly inebriate. This I have myself experienced more than once. I have a picture of it; the flower is elegant (grown by a friend [*i.e.*, Aretius] in Berne) like a convolvulus or campanula, of a purple color. These and other things, perhaps rarer, you will receive if you help me and continue to send me the catalogue of your rarities. [f,^b]

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (α-β⁴; A-Z⁴; a-m⁴; De Aconito Primo Dioscoridis, with separate title, Aa-Gg⁴).

OLD BOARDS. Size of leaf: 7⁷/₁₆ x 5⁵/₁₆ inches. Contemporaneous owner's name on the title.

REFERENCES: BM. *SG.*, 1st Ser., V. Osler, n. 623, *n.* Ferguson, i, 315 *ff.* Comes, 105-106, III.

PANE, Ramon *in* Peter MARTYR (1455-1526), *translated by* Richard EDEN (1521?-1576), *edited by* Richard WILLES (*fl.* 1558-1573)

THE HISTORY OF TRAVAYLE. London, 1577.

On H_{iiii}^a and H_{iiii}^b-H_v^a occur, respectively, the excerpts recorded in n. 2, identical with the passages in the 1555 edition (n. 6), except for orthographic changes.

FIRST (REVISED) EDITION. Small quarto (.)⁴; *⁶; A-B⁴; C-Z⁸; Aa-Zz⁸; Aaa-Ooo⁸. Colophon on v^o of the last leaf.).

OLD HALF CALF. Size of leaf: 7⁵/₁₆ x 5³/₄ inches.

Occasional marginal annotations, etc., in a late seventeenth-century hand, by an indignant reader criticizing the authenticity of various passages, and making frequent use of "Lye!" Inscription on title.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 649. B., i, n. 312. C., n. 119; *cf.* 35, *n.* Hu., iii, 922.

While this is another edition of that of 1555, there are considerable differences between it and the earlier work. In his dedication to the Countess of Bedford, Willes (or Willey) recounts Eden's labors and his own amendment of them in this republication. As in the original English work, the larger portion of its contents is composed from the writings of Martyr

⁴ *Cf.* the introduction to n. 30.

*Columpus gan by voyaging year
1492. in Dr. Mart.*

THE
History of Trauayle
in the
VVest and East Indies, and other
countreys lying eyther way,
towards the fruitfull and ryche
Moluccaes.

As
Moscouia, Persia, Arabia, Syria, Egypte,
Ethiopia, Guinea, China in Cathayo, and
Giapan: VVith a discourse of
the Northwest passage.

In the hande of our Lorde be all the corners of
the earth. 1577.

Gathered in parte, and done into Englyshe by
Richarde Eden.

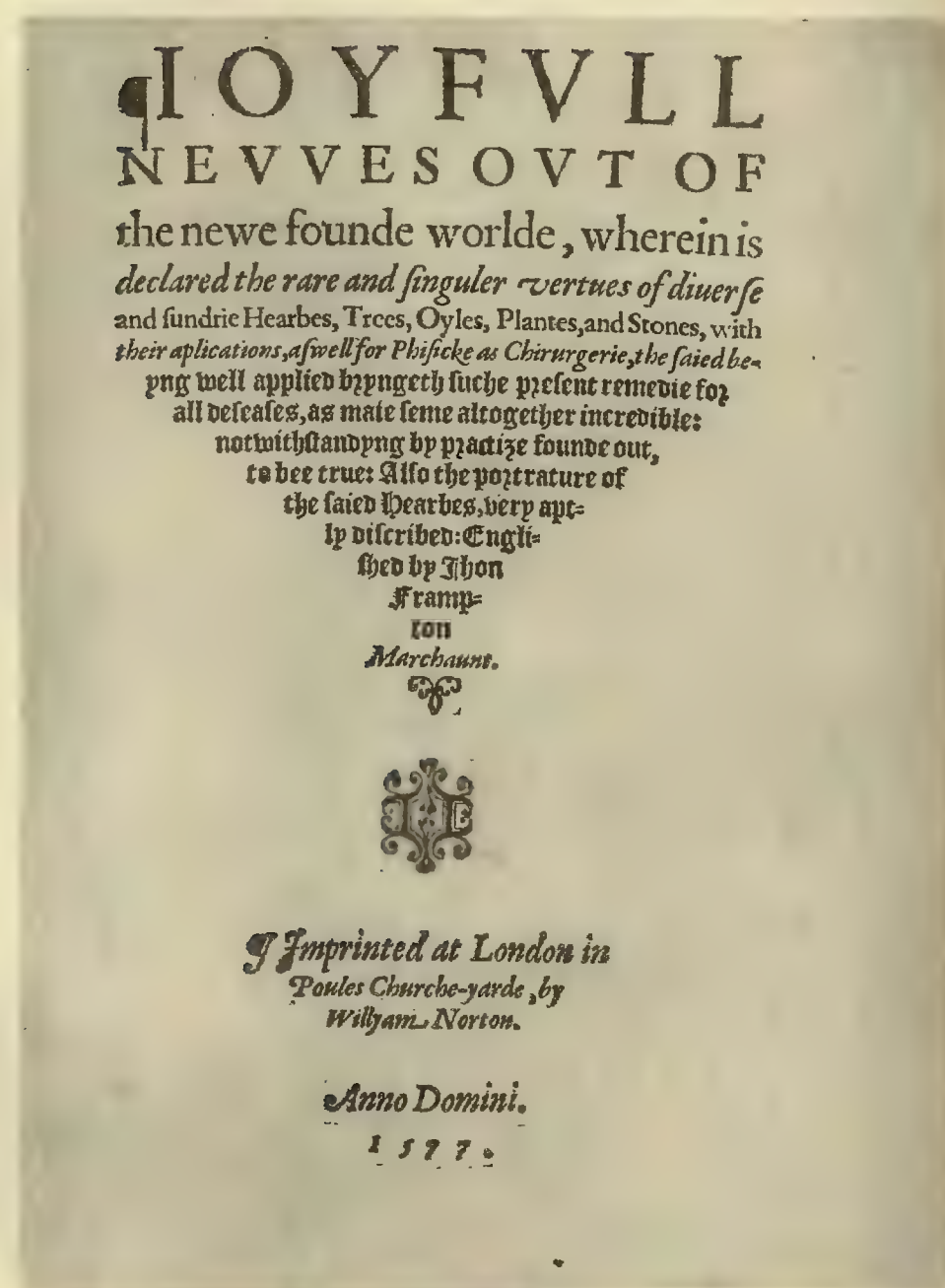
Newly set in order, augmented, and finished
by Richarde VVilles.

Imprinted at London
by Richarde Iugge.
1577.

Cum Privilegio.

TITLE OF MARTYR, 1577

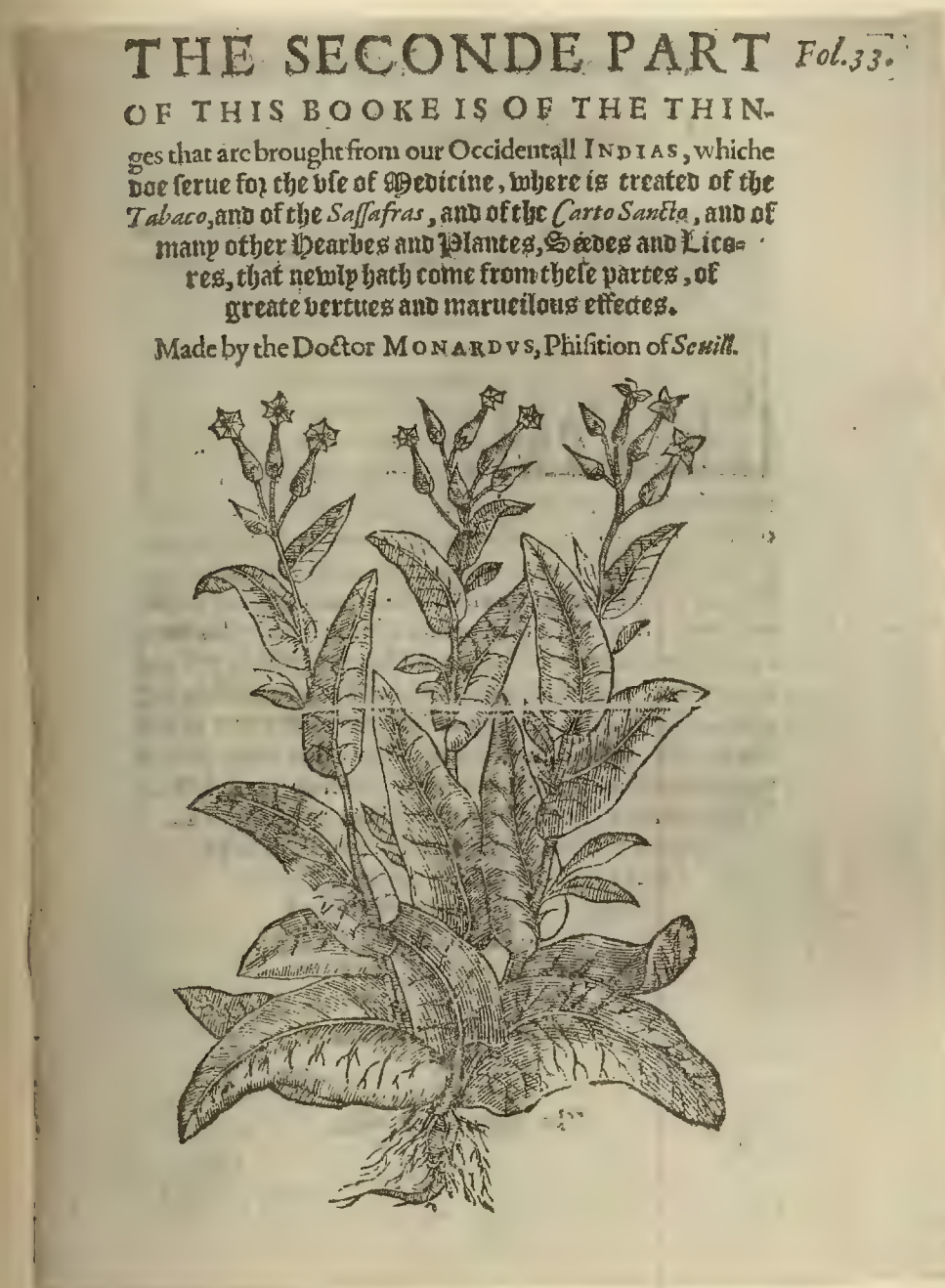
and Oviedo, but there are valuable additions. The first Four Decades of Martyr are included, with an abridgement of the remaining four. There is, too, a report of Frobisher's voyages, Cortes' relation of the conquest of Mexico (translated by Willes), the voyages of Varthema (translated by Eden), etc. A comparison of the two editions of 1555 and 1577, however, has led students to the conclusion that Eden himself rearranged his earlier work, and that Willes acted chiefly as Eden's editor, after the latter's death in 1576.



TITLE OF MONARDES, 1577

THROUGH Frampton's translation the tobacco gospels of Liébault (n. 12) and Monardes (n. 15) became available to English readers. The popularity of these chapters is evident from the frequent references to them in contemporary works.

The medicinal values of the new plant so earnestly advertised by the French and Spanish authors and its manifold uses attracted the widest attention among English



SECOND TITLE OF MONARDES, 1577

new panacea became the basic authority for nicotian information, and the extravagant claims thus made were accepted with simple faith.

The *Joyfull Newes* first introduced to English readers popular designations for the famous plant from America: *Nicotiane* and *tabaco*.¹ It was the first English work

¹ "Tabaco" and "Nicetian" occur in Harrison's MS., probably written in 1573, but long unpublished. *V. n. 31.*

to contain an illustration of the tobacco plant, although this had been previously presented by Pena and De l'Obel (n. 13.)

On I._{ij}^a-L._i^b is the chapter on tobacco, from which the extracts given in n. 15 have been taken. The title to the Second Part (as reproduced) occurs on I._i^a. Following this chapter is the account of *Nicotiane*, L._{ij}^a-M._i^a, taken from *La Maison Rustique* (n. 12), but Frampton failed to credit its authorship to Liébault.

FIRST ENGLISH EDITION, SECOND ISSUE. Small quarto (*4 [last, prob. blank, lacking]; A-Z⁴; Aa-Dd⁴; Ee². With a separate title to both the second and third parts on I._j and Y._{iii}.)

The title of the first issue begins: *The three bookes written in the Spanishe tonge . . .*

WOODCUTS IN TEXT of Second Part, partly from the same blocks used in the Italian edition of 1575.

MOROCCO, by Riviere & Son. Size of leaf: 6 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Leaf *_{ij} is in facsimile.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 18005^a. S., xii, n. 49944. Arb., 81-84. Arber, 104-106. Reprint, introd. by Stephen Gaselee (*Tudor Trans.*, 1925). La., *Europe*, 22.

Frampton's translation is from the complete Spanish edition of Monardes, 1574 (n. 19), except for the passage on *Nicotiane*. See the third paragraph of the introduction to n. 12.

* * *

No. 24-a The third edition of this work, London, 1596, is also in this library. It is the full translation of Monardes into English; the text of the second edition, 1580, has been modified. The chapter on tobacco, I._i^b-L._i^b; on *Nicotiane*, L.₂^a-M._i^a. Cut of the plant identical with that in the first English edition.

BENZONI, Girolamo (1519-1570?), translated by Urbain CHAUVETON

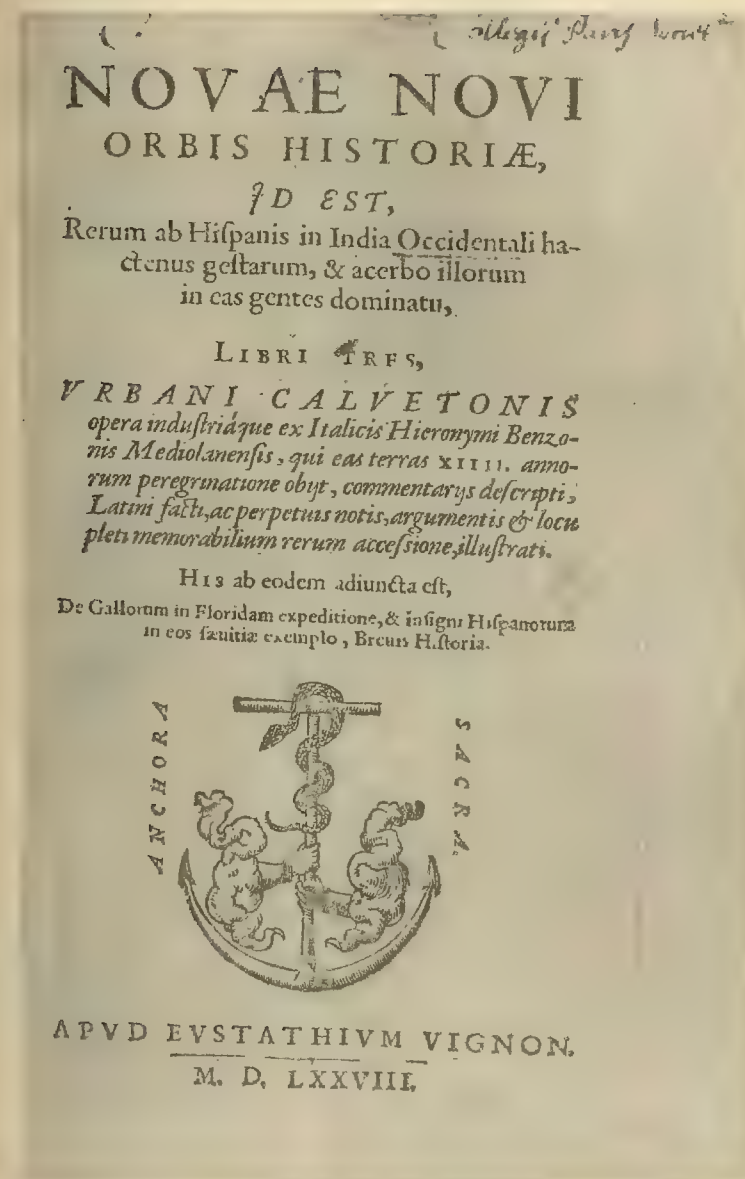
NOVAE NOVI ORBIS HISTORIÆ. Geneva, 1578.

[*Translation of title*] New Histories of the New World, that is, three books of the deeds done, up to this time, by the Spaniards in the West Indies, and of their harsh rule over those nations [there]. Translated into Latin by the pains and industry of Urbain Chauveton from the Italian commentaries of Girolamo Benzoni of Milan, who travelled over these countries in a peregrination of fourteen years. Illustrated with continuous notes, arguments, and a rich addition of memorable facts. To these have been joined by the same [author] a brief history of the expedition of the French into Florida and the conspicuous example of the savagery of the Spaniards toward them. [Printer's device] At the shop of Eustache Vignon. [Geneva], 1578.

On h._{ij}^{a-b} occurs the passage relating to tobacco and its use by the natives of Hispaniola. It conforms with Smyth's translation (given in n. 10) from the 1572 Italian edition, and not with the original text of the first edition of 1565.

FIRST LATIN EDITION, FIRST ISSUE. Small octavo (9⁸; 99⁸; a-z⁸; A-H⁸ [last, blank]).

In the second issue the place of publication, "Genevæ," was added to the title.



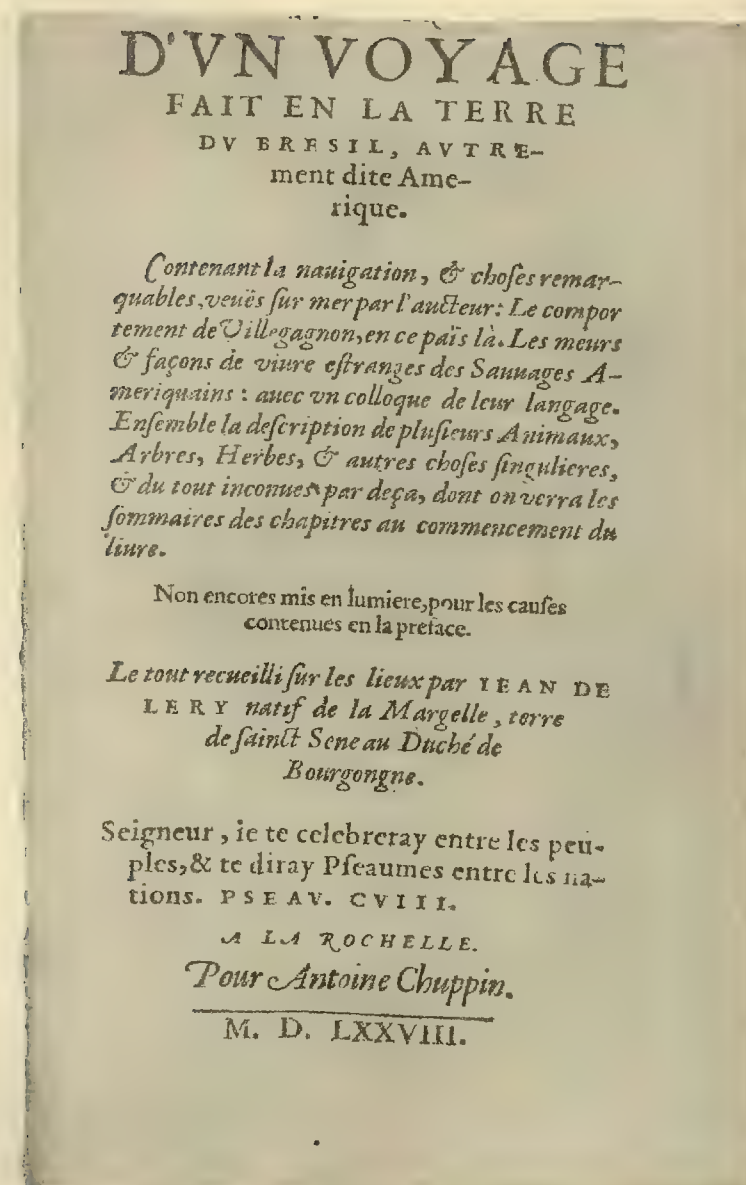
TITLE OF BENZONI, 1578

MOROCCO. Size of leaf: 6 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 4 $\frac{1}{16}$ inches. The title is inscribed in an early hand, "Collegii Paris. Societ. J." Bibliographic notations on fly-leaves. (Bound with n. 26.)

REFERENCES: S., ii, n. 4792. J., i (ii). W., ii, 347. See, also, those given in n. 10.

* * *

No. 25-a The second Latin edition, Geneva, 1581, is also in this collection. The tobacco passage occurs on the same leaves.



TITLE OF DE LÉRY, 1578

[Translation of title] History of a voyage made to the land of Brazil, otherwise called America. Containing the navigation and remarkable things seen at sea by the author, the conduct of Villegagnon in that country, the customs and strange manner of living of the savage Americans, and a dialogue of their language. Together with a description of various animals, trees, herbs, and other singular things, entirely unknown before, which will be seen in the summary of the chapters at the beginning of this book. Not published before for the reasons contained in the preface. All collected on the spot by Jean de Léry, native of Margelle . . . in the duchy of Burgundy. [Quot., Psalms, CVIII.] At La Rochelle, for Antoine Chappin, 1578.

NOT long after Thevet's visit to Brazil¹ there went out to the same colony, as an attendant upon two Genevan ministers, a young Calvinist, Jean de Léry. Having made careful observations of the natives, he recorded "with the ink of Brazil" some valuable information relating to their customs. The plant *Petun* and its uses attracted his attention and he first reported a smoking ritual definitely associated with tobacco,² suggesting an ancient ceremony.

In his relation³ De Léry disapproved of Thevet's claim that he had first introduced tobacco seeds from Brazil into France—the earliest thus to challenge the statement. But his chief reason for questioning Thevet in this matter seems to be based upon something for which the latter was probably not responsible: the illustration in the *Cosmographie Universelle*. (See the reproduction in n. 21. Only its height suggests that *N. Tabacum* was intended.) As it is a highly reasonable assumption that both Thevet and De Léry had observed the same species in Brazil,⁴ the plant illustrated in Thevet's volume would not have been easily recognizable to the latter as an example of the tobacco chiefly indigenous there.⁵ It is probably true⁶ that Thevet had brought the seeds of this species into France, but to De Léry, already in a censorious mood,⁷ the representation of tobacco was so incorrect as completely to invalidate the monk's claim. As will be seen from the conclusion of the following notice, *N. rustica* (introduced by Nicot) was prevalent in all the French gardens De Léry examined, while *N. Tabacum* was so rare as to have escaped his notice. That it was present, however, is certain from the fact of Tornabuoni's exportation to Italy (v. n. 11) and by implications in the accounts of Liébault (n. 12, n. 9), Pena and De l'Obel (n. 13, n. 2) and Gohory (n. 17—*cp.* the illustrations there).

Even at so late a date as this, it was necessary for the author to describe the cigar to Frenchmen, and the method of using it. Although popular throughout the Iberian Peninsula, this form of smoking seems then to have been practically unknown in France.

Together with other visitors to America who had published accounts of their experiences there, De Léry had no observations to report on the use of tobacco for remedial purposes by the natives. His reason for not challenging the opinions of Liébault, Monardes, *et al.*, on this point, as had Thevet, probably lies in the fact that *N. rustica*, and not the species De Léry had seen growing in Brazil, was then being most extensively employed medicinally in France. Perhaps he, too, believed that the tobacco more common in France was used in Indian therapeutics in parts of America unknown to him.

As to the simples produced in this land of Brazil, there is one among the rest which our Tou-oupinambaoults [*Tupi-anama-aba*, the natives there] call *Petun* [*sic*], which grows higher than our large sorrel. Its leaves are similar, but more like

¹ 1555-1556. *V.* the concluding remarks in n. 8.

² *Cf.* the reference to Cabral in the *Introduction*, p. 20, n. 6.

³ This did not appear until twenty-one years after Thevet's original *Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique*. *V.* n. 8.

⁴ Comes (p. 32, n. 3, following Sendtner) points out that the Brazilian Indians also smoked the leaves of *N. Langsdorffii*, obtainable in their land, and (p. 33) implies that it may have been this species

De Léry observed. But as both Thevet and De Léry were at the same place in Brazil and as the seeds brought back by Thevet were those of *N. Tabacum* (v. n. 21), this opinion may be rejected.

⁵ *Cf.* Comes, *Monographie*, p. 14, and Setchell, p. 400.

⁶ *V.* the concluding notes to n. 21.

⁷ The second edition of De Léry's *Histoire*, 1580, contained fuller criticisms of Thevet's statement (*cf.* n. 8, concluding note).



SMOKE RITUAL OF BRAZILIAN WARRIORS
From the 1592 edition of De Bry

those of the *Consolida major* [the comfrey]. This plant, because of the singular virtue you will understand it to have, is held in great esteem by the savages, and this is how they use it: After they have picked it and dried it by little handfuls in their houses, they take four or five leaves, which they wrap in another large tree-leaf like a cone of spice [*i.e.*, a cigar]. That done, they light it at the small end and putting it thus lighted a little in their mouths, they draw in the smoke. This, although it comes out again at their nostrils and through their pierced lips, does not fail, nevertheless, to nourish them. Especially if they are going to war and if necessity presses them, they can go for three or four days without eating anything else. It is true that they use it for still another reason: it distills the superfluous humors from the brain, and you will rarely see our Brazilians without each one having his cone of this herb hung at his neck. At all moments, even in talking to you, it helps to keep them in countenance. They puff the smoke, which, when they suddenly close their mouths, comes out through their noses and pierced lips, as though from a furnace. Nevertheless, I have never seen women use it, and do not know the reason why.⁸ I can certainly say that having myself tried smok-

⁸ This agrees with Thevet's first account of the Brazilian women (*v.* the first excerpt in n. 8).

ing their *Petun* I have felt that it is refreshing and keeps off hunger. Besides, although hereabouts they now call the *Necocienne* or *herbe à la Royne* [*Reine*], *Petun*, it is always of the latter that I speak, since these two plants have nothing in common in form or in their properties. Despite the researches I have made in many gardens where they boasted of having *Petun*, up to the present I have never seen any in France.⁹ And in order that the man [Thevet]¹⁰ who boasted to us of his *Angoumoise* [*l'herbe Angoulmoisine*] which he says is real *Petun* [*sic*] will not think that I am ignorant of what he is writing about, I wish to say that if the natural state of the herb he mentions resembles the portrait he has had made of it, I say that it is *Necocienne* [*Nicotiana*, or *N. rustica*]. In this case I do not grant him what he claims—that he was the first to bring the seed of *Petun* to France, where, because of the cold I believe that this herb would find it difficult to grow. [*O₂^b-O₃^b*]

In relation to the concluding portion of this passage, see n. 29, where De Léry iterates his opinion that *Nicotiana* is not true *Petun*.

In his account of the dancing ceremonies of the Caribs, in Brazil, De Léry writes:

I also observed them taking a cane of wood,¹¹ four or five feet long, at the end of which there was some of the herb *Petun*, dry, and lit. Turning themselves about and blowing the smoke of it in all directions upon the other savages [dancing about them], they said to them, "Receive all the spirit of fortitude whereby you may overcome your enemies." And this these chiefs of the Caribs did several times.¹² [*S₂^b*]

FIRST EDITION, FIRST ISSUE. Small octavo (ã, ë, ï, each 8 ll.; A-Z⁸; Aa-Cc⁸; Dd⁴; Ee⁸ [last, blank]).

SIX FULL-PAGE WOODCUTS. That on page 231 duplicated on page 249. The illustration on p. 275 shows a detail of the cut given from De Bry (*supra*, p. 282): the central figure and one of the dancers in the background. It was probably the prototype of the illustration in De Bry.

OLD SHEEP. Size of leaf: 6³/₁₆ x 4¹/₁₆ inches.

Some headlines cut away; sheet B supplied from another copy. (Bound with n. 25.)

REFERENCES: C., n. 124. S., x, n. 40148. W., iv, 31; viii, 391-394. *Le Voyage au Brésil de Jean de Léry, 1556-1558*, introd., Charly Clerc (1927). Wi., i, 132 ff. Rodrigues, nos. 1391, 1392. Atkinson, n. 261. Comes, 31 ff.

Rodrigues records the issue without place of publication (also 1578) as the "second." The incorrect sentence on ã₃^b, described in J., i (ii), occurs in our copy. It was corrected later, probably while the book was in press. This copy is, therefore, the first of at least three states of the edition of 1578.

Only a few copies appear to be known with "A La Rochelle" in the imprint.

⁹ Cf. n. 17.

¹⁰ V. n. 29.

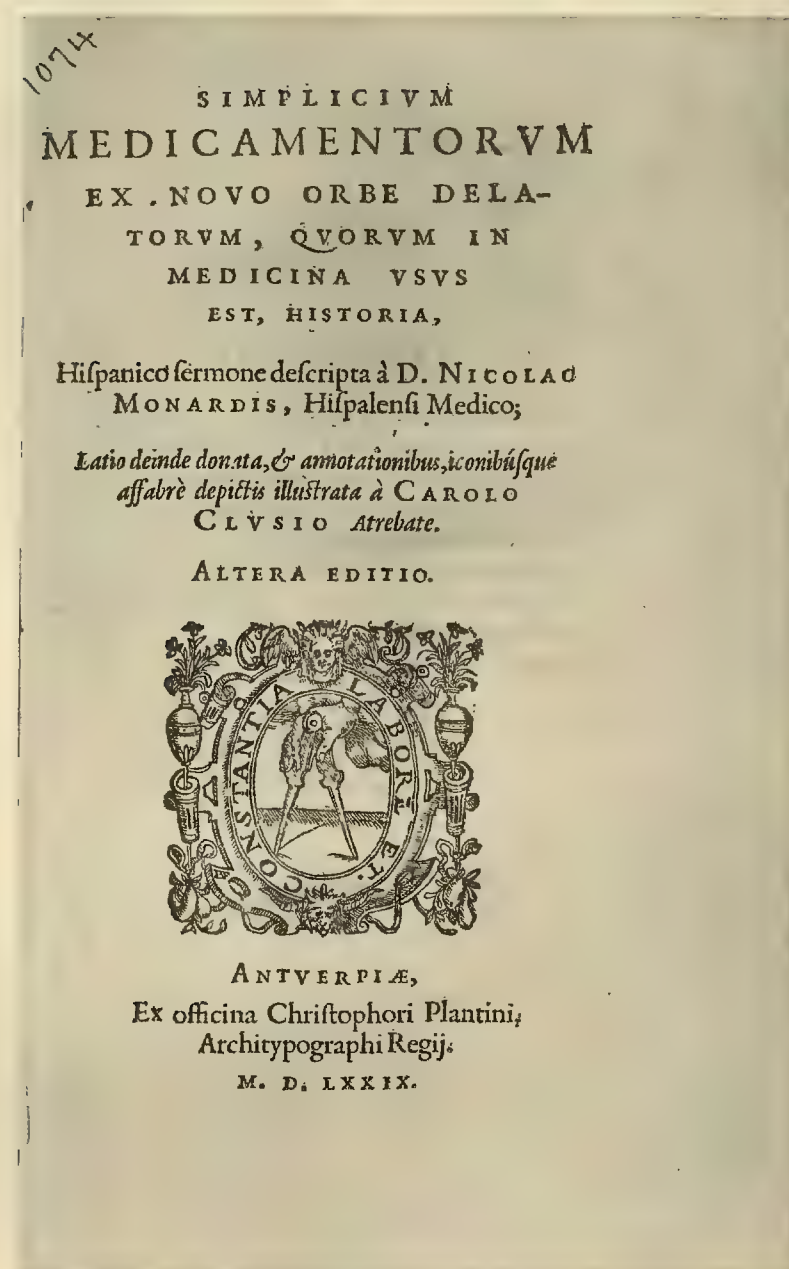
¹¹ De Léry seems, in this passage, to have committed an error. The illustration reproduced here (from De Bry), the cut in Thevet (n. 21), and other contemporaneous evidence all indicate that it was not a cane of wood, but the giant ceremonial cigar which De Léry saw. The kind used by the natives

of Eastern Brazil was probably elongated for ritualistic purposes. A form of this cigar, about two feet long, rolled in a spiral of palm leaves, is still in use in Brazil (*v.* the *Introduction*, p. 166, n. 2, and Dunhill, p. 75).

¹² This last passage provides the first reliable evidence of the ritualistic use of tobacco smoke by native Americans. Cf. the *Introduction*, pp. 23-28.

MONARDES, Nicolás (c. 1512–1588), *translated and edited by* Charles de l'Escluse (1526–1609)

SIMPLICIVM MEDICAMENTORVM. Antwerp, 1579.



TITLE OF MONARDES, 1579

[*Translation of title*] History of the medical simples brought from the New World useful in medicine. Written in the Spanish tongue by Don Nicolás Monardes, doctor of Seville, then translated into Latin and illustrated with notes and images ingeniously drawn, by Charles de l'Escluse, of Artois. Another edition. [Plantin's device] At Antwerp. From the printing-house of Christopher Plantin, royal printer, 1579.

ON b_1^b – b_6^a is the chapter on tobacco recorded in n. 18. This work contains two cuts of the plant not in the first Latin edition, both varieties of *N. Tabacum*. They occur on b_5^a and b_5^b . The first, *Petum Latifolium*, is the same as that of *H. Peruvianus* reproduced in Dodoens, n. 17-A. The second (reproduced here) is a variety of *N. Tabacum*, either *fruticosa* (Comes, p. 64), or *angustifolia*.¹ This is identical with the first cut of tobacco in De l'Obel's work of 1576 (v. n. 13, n. 2).

PETVM ANGVSTIFOLIVM.



NARROW-LEAVED TOBACCO

SECOND LATIN EDITION. Small octavo ($a-e^8; f^4$).

WOODCUTS in text.

MOROCCO. Size of leaf: $6\frac{1}{16} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

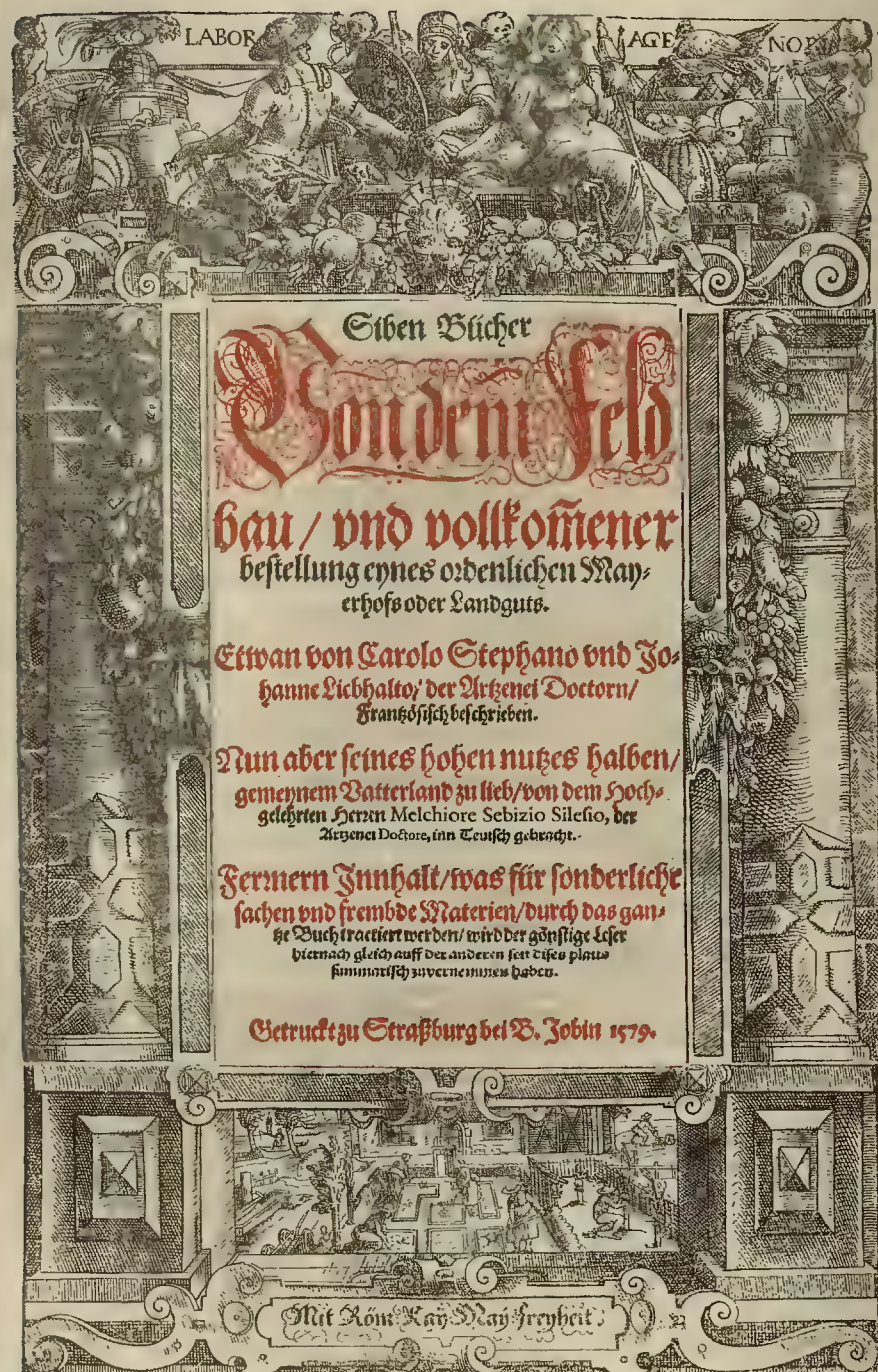
REFERENCES: Palau, v, 211. S., xii, n. 49942. NYPL. *Charles de l'Escluse*, F. W. T. Hunger (1927), 143, 373.

The contents of this edition are the same as those in the preceding Latin edition, 1574 (n. 18), except for some changes in the preliminary matter, and errata at end.

¹ Prof. Setchell, in answer to my query, stated that this cut is "probably *N. Tabacum* var. *fruticosa* of Comes, but since it is not the *N. fruticosa* Hook, we have been calling it var. *angustifolia*."

It is this variety, says Comes, which has been

most commonly cultivated in public and private gardens. It escaped from cultivation and became known in wild state throughout the Mediterranean regions, the Cape of Good Hope, in Asia, and even in Oceania (*Monographie*, pp. 8–9).



TITLE OF ESTIENNE AND LIÉBAULT, 1579

[Translation of title] Seven books concerning the cultivation and complete management of a proper manor or estate, once written in French by Charles Estienne and Jean Liébault, Doctors of Medicine. Now, however, translated into German because of its great usefulness and for the sake of the common fatherland, by the very learned Herr Melchior Sebisch of Silesia, M.D. On the other side of this leaf the kindly reader will learn the further contents [showing] what kinds of remarkable things and foreign products are dealt with throughout the whole work. Printed at Strassburg at the house of Bernhard Jobin, 1579. With the privilege of His Imperial Roman Majesty.

LIÉBAULT considerably extended his chapter on *Nicotiane* (n. 12) for the 1574 edition of *La Maison Rustique*.¹ His new "discoveries" of the medicinal uses of tobacco were by this time so numerous as to make his original catalogue of 1570 seem a very modest affair. Among the advocates of tobacco therapeutics he stood in the foremost ranks, and almost all that had been said in its favor by Pena and De l'Obel, Monardes, and Gohory was eagerly accepted by him. His chapters on the subject were now embellished with a familiar cut (from n. 13) and he was able fully to describe "two sexes" of the plant.

But despite the information he had derived from the authors cited above and others, he was still confused on some essential points, and his involved botanical account of "female" *petum* makes its identification fairly difficult.

This translation of *La Maison Rustique* was the first work published in Germany to contain a full account of tobacco.

Liébault begins as he did in his work of 1570, making occasional emendations as he proceeds. It is stated in the first paragraph that many Spaniards and Portuguese who travelled to Florida, whence this herb came, brought it back with them. There are additional names for it, and two "sexes" (apparently varieties) are recognized.

The Spaniards call it Tabaco, some call it the holy herbe, bicaufe (as I thinke) of his holy and marueilous effects: very many haue giuen it the name of Male petum, to knowe it from the Female petum² which is in truth the proper name of the herbe, vfed by them of the cuntry from whence it was brought . . .

According to this account, Nicot did not receive the plant from the keeper of the prison, but from a "gentleman keeper . . . of the monuments and worthe places of the . . . king of Portingall," which seems more likely. This may have been Damião de Goes.³ The plant described here conforms more closely to *N. Tabacum* than to *N. rustica*.

This herbe refembleth in figure, fashon, and qualities, the great comfrey, in such fort as that a man woulde deeme it to be a kind of great comfrey, rather than a

¹ His work being in popular demand, he reissued it in 1578, 1583, and later. It was (apparently) from the 1578 edition that Sebisch made his German version, and from that of 1583 that Surfleet translated it into English, 1600 (n. 58). Frampton's English text of the 1570 edition has already been introduced (nos. 12 and 24).

Despite the fact that Surfleet's translation is from an edition published four years later than that of Sebisch, excerpts from it are nevertheless employed here, as no material differences (except as noted) occur in these two versions of Liébault's text. See

Liébault's note on this edition, given in n. 58.

² *V.* the *Introduction*, p. 38. The designation "male" almost always referred to *N. Tabacum* var. *brasiliensis*. "Female" was more loosely applied, being often attached to other varieties of *N. Tabacum*, and sometimes even to the *N. rustica*. In this German work "female" is apparently derived from the "male" (*v.* summary at n. 9, *infra*), but part of the physical description could well apply to the *N. rustica*.

³ 1501-1573, Portuguese royal chronicler and savant. *V.* n. 12, n. 7.

yellow henbane, as some haue thought . . . the leaues are broad and long, greene drawing fomwhat toward a yellow . . . not either notched or cut in the edges . . . [It] riseth [as high as] three or fower or fue cubits . . . it putteth foorth flowers almost like vnto those of Nigella . . .

A long account of the method of cultivating the plant follows. Only ten or twelve seeds (not "40. or 50.") are now advised to be sown. The time to sow it is in April, although the Indians and Spaniards sow it in the autumn. The first paragraph of tobacco's "vertues" adds to Liébault's original list "cloudes of the eies" (cataracts), "ftingings of liuing creatures, rednes of the face, and many other accidents."

The application of green leaves of *petum*, somewhat dried, helps the windy pain of the head, arms and legs; the toothache is stayed when the teeth are rubbed with a linen cloth which has been dipped in the juice of the herb, or when the cavity is filled with a pill made from the same herb. Wounds, no matter how old, will be thoroughly cicatrized

if you wash them first with white wine or vrine, and afterward wipe them verie cleane with a linnen cloath, and by and by after put thereupon one or two greene leaues well stamped with the iuice, or the iuice alone . . . [or powdered dried leaves, etc., may be employed]. The Indians vse it to comfort the feeble and not digesting stomacke, first rubbing it with oile oliue, and then applying thereupon one or two leaues fomwhat dried . . . it is in vse also among the Indian Canibals against poifon, wherewith they vse to annoint their arrowes to shoote . . . for when they goe to war, they carrie in one harts foote of that poifon, and in another of the iuice of *Petum* to remedie the mischiefe: and if they haue no greene, they carrie drie with them: and so soone as they haue applied it to the wound, they account themfelues out of all danger of death . . .

Monardes' accounts (v. n. 15) of the Indians' and Spaniards' use of tobacco instead of the usual "sublimatum," and of Dr. Barnarde's experiment upon a dog, are here related again.

This fame remedie may serue against the bitings of mad dogs, so that it be vfed within a quarter of an hower after.

It has now further remedial qualities, for the leaves, used in unguents, in powder, or in "suffumigations," as well as the juice, have been successful, so the author proclaims, in the cure of sciatica, old coughs, obstructions of the spleen, colic, indigestion, pains in the matrix, gout, surfeit, tumors, itchings, swooning, "falling of the nailes of the finger," and numerous other ailments and diseases not included in Liébault's original list (n. 12) or in Monardes' generous catalogue (n. 15).

The diseafe of the mother, otherwise called the suffocation of the mother, is healed by taking this fume into the secreet parts.¹⁴ . . . the inhabitants of *Florida* doe feede themfelues a certaine space with the fume of this herbe ((whatfoeuer a certaine new Cosmographer¹⁵ say to the contrarie, who seeketh by his lies to triumph ouer vs in this respect))¹⁶ which they take at the mouth, by the meanes of certaine small

¹⁴ Cf. the *Introduction*, p. 34, conclusion of n. 4.

¹⁵ Thevet is meant—v. the passage refuted, in n. 21.

¹⁶ This passage does not occur in the German text of 1579. It appears not to have been employed

before the French edition of 1583 (v. n. 58). The text of the tobacco chapters in this German edition is otherwise a pretty faithful translation of the French editions of 1574 and 1578. V. *supra*, n. 1.

hornes, the picture whereof you may see by the figure of the herbe. And the truth hereof we gather from them which haue beene in *Florida*, and by marriners comming daily from the Indies, which hanging about their neckes little pipes or hornes made of the leaues of the date tree, or of reedes, or of rufhes, at the endes of which little hornes there are put and packt many drie leaues of this plant, writhen together and broken. They put fire to this end of the pipe, receiuing and drawing in with their breath at their mouth wide open, so much of this fume as possibly they can,

etc., repeating in words almost identical the passage in Pena and De l'Obel (n. 13) which describes how these pipes (or cigars?) are smoked, the pleasing effect upon the brain, and the similarity of tobacco to yellow hyoscyamus. All the virtues and properties here related of this marvellous herb have been oftentimes proved in France and confidently avouched by those who have been in the New World and fought against the Indians. These last also affirm that much good is spoken of the herb by the Indians, whose priests use it in their magical practises and for purposes of divination.

The method of inhaling the fumes of this herb is again described, as in Oviedo, *et al.*, with an important addition:

. . . the priests . . . take the leaues of a cane *and being mixt with wine*¹⁷ they sup in and receiue it all at the mouth, and by and by after they fall in a trance . . .

It is suggested, however, that this dreadful trance is not due to any quality inherent in tobacco, but to some devilish art. Further references display familiarity with the writings of Martyr (n. 2) and Oviedo, and the practise of inhaling fumes is compared with ancient customs.

Chemists have found a salt in *Nicotiane* as well as an oil,⁸ both of which, for healing the aforementioned diseases and ailments, are far superior to the leaves, juice, powder or distilled water of the plant. Recipes are given for two kinds of ointment partly composed from *Nicotiane*.

The author concludes the chapter with the statement that he has searched out the truth of the matter as far as possible,

following the report and intelligences which I haue receiued of the Portingals [Portuguese], Spaniards, and our owne countrie men, which haue come hither these laft yeeres past from out of *Florida* (which is the natural foile of the fame [*Nicotiane*]), as also such experiments as haue beene made heere in France of the faculties and vertues thereof . . .

and ends with the warning that if the use of the plant is not invariably attended by success the *Nicotiane* itself should not be condemned therefor, "but rather accuse the small care which is had in the planting of it heere amongft vs . . ." If it be cultivated as directed, and as the Indians do, if the directions for its use be carefully followed, then one can readily prove that it is as valuable as the author says. [T₃^b-V₂^a in the German edition, 1579; T₄^b-V₂^b in Surfleet's translation, n. 58.]

¹⁷ The italics do not occur in the original or translation. The passage was undoubtedly derived from the addition made by Oviedo when he revised his work (v. n. 4, n. 9), or from a common source. If the priests (and other natives) were accustomed to indulge in some intoxicating beverage before or

during smoking, the consequent stupor which, according to Oviedo, Benzoni (n. 10), *et al.*, overtook them and which was thought to be induced by a powerful narcotic inherent in tobacco is thus explained. But cf. the *Introduction*, p. 23, n. 5.

⁸ V. Gohory, n. 17.

The next chapter describes "female" *petum*, here apparently⁹ a variety of the "male":

This name one may give it boldly and with justice as it oftentimes springs from the seed of the *male*. It is extremely prolific, growing in such abundance that it is difficult to rid the ground of it. There can be no doubt that there are two "varieties" of this plant, *male* and *female*. For while the *female* is like the *male*, it is smaller, the leaves are not so great, the seed is redder, the color of the leaves is browner, and the flowers not so much upon carnation. It brings forth a nosegay at the top of the stalk and has two flowers of a pale yellow shade upon its "branches." It is a little over two feet high; its leaves (like those of the *male petum*) are not notched. Those who call this herb *Priapeia*, as though it were a kind of satyrium, are deceived. Dodoens (n. 5-A) and others have spoken more wisely in saying it is a kind of henbane bearing a yellow flower.

The uses and remedies of this plant are similar to those of the *male* variety, except that it has some other especial properties. A decoction of its leaves in clyster is excellent for bloody fluxes (dysentery), and its unguent cures cancer, etc. But taken inwardly it purges exceedingly and is therefore to be avoided and shunned until its properties be better understood. [V₂^a-V₂^b; V₂^b-V₃^b in n. 58.]

FIRST GERMAN EDITION. Folio (): (6; A-Z⁶; Aa-Zz⁶; Aaa-Ggg⁶; Hhh⁴; Registers, Iii-Lll⁶ [last, blank]. Colophon and printer's device on Lll₅^b).

NUMEROUS WOODCUT ILLUSTRATIONS, including a portrait of Sebisch. On T₄^b is a reversed engraving of the woodcut reproduced in n. 13, enlarged and slightly altered.

ORIGINAL STAMPED VELLUM OVER WOODEN boards [by Waiblinger].¹⁰ Size of leaf: 12½ x 8⅛ inches. The compartment showing the head of "Peterus," which is repeated on both covers several times, contains the initials "H. W." The rolls and figures in this binding conform with those assigned by Haebler (*Rollen- und Plattenstempel*, 1928, i, 483) to Hans Waiblinger, who is mentioned in the Augsburg Archives between 1589 and 1595.

REFERENCES: Heitz, 74. Notes and References to 1570 edition (n. 12). Haller, *Bibl. Bot.*, i, 275. Goedeke, II, n. 38, p. 499. There is a copy of this edition in the Schwerdt library.

* * *

No. 28-a The second edition of this work, Strassburg, 1580, with identical title, collation, and chapters on tobacco, is also in this collection.

The binding contains the head of "Peterus" and initials "H. W." as in the covers of the 1579 edition, but the arrangement of the figures and rolls is different. A manuscript note in a contemporary hand reads: "Constat 2 fl. Kvensvsberg Anno 1585 den 5 Aprilis des Alten von Isaac dem Costniczer Buchbinder" (i.e., "Costs 2 florins at Kuensberg [?] in the year 1585 on April the 5th according to the old [Calendar] from Isaac the bookbinder of Costnicz [Constance])."¹¹

On the title are an early manuscript notation indicating that this volume was owned by the Monastery of Weingart, 1598, and the stencil-stamp of the Königliche Hand Bibliothek (Württemberg Royal Library).

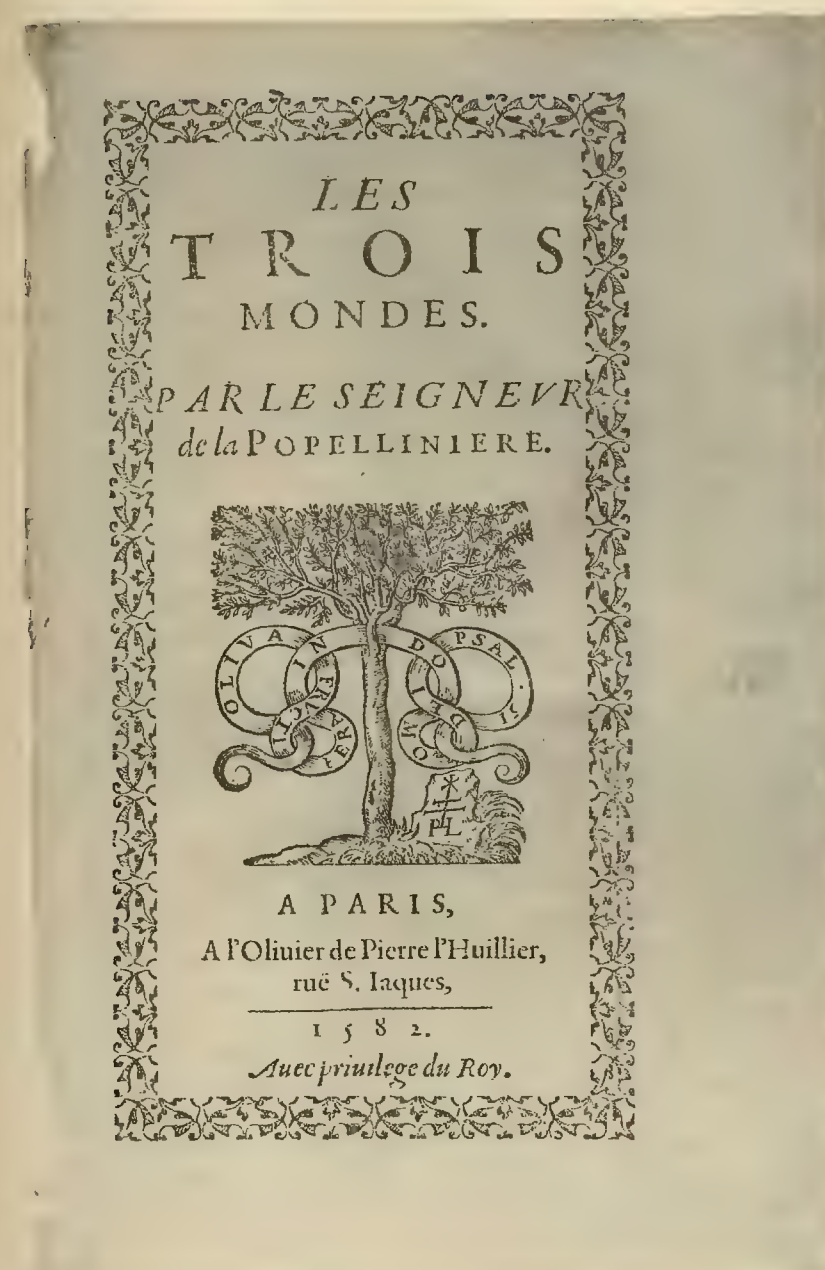
⁹ *V. supra*, n. 2.

¹⁰ *V.* the note following.

¹¹ I am indebted to Mr. E. P. Goldschmidt for his transcription of this ms. note, and to his associate, Mr. R. O. Dougan, who first indicated that Waiblinger undoubtedly was the binder—an opinion

Mr. Goldschmidt confirms. The latter pointed out too, that as a bookbinder was, in the period considered, often a bookseller, it is but logical to assume that the writer of the old inscription purchased, in 1585, from Isaac at Constance, a book which had undoubtedly been bound by Waiblinger at Augsburg.

POPELINIÈRE, Lancelot du Voisin, Sieur de la
LES TROIS MONDES. Paris, 1582.



TITLE OF POPELINIÈRE, 1582

[Translation of title] The Three Worlds, by Sieur de la Popelinère. [Printer's device] At Paris, at [the sign of] Pierre l'Huillier, rue S. Jacques, 1582. With the privilege of the king.

IN THE third book in this compilation is an account of the expedition of Villégagnon to Brazil. (See the concluding notes to n. 8.) On bb^a is recorded the notice of the smoking-ritual of the Brazilian warriors as reported by De Léry. (See the introductory notes to n. 26 and the illustration reproduced there.)

SECOND EDITION. Small octavo (ã, ã, ï, each 8 leaves; õ⁴; a-g⁸ [last, blank]; A-G⁸; aa-ff⁸; gg⁴ [last, blank]. The *Extrait du Privilège*, on ggⁱⁱⁱ^a).

On the page of privilege occurs the statement: *Acheué d'imprimer pour la seconde edition en Septembre, 1582.*

FOLDING WOODCUT MAP OF THE WORLD, reduced from that in the first edition of Ortelius, 1570.

ORIGINAL VELLUM. Size of leaf: 6¹¹/₁₆ x 4³/₁₆ inches.

REFERENCES: B., i, n. 349. C., n. 129. S., x, n. 39008. W., iii, 37. Atkinson, n. 292.

This collection of reports deals with the first French expeditions to Florida and Brazil, and the voyages of Columbus, Pizarro, and others. The vast unknown continent of the Antarctic is the "third world" referred to in the title.

Except for the date notation on the page of privilege, this work is identical with the previous octavo edition of the same year. There was also an edition in quarto published in 1582 (v. Atkinson, No. 291).

LÉRY, Jean de (1534-1611)

HISTORIA NAVIGATIONIS IN BRASILIAM. Geneva, 1586.

[*Translation of title*] History of a voyage to Brazil, which is also called America. In which are described the voyage of the author and what he saw on sea worthy to be remembered; the deeds of Villegagnon in America; the way of life and the customs of the Brazilians, hitherto entirely foreign to us, and a dialogue of their language. Also the animals, trees, herbs and other singular things completely unknown to us. Written in French by Jean de Léry, Burgundian. Now for the first time translated into Latin and illustrated with various designs. [Printer's device] Published by Eustace Vignon [Geneva], 1586.

IN THIS translation of his *Histoire d'un Voyage*, 1578 (n. 26), the author makes some valuable additions. The passage relating to the Brazilians' use of *Petum* is extended. Certain general terms are now employed: America for Brazil, barbarians for Brazilians or natives, etc. A comparison is made between the natives' use of coca, referred to in Benzoni (n. 25), which sustains them as a complete food, and of *Petum*. Mattioli (v. nos. 9-A and 11), too, wrote after Theophrastus that the Scythians were content with glycyrrhiza alone for ten or twelve days, without other nourishment—this, too, corresponds to the use of *Petum* by the barbarians. De Léry does not find its odor unpleasant.

So the interpreter of Benzoni was mistaken when he said that this is the herb which the Mexicans call *Tabacco* and the inhabitants of the island of Hispaniola, *Cozobba* [*cohoba*],¹ and whose odor Benzoni asserted to be sharp and foul—even diabolical.²

He states with renewed emphasis that true *Petum* is not *Nicotiana* and that there is no similarity between the two plants, either in form or in virtues.

The French writer of *Villæ Rusticæ* [n. 12] declares that *Nicotiana*, which had been first brought by Nicot from Portugal into France, had been imported from Florida,

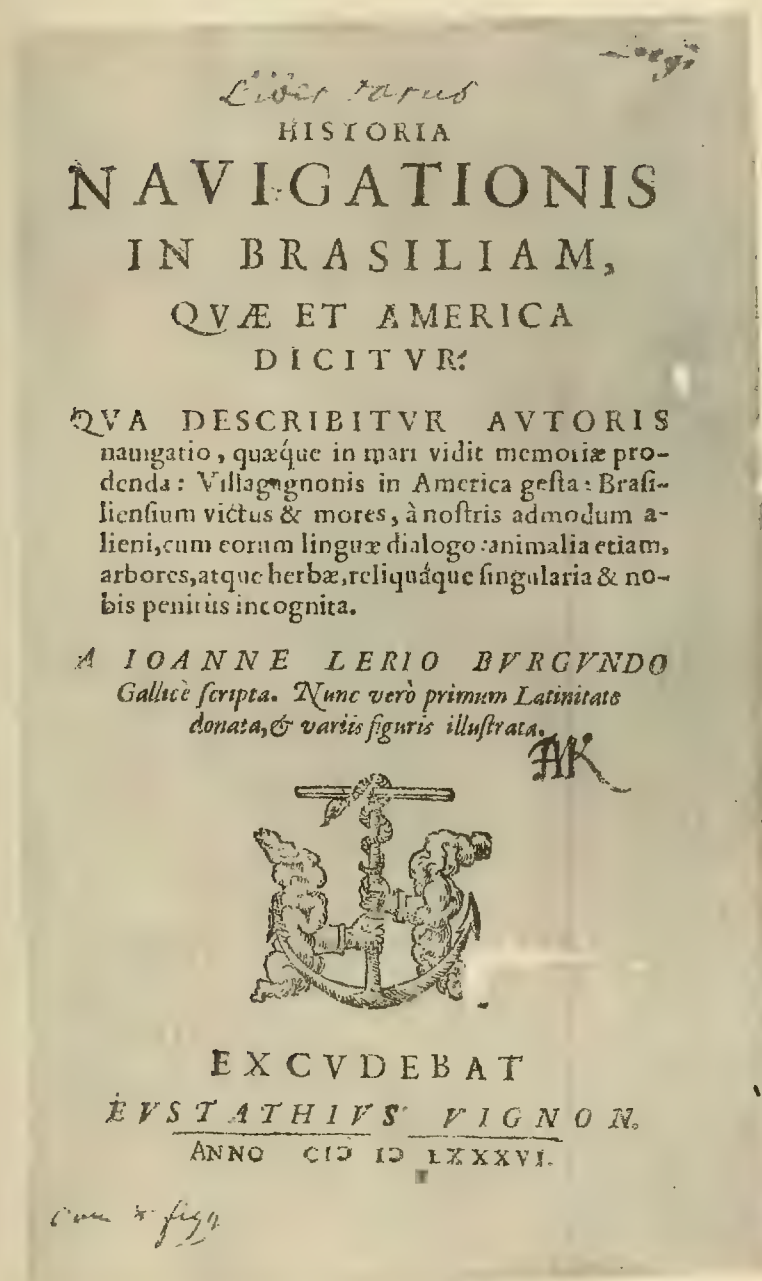
¹ The translation to which De Léry here refers has not been found, as the word *Cozobba* (i.e., *cohoba*) does not occur in the Italian edition of 1572 (v. n.

10, n. 6), or in the Latin translations of 1578 (n. 25) and 1581 (n. 25-a).

² V. n. 10, n. 6.

which is two hundred thousand miles from America [i.e. Brazil], for all the torrid zone comes between them.

He goes on to say what he had said eight years before—that his diligent search of French gardens had not revealed any true *Petum* to him, repeats his disagreement



TITLE OF DE LÉRY, 1586.

with Thevet (here mentioned by name), and concludes the passage as in his earlier work. [L^{ij}^a-Lⁱⁱ^a]

The account of the dancing ceremonies of the Caribs and of their ritual use of *Petum*, as recorded in n. 26, here occurs on P^{vij}^a.

1586 FIRST LATIN EDITION. Small octavo (*8; 2*8; 3*8; 4*8 [last, blank, lacking]; A-Y8; Z4; Index, a8). SEVEN FULL-PAGE WOODCUTS, partly from the 1578 edition, one folded woodcut engraving, and cuts of musical notations in text. MOROCCO. Size of leaf: 6 5/8 x 4 1/8 inches.

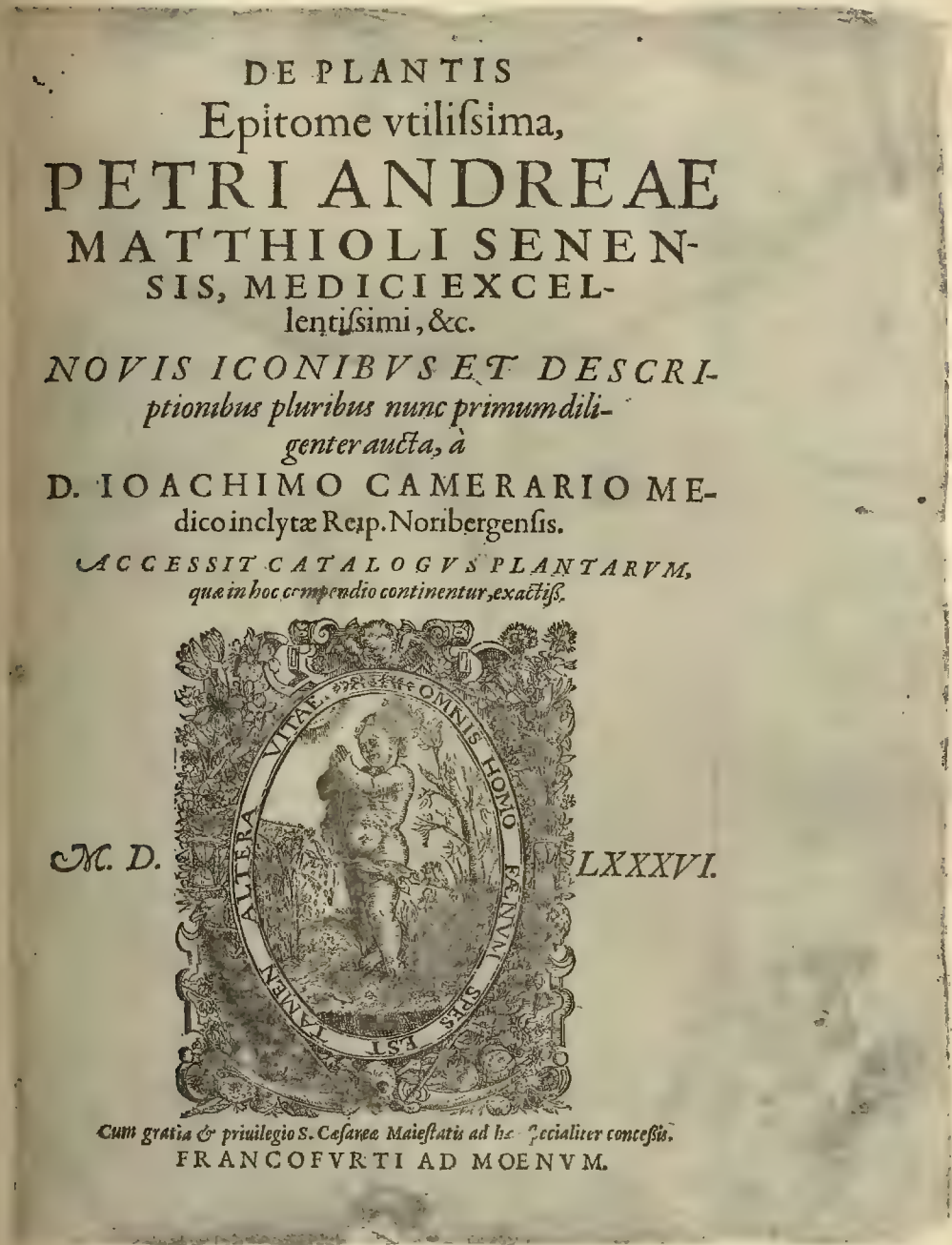
Library stamp of Prof. Gregor Kraus on v^e of title, repeated at end. REFERENCES: B., i, n. 365. S., x, n. 40153. W., viii, 392-394. Rodrigues, n. 1399. V. those in n. 42. This translation was made by De Léry himself. It is generally accepted as more valuable than the original edition, for it contains passages suppressed in the French version, and additional information. Sabin writes that it bears internal evidence of truth such as only an eye-witness of the events could have composed.

In his *Epistola* to William, Landgrave of Hesse, the author writes that he has produced this Latin version in response to a wish made by his illustrious correspondent. Six years before, the Landgrave had announced to a friend his desire to have an enlarged Latin edition of the *Histoire d'un Voyage* dedicated to him.



HENBANE OF PERU
N. Tabacum, var. *brasiliensis*
From the 1586 edition of Mattioli

CAMERARIUS, Joachim (1534-1598), in his edition of P. A. MATTIOLI (1500-1577) 1586 DE PLANTIS EPITOME VTILISSIMA. Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1586.



TITLE OF MATTIOLI, 1586

[Translation of title] A most useful epitome concerning plants by Pietro Andrea Mattioli of Sienna, a most excellent physician, &c. Now first diligently augmented with new diagrams and many descriptions by Joachim Camerarius, doctor in the illustrious city of Nuremberg. A most exact catalogue of plants included in this compendium is added. [Printer's device] 1586. With the favor and privilege of His Imperial Majesty especially granted for this [work]. Frankfort-on-the-Main.

IN THIS abridgement of Mattioli (v. n. 11), Camerarius included his own account of tobacco, illustrated by a new cut of the plant (as reproduced).¹ As he employed a considerable number of the drawings left by Gesner (n. 22), it is possible that the original of this was executed by the latter. It represents *N. Tabacum*, var. *brasiliensis*. (Compare the second cut reproduced in n. 17-A.)

The editor records some of the names for tobacco, saying that it is commonly called *Hyoscyamus Peruvianus*. It was once called *Pontiana* or *Nicotiana*; the Spaniards designate it as *Petun* and *Tabaco*; the French, *Herba de la Roine Mere*, the Germans, *Indianisch Wundtkraut*, and the Indians *Picietl*.²

Its appearance, habitat, characteristics, and the effects of its use are described under a quadripartite arrangement.

It is grown in our gardens and is helpful in the cure of many ailments—for ulcers, wounds, gout, asthma, and other respiratory disorders. But it must be employed with caution for it has been observed that it is a violent purge. If the teeth hurt, one may be relieved of the pain by washing them in the juice of tobacco. [Eee,³]

The enthusiasm with which the "holy herb" had been hailed by the botanists and physicians (among others) was slowly diminishing in these professional circles, undoubtedly as a result of the practical application of their precepts. Camerarius was one of the first to advise caution in its use, a warning to be repeated later with renewed emphasis by others. Tobacco therapeutics had, apparently, already claimed some victims.

FIRST LATIN EDITION WITH THE ADDITIONS BY CAMERARIUS. Quarto (): (6; A-Z⁸; Aa-Zz⁸; Aaa-Qqq⁸; Rrr⁶). Followed by the *Iter Baldi Civitatis Veronae Montis*, of F. Calzolari, 1586 (with *Catalogus Plantarum Quae in Hac Epitome*), Rrr⁷⁻⁸; Sss⁸; Ttt⁴.

MORE THAN A THOUSAND WOODCUTS of plants in text, from the drawings of Gesner (v. n. 22) and of Camerarius.

ORIGINAL VELLUM. Size of leaf: 8¹¹/₁₆ x 7¹/₁₆ inches.

REFERENCES: Bru., iii. BM. Pulteney, i, 160. Arber, 68, 192-196. BN. SG., 3d Ser., VII, 1018. Pritzel, n. 6662.

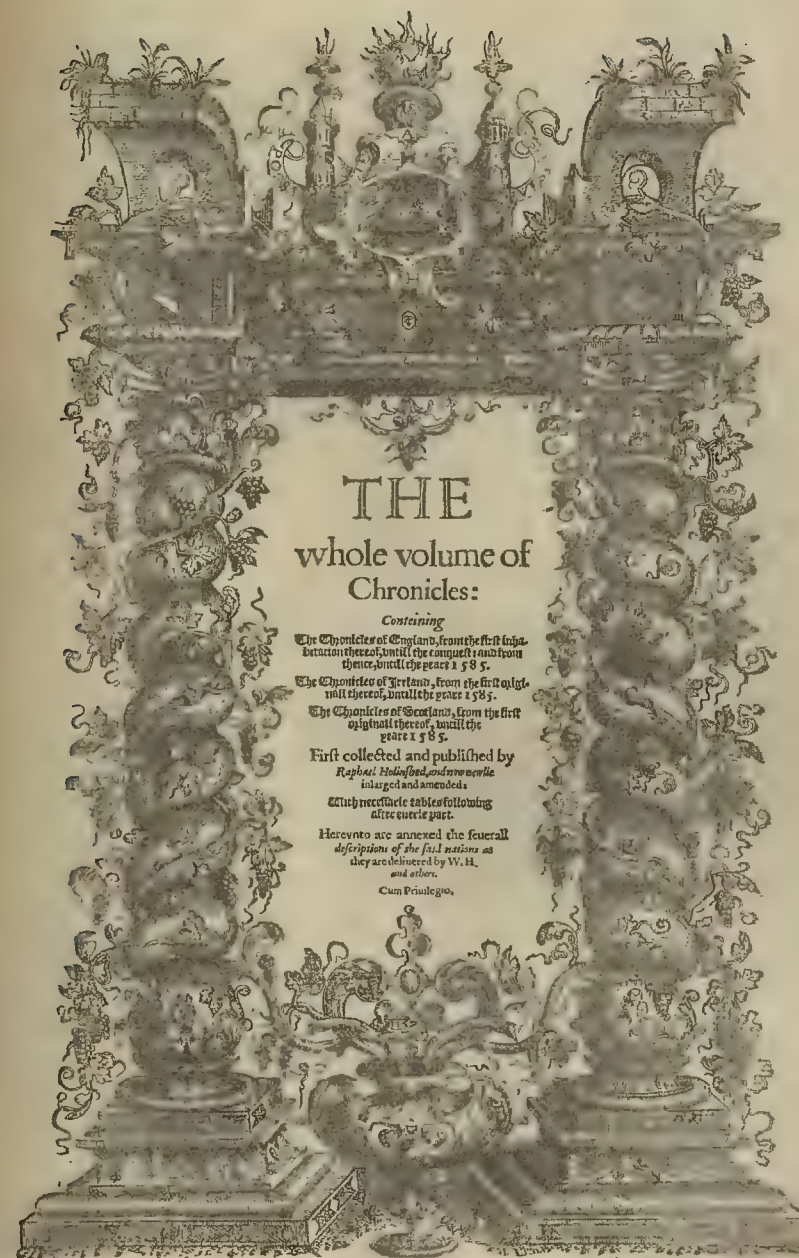
The printer of this Latin edition, 1586, appears to be unknown, but there is a reasonable probability that the work came from the printing-house of Feyerabend at Frankfort-on-the-Main. He printed, later in the same year, a German edition of this work, also edited by Camerarius. Cf. *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, Vol. II (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 317-321.

The source of Camerarius' edition was Mattioli's *Compendium de Plantis Omnibus*, Venice, 1571, which, however, does not contain the account of tobacco recorded above. As did Gesner and others, Camerarius engaged in the cultivation of numerous plants, and when he settled at Nuremberg he was kept supplied with rare plants not only by his friends, but by the town merchants as well.

¹ The cut of a plant similar to a variety of *N. rustica* occurs under the caption "Hyoscyamus Tertius" on Eee⁸. The text accompanying this illustration

tion of a "third, or rather fourth" kind of *Hyoscyamus* does not, however, describe a tobacco plant.

² See the *Glossary* for explanations of these terms.



TITLE OF HOLINSHED, 1586-1587

IN HIS vast repository of historical information, the *Chronicles*, 1577, Holinshed, with "an especial eye unto the truth of things," recorded all matters he thought worthy of note. But he said nothing there about tobacco, although it has been shown that this important new plant was growing in England prior to 1570 and was known to English botanists. When Harrison came to write his *Description of England*, included in this enlarged edition, he added a new chapter, "Of Gardens and Orchards," and in relation to the excessive praise given to foreign herbs wrote:

How doo men extoll the vfe of Tabacco in my time, whereas in truth (whether the caufe be in the repugnancie of our constitution vnto the operation thereof, or that the ground dooth alter hir force, I cannot tell) it is not found of fo great efficacie as they write. [Vol. I, T₁₁.^a]

But Harrison had already taken fuller notice of the plant and its use. In his "Great Chronologie [of England]" (preserved in manuscript in the Diocesan Library, Derry, Ireland, and still partly unpublished) he wrote down the first original English description of *N. Tabacum*, containing, too, a reference to *N. rustica*. The latter he did not think so efficacious when smoked, but it was, apparently, already being used in antiseptic applications. In it, too, appears further proof of the fact that tobacco was growing in England and being smoked some time before the date (1586) usually assigned for the introduction of the habit.

1573. In these daies the taking-in of the smoke of the Indian herbe called "Tabaco," by an instrument formed like a litle ladell,¹ wherby it passeth from the mouth into the hed & stomach, is gretlie taken-vp and vsed in England, against Rewmes & some other diseases ingendred in the longes & inward partes, & not without effect. This herbe as yet is not so comon, but that for want thereof diuers do practize for the like purposes with the Nicetian [*Nicotiana*, or *N. rustica*]; otherwise called in latine, "Hyosciamus Luteus" or the yellow henbane, albeit, not without gret error; for, although that herbe be a souerene healer of old vlcers and sores reputed incurable outwardly, yet is not the smoke or vapour thereof so profitable to be receaued inwardly.

The herbe [tobacco, *N. Tabacum*] is comonly of the height of a man, garnished with great long leaues like the paciens² bering seede, colloured, & of quantity like vnto, or rather lesse then, the fine margeronie [marjoram]; the herbe it self yerely coming vp also of the shaking of the seede the collour of the floure is carnation, resembling that of the lemmon in forme: the roote yellow, with many fillettes, & therto very small in comparison, if you respect the substauns of the herbe.³ (From *Harrison's Description of England* [etc.], ed. Furnivall, i, pp. lv-lvi.)

In answer to his own query, "When and by whom was *Nicotiana Tabacum*, ostensibly described by Harrison, introduced into England?" Dr. Laufer (*Europe*, pp. 8-9) con-

¹ Probably a reference to home-made clay pipes although various makeshift pipes, of a walnut shell and a straw, etc., were undoubtedly in use as well. (Dunhill, p. 225.)

² *V.* the introductory note to n. 13.

³ *I.e.*, passions, or patience—a dock.

⁴ The characteristics by which Harrison knew tobacco belong only to *N. Tabacum*: it is commonly

the height of a man and taller, with great long leaves and carnation-colored flowers (*v.* the *Introduction*, p. 39). *N. rustica* was long designated as *Hyoscyamus luteus* by botanists; Gerard's *Herball* (n. 50) gives an account of this "yellow henbane" under the name of *English Tabaco*, and confirms Harrison's remark by saying that it was a substitute for the "true Tabaco," or *N. Tabacum*.

cludes that Sir Francis Drake first brought it in. But Drake only returned from his third voyage to the West Indies (where this species of tobacco was prevalent) in August, 1573, while Harrison, in the same year, describes with a certain amount of detail the plant then, apparently, growing in England. Even had Drake or his associates devoted themselves at once to the cultivation of *N. Tabacum*—an unlikely procedure—hardly enough time would have elapsed to permit Harrison to report it so fully, were theirs the earliest importation of this species into England. It is probably true that Drake or some members of his crew did bring in specimens of *N. Tabacum* from the West Indies,⁵ but if Harrison's dating of this passage be accurate (and he was known to be accurate), then we must look for some other and earlier source of this species in England. It seems more reasonable to conclude that through the agency of interested botanists, or seamen who smoked, *N. Tabacum* was brought in from Spain where the plant had been certainly introduced in 1558-1559,⁶ or before, and where it was being widely cultivated by 1570.⁷

FIRST EDITION IN THIS FORM. Three volumes, in two. Folio (I and II: A-Y⁶ [first, prob. blank, lacking]; A-R⁶ [last, blank]; *The Second volume of Chronicles*, 1586, A-E⁶; A¹; A-Q⁶; R²; A-V⁶; Aa-Nn⁶; Oo⁴; Pp-Tt⁶ [with leaves Qq₁₁₁, Rr₁₁₁, and Ss₁₁₁₋₁₁₁, containing the castrated text, accompanied by the reprinted leaves with the original text, marked Qq_{111-iv} (paged 421-422, 423-424), Rr_{111-iv} (433-434, 435-436), and Ss_{111-iv} (443-450)]; The first table, A⁶; The second table, B⁸; The third [and fourth] tables,⁸ ¶⁸ [last, prob. blank, lacking]. Colophon on ¶⁷. III: *The Third volume of Chronicles*, A-V⁶; Aa-Vv⁶; Aaa-Vvv⁶; Aaaa-Vvvv⁶; Aaaaa-Vvvvv⁶; Aaaaaa-Vvvvvv⁶ [with the original leaves, Mmmmmmm₁₁₁ and _{iv} (1328-1331), accompanied by the reprinted (duplicate text) leaf for each]; Aaaaaaa-Nnnnnnn⁶ [with Kkkkkkk⁶ (1539-1550) reprinted]; Ooooooo⁴ [last, blank]; The third table, C-G⁶ [last, prob. blank, lacking]. Colophon with the device of H. Denham, as reproduced, on G⁵.^b).

In addition to the original and cancel leaves, this copy contains, in Vol. III, the following, signed: Vvvvvv.j. (paged 1419-1420); A, B, C, D, E. (1421, 1490); F, G, H, I. (1491, 1536); one leaf, unsigned (1537-1538); Llllll.j. (1551-1552); Llllll.ij. (1553-1554); Mmmmmmm (1555, 1574). These contain the expurgated text and were originally printed as substitutes for the cancelled leaves.⁸

MOROCCO, by Bedford. Size of leaf: 14½ x 9¾ inches.

Apparently the copy sold at Sotheby's, March 21, 1905, n. 817, part of "Other Properties." A bookseller's clipping pasted in the first volume remarks that this is the Stanley-Heber copy, but this statement is not substantiated by the entries in their sales-catalogues.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 13569. D., 220. Haz., 1. *Harrison's Description of England in Shakspeare's Youth*, ed. F. J. Furnivall (The New Shakspeare Society, 1877). La., *Europe*, 6 ff.

The first edition of the *Chronicles*, the result of thirty years' labor by Holinshed, Reginald Wolfe, the printer, and others, appeared in 1577. Voluminous as it was, it had a popular appeal. It was a time when one could read a folio volume or two with charming leisure. A new edition being demanded, John Hooker (*alias* Vowell) was employed as editor by the publishers, John Harrison and George Bishop, with whom three others associated themselves for the enterprise. Hooker engaged the services of several writers to assist him, and considerable extensions were made in certain portions of the work insufficiently treated in the first edition.

⁵ *V.* n. 51-A.

⁶ *V.* the introductory note to n. 114.

⁷ *V.* n. 15. *N. Tabacum* was, of course, growing in England before 1570 if the cut of tobacco in Pena and De l'Obel's work (n. 13) was intended as a representation of the species then being cultivated

there. But of this we have no exact evidence; the cut may have been executed abroad and copied from a specimen seen on the Continent. *V.* a reference to this illustration on p. 239.

⁸ The pages ordered excised were reprinted three times during the eighteenth century.

But Hooker and his colleagues made the mistake—a serious one at the time—of writing with honest freedom of contemporary events. The inevitable happened: the Privy Council exercised its authority and ordered extensive expurgations, directly upon the publication of the augmented *Chronicles*.

"In the 'Historie of Scotland' (vol. ii) four sheets (pp. 421-424; 433-436; 443-450 [*i.e.*, Qq^{iii-iv}, Rr^{iii-iv}, Ss^{ij-iv}]) chiefly dealing with contests of political parties in Scotland, 1577, and with Elizabeth's negotiations with the two sides, were excised. In the 'Historie of England,' in vol. iii, pp. 1328-1331 [6M^{iii-iv}] and all between pp. 1419 and 1538, were cancelled. The censures passed on Leicester, Cecil, Bromley the chancellor, and other statesmen . . . account for most of these castrations . . . Whitgift [Archbishop of Canterbury] took an active part in the expurgation of the volumes, and Abraham Fleming [one of Hooker's associates], after offering explanations, conducted the typographical revision. Original uncastrated copies are extremely rare. In castrated copies of volume iii, new passages were introduced to supply the excisions on pp. 1328-1331, but the space between 1419 and 1538 is filled by four [*sic*] new leaves, paged respectively 1419-1420; 1421-1490; 1481 [1491]-1536, and 1527-1528 [1537-1538]." (Sir Sidney Lee, *DNB.*, xxvii.)

The Elizabethan dramatists found the *Chronicles* invaluable as a source for their plots. Shakespeare turned to it for the major part of his historical plays. It is the edition of 1586-1587, and not the earlier, which Sir Sidney Lee (*DNB.*), Halliwell-Phillipps (*Outlines*, I, 275), *et al.* regarded as the one of which Shakespeare made frequent use.



Finished in Ianuarie 1587, and the 29 of the Queenes
Maiesties reigne, with the full continuation of the
former yeares, at the expenses of Iohn Hari-
son, George Bishop, Rafe Newberie,
Henrie Denham, and Tho-
mas Woodcocke.

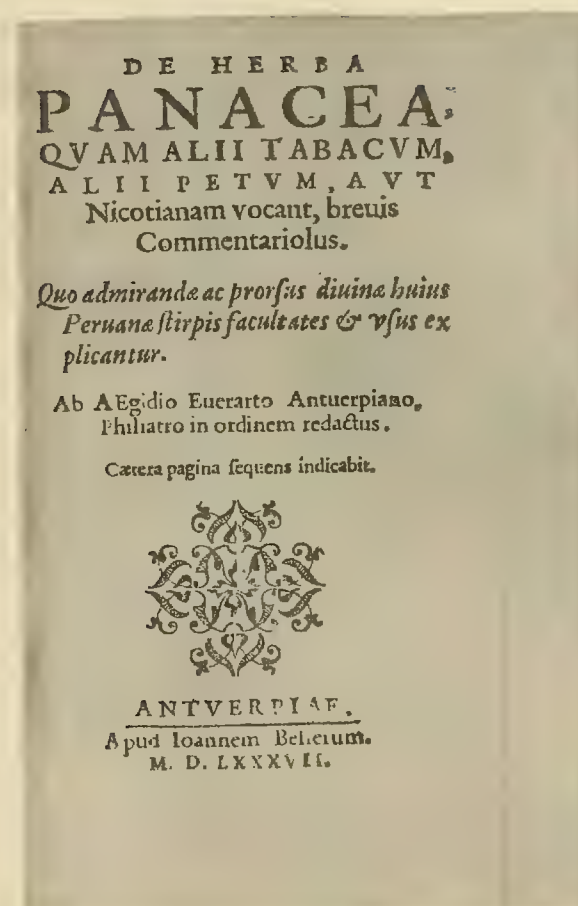


AT LONDON
Printed in Aldersgate street at the signe
of the Starre.

Cum priuilegio.

COLOPHON OF HOLINSHED, 1586-1587, VOLUME III

DE HERBA PANACEA. Antwerp, 1587.



TITLE OF EVERARD, 1587

[*Translation of title*] A little commentary concerning the herb Panacea; which some call Tabaco, others Petum or Nicotiana. Wherein the admirable and almost divine faculties and use of this Peruvian plant are set forth. Arranged in order by Gilles Everard of Antwerp, philiater. The next page contains the index. At Antwerp. At [the shop of] Johann Beller, 1587.

[*Translation of colophon*] With the types of Gilles Vanden Rade.

THIS little work, produced by a physician who is said to have practised with distinction at Antwerp, appears to have been the first published entirely devoted to the subject of tobacco. Its contents indicate that its author had read Monardes (n. 15) with earnest attention and that he had accepted his gospel without question. He was familiar too with Gohory (n. 17), De l'Escluse (n. 18), Dodoens (*v. nos.* 5-A, 17-A), and others, but apparently not with Liébault (n. 12)—at least, he does not mention that author by name.

There is little that is new in this tract, but it provided a neat compendium of much of the information then available. It was, consequently, popular, and among source books relating to tobacco became nearly as famous as Monardes'.

Everard introduces his subject with a prefatory poem on tobacco and its introduction into Italy by Cardinal Santa Croce. This he took out of Durante's *Herbario Nuovo*, 1585 (v. n. 66). In his note to the reader the author says that he was unable to resist the entreaties of his friends that he should publish this treatise under his own name, for it seemed proper to make known to the world the admirable powers of this exotic plant. An excuse for writing it appears in the statement that very few, except Monardes, had ever treated sufficiently of this noble herb.

The author recognized three kinds: "male," "female," and a smaller species which Dodoens called *H. luteus* (yellow henbane) and, before him,¹ Mattioli described under the name of *H. niger* (black henbane).² Botanical descriptions of these three are given.³ The third sort of tobacco had not been known in Europe more than twenty years.⁴

Practical advice on sowing and cultivating tobacco are given, together with details relating to transplanting it. The author interrupts himself to repeat the history of Nicot's introduction of the plant into France and to record several of its already familiar designations. He adds further details of its nomenclature, repeating some common mistakes, states that "female" tobacco springs from the seed of the "male," and makes further remarks on it similar to those in the commencement of the "female" *petum* chapter in Liébault's account (n. 28). The "temperament" of the plant is discussed:

. . . it seems to be hot above the Second degree, and dry in the First, being very fit to Clense, Refolve, and Confolidate, and for this it is miraculously effectual . . .^[5]

Thereafter follow a description of the best method of drying the leaves, a repetition of Monardes' relation of the use of the plant by the negroes and Indians to relieve themselves of weariness, the method employed by the Floridans in taking in the fume through little tubes, a case-history from Dodoens (v. n. 88) of one who cured himself of the dropsy by drinking four or five ounces of tobacco juice, etc. A catalogue of the ailments cured by tobacco is next in order, most of which had been provided by Liébault and Monardes. In addition to those reported, however, it had now become useful for deafness (when a drop of the warm oil was introduced into the ears), catarrh, convulsions (*tetanus*—i.e., muscular rigidity—in the original Latin edition), "pains of the Throat over-cooled by rheume" (tonsillitis), for "those that spit bloody matter" (consumption), "the Falling-sicknes" (epilepsy), "Emroids" (*hemorrhoides* in original Latin edition), burns, tetters, nasal hemorrhages, "foul Ulcers of the French-Pox" (syphilitic sores), warts, corns, and other "griefs" of various parts of the body heretofore overlooked—the ilium, liver, etc. The author states that Dodoens (cf. n. 88) reported that he had cured many of the ague with the distilled water of tobacco. Recipes are sprinkled through this part of the work—an indication of the generosity of physicians in those days. All these "tobacco" formulas, however, call for medicaments which were usually sufficient in themselves to effect cures. The numerous cases reported of victims suffering from ulcers, tumors, and the like who were completely healed by the proper use of tobacco must have been deeply convincing.

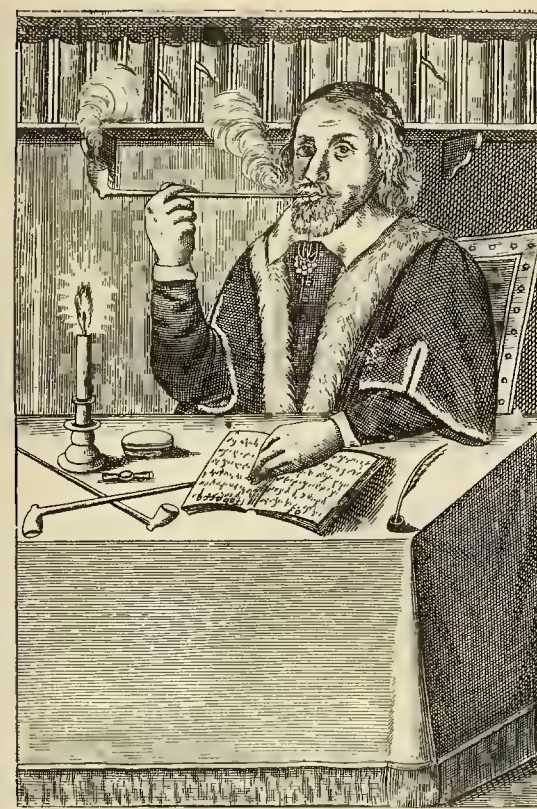
¹ Dodoens' illustration and description of *H. luteus* (*N. rus. var. texana*) preceded Mattioli's account, etc., by nine years (v. nos. 5-A and 9-A), although both failed to recognize that the plant they wrote about was a species of tobacco.

² V. n. 11.

³ *N. Tabacum* var. *brasiliensis* ("male"), *N. Tabacum* var. *fruticosa* (probably "female"), and *N. rustica* var. *texana* ("the third sort"). Comes, pp. 78-79.

⁴ Cf. the last excerpt in n. 18.

⁵ The quotation given is taken from the first English translation, by J. R., 1659 (n. 271).



GILLES EVERARD
From *Panacea*, 1659

But for all these ailments "male" tobacco was to be used; one employed "female" only when the other was unobtainable, although its effects were almost as good. But those who made use of the third sort of tobacco, or yellow henbane (i.e. *N. rustica*), were making a serious error⁶ except when one wished to "revulfe hot humours," and to ease the cancer. The ailments recorded which tobacco cures, the author goes on to say, are few in comparison with those which might be listed. Gohory's account of the distilled oils, water, and salt derived from tobacco is here repeated, and his methods described. The recipes of other physicians are given, including the balsams of Quercetanus (Joseph Duchesne) and the unguents of Wecker (cf. n. 47). The description which Everard gives near the conclusion of his work, of an experiment conducted by the famous physician and philosopher, Leonardo Fioravanti and reported in his *Physicall Observations*, bears repeating:

I took (fath he) Tobacco, with Seed and Root, and I stamped them all; the leaves weighed LIV ounces, I hid them in Horfe dung to ferment thirty daies, and that they might not corrupt, I put some salt to them, and six ounces of aqua vitæ; then I distilled them in Balneo Mariæ, untill all the moisture were drawn from them, and that it might keep the better; I added so much Oyl of Brimestone as might make it taste sharp. I used this composition in many things. In all Feavers, a spoonfull drank cured them: Wounded men, if they drank it, or annointed their wounds with it, they were cured to admiration. [d.^a in Everard; K.^b in n. 271.]

⁶ V. Harrison's opinion, quoted in n. 31, at n. 2.

⁷ J. R.'s translation.

FIRST [?] EDITION.⁸ Small duodecimo (a-f⁸; [A (partly signed g)]-P⁸. Colophon on P⁸b.).

Everard's work occupies only a-c⁸; d⁴. The remainder of the volume is composed of medical treatises by other authors.

MOROCCO. Size of leaf: 4 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{16}$ inches. With the arms of J. A. de Thou and his first wife, Marie Barbançon, on the sides, and the cipher, J[acques] A[uguste] M[arie], on the spine.

From the collections of Jacques de Thou [1553-1617]; William Beckford [1759-1844] (1882, I, n. 2911, bought by J. Pearson); Miscellaneous Properties (Sotheby's, 1897, n. 406); Charles Butler of Warren Wood, Hatfield (Sotheby's, 29 May 1911, n. 1592); and Phoebe A. D. Boyle (Anderson Galleries, 1923, n. 30).

REFERENCES: BN. BM. Bod., i. Osler, n. 2549. Waring, ii, 707. Comes, 78 ff.

LYLY, John (1554?-1606)

PAPPE WITH AN HATCHET. London, 1589.

THIS was the earliest of the non-informational books printed in England to refer to tobacco and snuff. It was Lyly's only contribution to the energetic warfare of pamphlets known as the Martin Marprelate controversy.¹ Harvey, who replied to this ribald piece in his scurrilous "Advertisment for Pap-hatchet," a part of *Pierce's Supererogation* (n. 43), described it as "alehouse and tinkerly stufte," unworthy of a scholar or a civil gentleman, and one of the most paltry things that ever was published by a graduate of either university.

The railing defender of the bishops dedicated his work:

To the Father and the two Sonnes, Huffe, Ruffe, and Snuffe, the three tame ruffians of the Church, which take pepper in the nose, becaufe they can not marre Prelates grating. [A₂^a]

The phrasing of this dedication suggests that an allusion to tobacco snuff was intended. This opinion does not, however, coincide with that expressed by Lyly's editor, Dr. Bond. "Grating" he thinks an intentional perversion of "greeting," etc. "To take pepper in the nose" was a popular phrase, then the equivalent of "to take offense." Several interpretations of the passage are possible. But if it be considered that the method of producing snuff by applying a rasp to a roll or plug of tobacco—in other words, grating it—was probably then already in use, and if this be linked with the phrases and idea expressed in the following excerpt, it seems very likely that Lyly did have the thought of tobacco-snuffing in mind.²

⁸ The bibliographic evidence presented by the make-up of this volume points to an edition later than the first. Michaud (vol. xiii), Waring, and others record an Antwerp edition of 1583 as the earliest, and the statement is often repeated. Schotel (†, 1848) reported editions of 1561 and 1567, but his carelessness in matters of dates excludes his testimony from consideration.

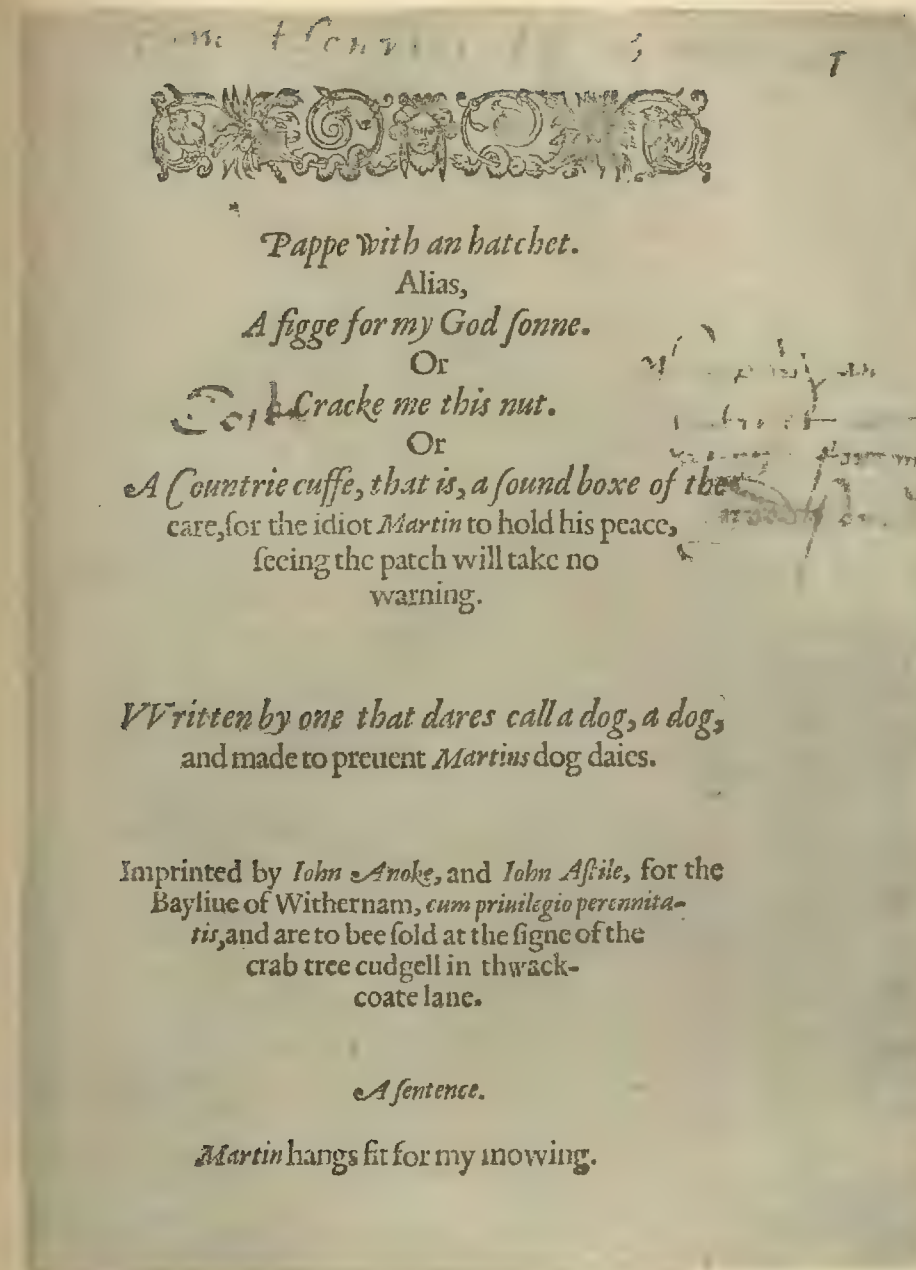
A phrase in Everard's book in which he remarks that he had been entreated to publish it under his own name (v. *supra*, p. 302) suggests a possible anonymous or pseudonymous publication of the work

before 1587. (It would probably not have contained Durante's poem, first published in 1585.) But if a work on tobacco was printed at Antwerp in 1583, no copy of it is now known, for it has been sought for in vain.

The author's name appears under various forms: Everarts, Evaraed, and Gerard.

¹ *V. infra*, pp. 306 and 329.

² References to snuff in English literature occur rarely before the third quarter of the seventeenth century. *V.* nos. 53, 90, 94, etc.



TITLE OF LYLY, 1589

Snuffing was then popular at the French court,³ and it would have become known to stylish Londoners through the medium of visiting French dandies, or English gallants returned from the Continent. It was probably affected by a handful of beaux who kept up with the latest Continental fashions.

Take heed, he will pistle [*i.e.*, epistle, write] thee. Pistle me? Then haue I a peftle so to stampe his pistles, that Ile beate all his wit to powder. What will the powder of *Martins* wit be good for? Marie blowe vp a dram of it into the nostrils of a

³ *V. the Introduction*, pp. 157 ff., and n. 12, n. 6.

good Protestant, it will make him giddie; but if you minister it like *Tobacco* to a Puritane, it will make him as mad as a *Martin*. [D₁^a]⁴

FIRST [?] EDITION. Small quarto (A–E⁴ [last, blank, lacking]). Printed by Thomas Orwin, 1589.

MOROCCO, by Riviere. Size of leaf: 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 4 $\frac{15}{16}$ inches. Contemporary manuscript notations on title and occasional marginal notes in the same hand.

From the libraries of Sir Evan Jones (5 Feb. 1923, n. 362) and John L. Clawson (1926, n. 473a).

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 17463 (Martin Marprelate) [records three copies, but not this]. *Pap With a Hatchet*, introd., etc., by J. Petheram (in *Puritan Discipline Tracts*, 1844). *Works*, ed. R. W. Bond (1902), i, 55–57; iii, 388–413. Col., i, 503.

From his examination of the two copies of this work in the Bodleian Library and two in the British Museum, Lyly's editor, Dr. Bond, came to the conclusion that there are three editions of the work, displaying a considerable number of orthographical differences, etc., and variations in the head-piece on the title-page. He could not, however, with any degree of certainty establish an order of priority, but remarks that they must have appeared close together. The Arents copy conforms in its distinguishing marks with his "B" variety.

Attempts have been made to controvert the ascription to Lyly of the authorship of this piece. But Harvey, who had once been Lyly's friend, avowed the latter's responsibility for it, without contradiction. Nash, who has been thought by some to be its author, refers to it in the work attributed to him, *Almond for a Parrat* [1589?], as "an extemporal endeavour," which may account for the boisterous spirits of this farrago of abuse and scandal.

It is certain that Lyly was secretly called in, with Nash and Greene, by the ecclesiastical authorities to reply to "Martin Marprelate" in his own bantering style. Their responses to the Puritan tracts did much to enliven the literature of the English church in 1588 and 1589.

It was Nash who said that Lyly was "a little fellow, but he hath one of the best wits in England," and who also indicated that Lyly was an ardent smoker. In his reply to Harvey (see the concluding notes to n. 46), *Haue With You To Saffron-Walden*, London, 1596, Nash remarked: "For Master *Lillie* (who is halues with me in this indignitie that is offred) I will not take the tale out of his mouth, for he is better able to defend himselfe than I am able to say he is able to defend himselfe, and in as much time as hee spendes in taking *Tobacco* one weeke, he can compile that, which would make Gabriell repent himselfe all his life after." [X₂^b]

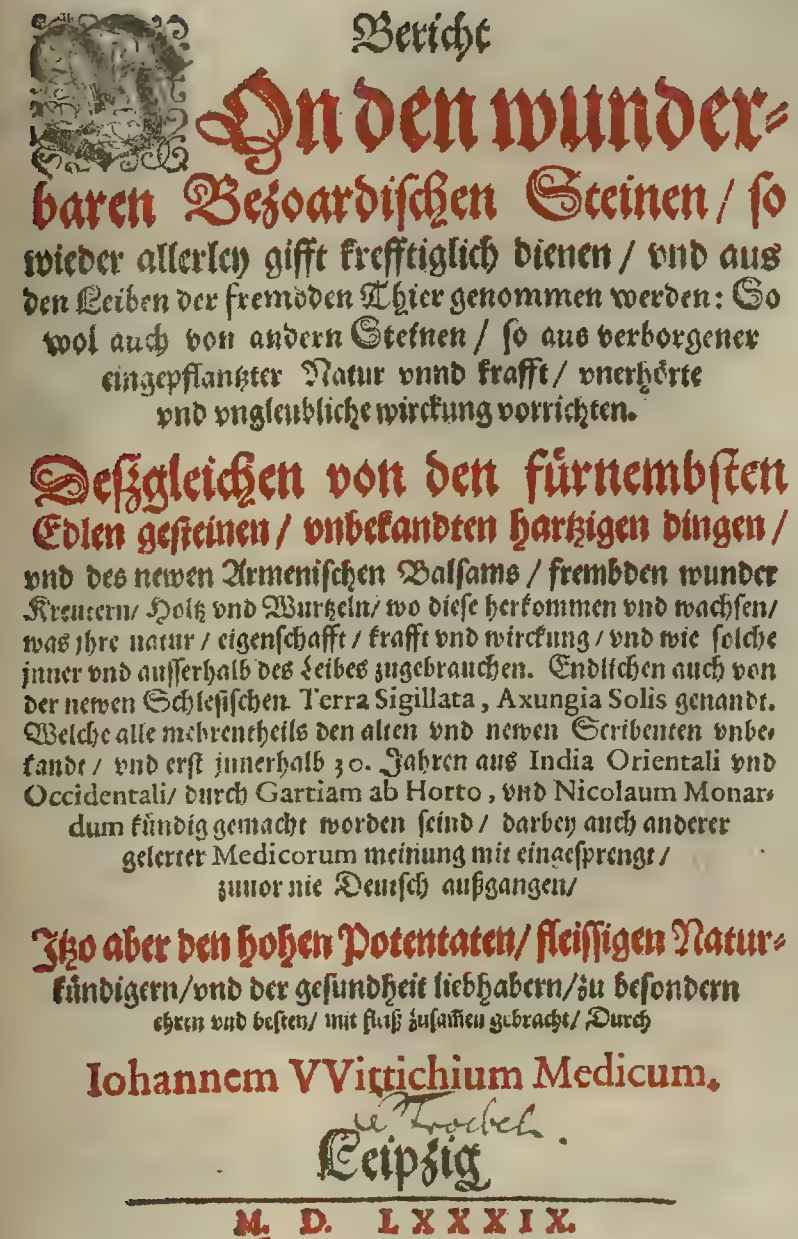
Lyly appears to have been the first author to make any reference to tobacco in English dramatic literature (v. n. 38, n. 3, and cf. n. 54).

LIÉBAULT, Jean (1535?–1596), in Johann WITTICH (1537–1598?), translated by Melchior SEBISCH (1539–1625)

BERICHT VON DEN WUNDERBAREN BEZOARDISCHEN STEINEN. Leipzig, 1589.

[Translation of title] Advice concerning the wonderful bezoardic stones, which serve powerfully against all kinds of poison and which are taken out of the bodies of strange animals; as well as about other stones which, from their hidden and inborn nature and force, exercise an unheard of and unbelievable effect. Concerning [also] such things as the most distinguished precious stones, unknown resinous substances, and the new Armenian balsam, also foreign wonder plants, woods and roots, where these come from and grow, what are their natures, qualities and effects, and how they are employed inside and outside of the body. Finally, concerning the new Silesian *Terra Sigillata*, called *Axungia Solis*. All of which for the most part were unknown to ancient

⁴ Cf. the satiric reference to snuff-taking by a Puritan in Butler's *Hudibras* (n. 286).



TITLE OF WITTICH, 1589

and modern writers and only within thirty years [were derived] from the East and West Indies and expounded by García de Orta and Nicolás Monardes, with which are interspersed opinions of other medical scholars never before put in the German language. Now, however, industriously compiled by Johann Wittich, physician, to the particular honor and good of high potentates, diligent naturalists, and lovers of health. Leipzig, 1589.

[Translation of colophon] Printed at Leipzig by Hans Steinman's heirs, in the year 1589.

ON M_{iii}^a-P_{ij}^b occurs a chapter entitled (trans.) "Tabaco. Short and simple treatise concerning the plant Nicotiana or male Petum which has been thoroughly described by Herr Melchior Sebisck, M. D." This is followed by the passage on "female" *petum*, P_{iii}^{a-b}, taken from the first German edition, 1579, and identical with its text as given in n. 28.

FIRST EDITION. Quarto ()a(-)b(4; A-Z⁴ [last, blank]. Colophon on T_i^b, repeated with printer's device on Z₃^b. Sectional title, Von dem Ligno Guayaco, dated 1589, on T_{ij}. Title to *Von dem Ligno Guayaco . . . Durch Iohannem Wittichum*, Leipzig, 1589, and Preface, 4 leaves, marked)(, inserted between T_i and T_{ij}. Alphabetical Register, T[rep.]⁶ [first, blank, lacking; last, blank].).

ORIGINAL STAMPED SHEEP. Size of leaf: 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 6 inches.

Occasional marginal notes to text in a contemporary hand; end-papers inscribed, and dated 1618, 1625, etc. The early owner's name on the title appears to be that of C. P. Froebel.

REFERENCES: BM. Ferguson, ii, 554-555.

In his preface the author makes no claim to originality, saying that he is here chiefly a compiler and translator.

* * *

No. 34-a The second edition of this work, Leipzig, 1592, is also in this collection. The chapters on tobacco occur on the same leaves.

ACOSTA, José de (1539-1600)

HISTORIA NATVRAL Y MORAL DE LAS INDIAS. Seville, 1590.

[*Translation of title*] The natural and moral history of the Indies. In which are treated the notable things of the heavens, the elements, metals, plants and animals there; and the rites, ceremonies, laws, government and wars of the Indians. Composed by Father José de Acosta, a priest of the Company of Jesus. Dedicated to the Most Serene Infanta Doña Isabella Clara Eugenia de Austria. [Emblem of the Order] With the privilege. Printed at Seville in the house of Juan de León, 1590.

ALTHOUGH he must have seen the use of tobacco frequently in Mexico, the author¹ makes only a general reference to it. By the time his work was ready for publication, so much had already been said about the plant that he probably thought he had nothing of value to add (as suggested by his references to Monardes, *et al.*, in the first excerpt below). But his account of the *Petum* unguent provides the earliest published testimony that tobacco was of sacrosanct value to Mexican medicine-men.

At the period of Acosta's residence among them, the Peruvians seem not yet to have habituated themselves to the social uses of tobacco, for he makes no reference to the custom. The native coca-chewing habit was still prevalent despite the early Spanish invasions, at the time of which the cigar and cigarette were probably introduced. Not until comparatively late does any author refer in print to tobacco in Peru.²

¹ Acosta, who was a missionary in Peru for fifteen years, from about 1570, transferred his activities for two years thereafter to Mexico, returning to Spain

in 1587. While still in Peru, he began to record his observations, in the main accurate and valuable.

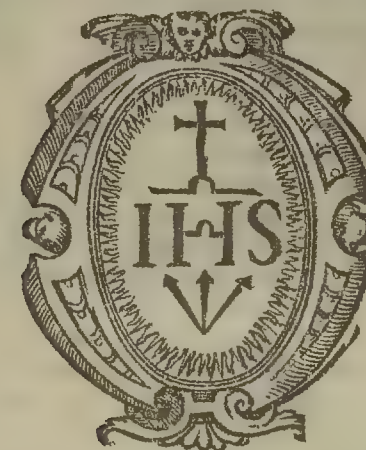
² *V.* n. 95.

HISTORIA NATVRAL Y MORAL DE LAS INDIAS,

EN QUE SE TRATAN LAS COSAS
notables del cielo, y elementos, metales, plantas, y ani-
males dellas: y los ritos, y ceremonias, leyes, y
gouierno, y guerras de los Indios.

Compuesta por el Padre Ioseph de Acosta Religioso
de la Compañia de Iesus.

DIRIGIDA A LA SERENISSIMA
Infanta Doña Ifabella Clara Eugenia de Auftria.



CON PRIVILEGIO.
Impresso en Seuilla en casa de Iuan de Leon.
Año de 1590.

TITLE OF ACOSTA, 1590

Acosta's work first appeared in English through the version, attributed to Edward Grimstone (n. 67), which has been employed here.

Of Amber, and other Oyles, Gums, and Drugges which they bring from the Indies.

There are a thousand . . . simples fit to purge . . . the which being well applied, and in time, they hold to be of no lesse efficacie then the drugges that come from the East.

The reader is advised to see Monardes' books and his account of tobacco.

Tobacco is a small tree or plant, common enough, the which hath in it rare vertues, as amongst others it serves for a counterpoison, like to many and divers other plants: for the Creator of all things hath imparted his vertues at his pleasure, not willing that any thing should grow idle. But it is another soveraigne gift to man, to know them and their proper vses . . . Doctor *Francis Hernandez* hath made a goodly worke^[3] vpon this subiect, of *Indian* plants, liquors, and other phisicall things . . . out of which worke the Doctor *Nardus Anthonius*^[4] an Italian Physitian hath made a curious extract, sending him to the foresaid bookes, especially for phyficke. [R₈^a in Acosta; V₂^{a-b} in Grimstone's translation, n. 67.]

Of the abominable vnction which the Mexicaine priestes and other Nations used, and of their witchcraftes.

The priests of the Mexican idols anointed themselves with a foul and filthy vnction, which was but a base counterfeit, invented by the devil, of the holy ointment used by the priests of the true church of Christ. The native boys were taught to capture various venomous spiders, scorpions, salamanders and vipers.

To make an ointment of these beastes, they took them all together, and burnt them vpon the harth of the Temple, which was before the Altare, vntill they were consumed to ashes: then did they put them in morters with much Tobacco or *Petum* (being an hearbe that Nation vseth much, to benumme the flesh, that they may not feelee their [travail]) with the which they mingle the ashes, making them loose their force; they did likewise mingle with these ashes, scorpions, spiders and palmers alive, mingling all together, then did they put to it a certaine feede being grownd, which they call *Ololuchqui*,^[5] whereof the Indians make a drinke to see visions, for that the vertue of this hearbe is to deprive man of sense. They did likewise grinde with these ashes blacke and hairie wormes, whose haire only is venomous . . . putting it in small pots, which they set before their god, saying it was his meate. And therefore they called it a divine meate. By means of this oyntment they became witches, and did see and speake with the Divell. The priestes beeing flubbered with this oyntment, lost all feare, putting on a spirit of cruelty.

They boldly killed men in their sacrifices, went alone at night into obscure caves, and proclaimed that wild and savage beasts feared them because of "the vertue of this *Petum* [*betun* in Acosta's original text] of their god."⁶

³ This was then in manuscript. V. n. 114.

⁴ Nardo-Antonio Recchi. V. n. 114, notes.

⁵ B. de Sahagun, about 1569, gave a brief account of the "seed called Ololiuhqui," derived from an herb "coatlxouhqui" (: green snakeweed). (*Hist. Gen. de las Cosas de Nueva España*, vol. 3, p. 241, ed. Bustamante, Mexico, 1830.) The sacred formula by which the spirit of this narcotic was invoked is given by De la Serna (*op. cit.*, n. 15, n. 9), vol. 104,

pp. 159-160.

Ololiuhqui has been identified by Safford as the *Datura meteloides*, a narcotic plant still extensively used by the Indians of Mexico and the United States. Safford illustrates part of the plant in his article cited in n. 2, n. 2. Both the references cited are given by Safford, pp. 406-407.

⁶ Clavigero's name for the salve is "*Teopalli*, or divine medicament." V. n. 954.

And in trueth though this *Petum* [*betun*] had no power to make [the beasts] flie, yet was the Diuelles picture sufficient whereinto they were transformed. This *Petum* [*betun*] did also serve to cure the sicke, and for children; and therefore all called it the Divine Physicke: and so they came from all partes to the superiors and priests, as to their favours, that they might apply this divine physicke, wherewith they anoynted those parts that were grieved. They said that they felt heereby a notable ease, which might be, for that Tobacco and *Ololuchqui* have this propertie of themselves, to benumme the flesh, being applied in maner of an emplaister [plaster], which must be by a stronger reason being mingled with poysons, and for that it did appease and benumme the paine, they helde it for an effect of health, and a divine viture. [Aa₂^b-Aa₄^a in Acosta; Dd₃^a-Dd₄^a in n. 67.]

FIRST SPANISH EDITION. Octavo (A⁶; B-Z⁸; Aa-Kk⁸; Ll⁶; Table, Mm-Nn⁸. Printer's device and colophon on Ll⁶. Tabla de Algunos Lugares de la fagrada escriptura . . . , 2 leaves, unsigned, with colophon: HISPALI. | Excudebat Ioannes Leonius. | Año, 1590. |).

CALF, by F. Bedford. Size of leaf: 8 1/16 x 5 11/16 inches.

From the library of Henry Huth (1911, I, n. 21), with his ex libris.

REFERENCES: Palau, i, 11. B., i, 387. S., i, n. 121. Ed. C. R. Markham (Hakluyt Soc. ed., 1880). C., note to n. 328. W., ii, 420.

The first two books of the *Historia Natural* appeared as *De natura novi orbis* . . . Salamanca, 1588-1589, and did not contain the references to tobacco. Acosta translated them into Spanish, adding five others, thus completing the *Historia Natural*. The first four books are devoted to the natural history, and the last three to the moral history of the "Indies." This rapidly became a work relied upon as a standard authority and was frequently republished and translated (v. nos. 48, 51, etc.).

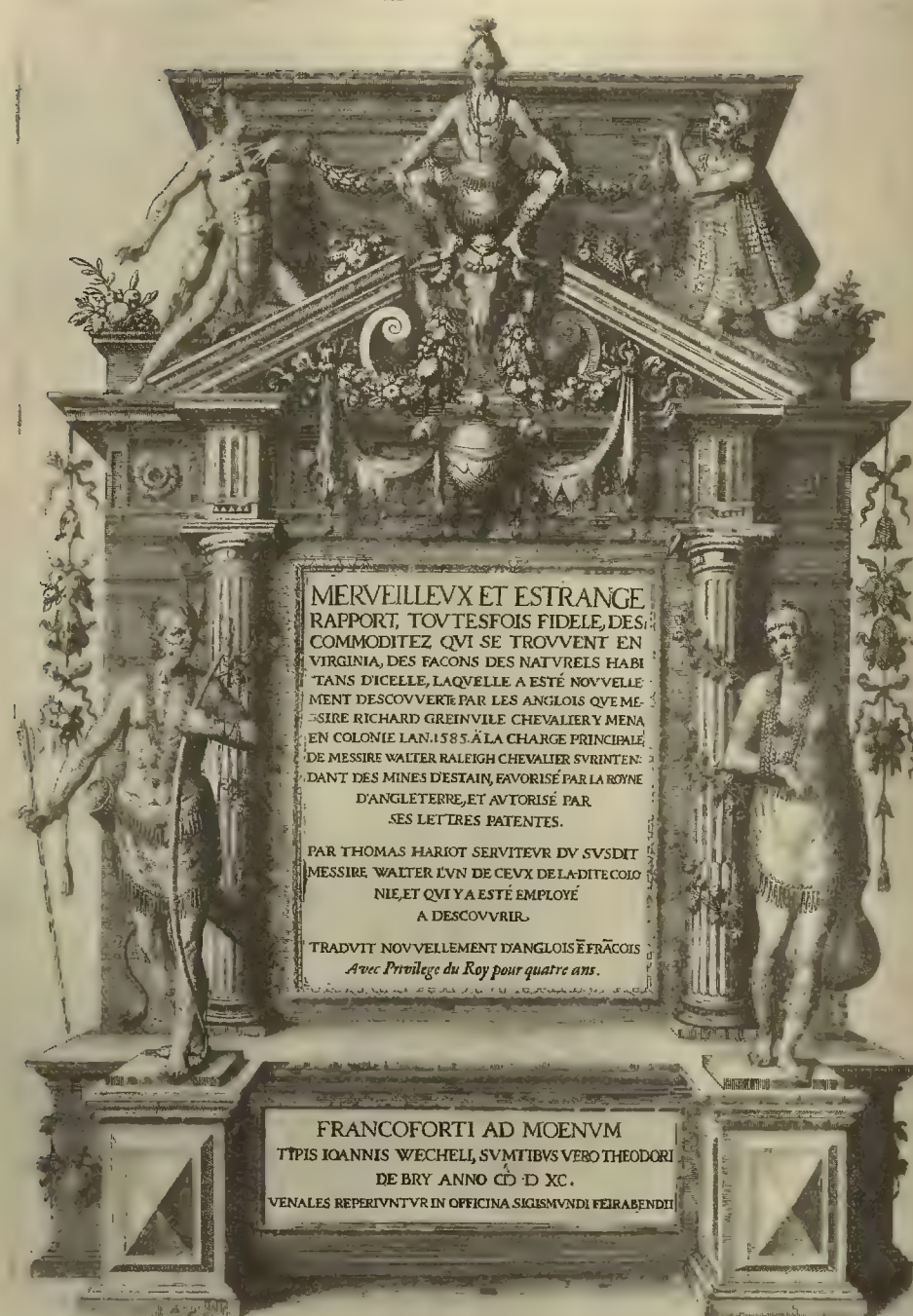
* * *

No. 35-a The third edition, Madrid, 1608, is also in this library. The references to tobacco occur on the same leaves. (The second edition was published at Barcelona, 1591.)

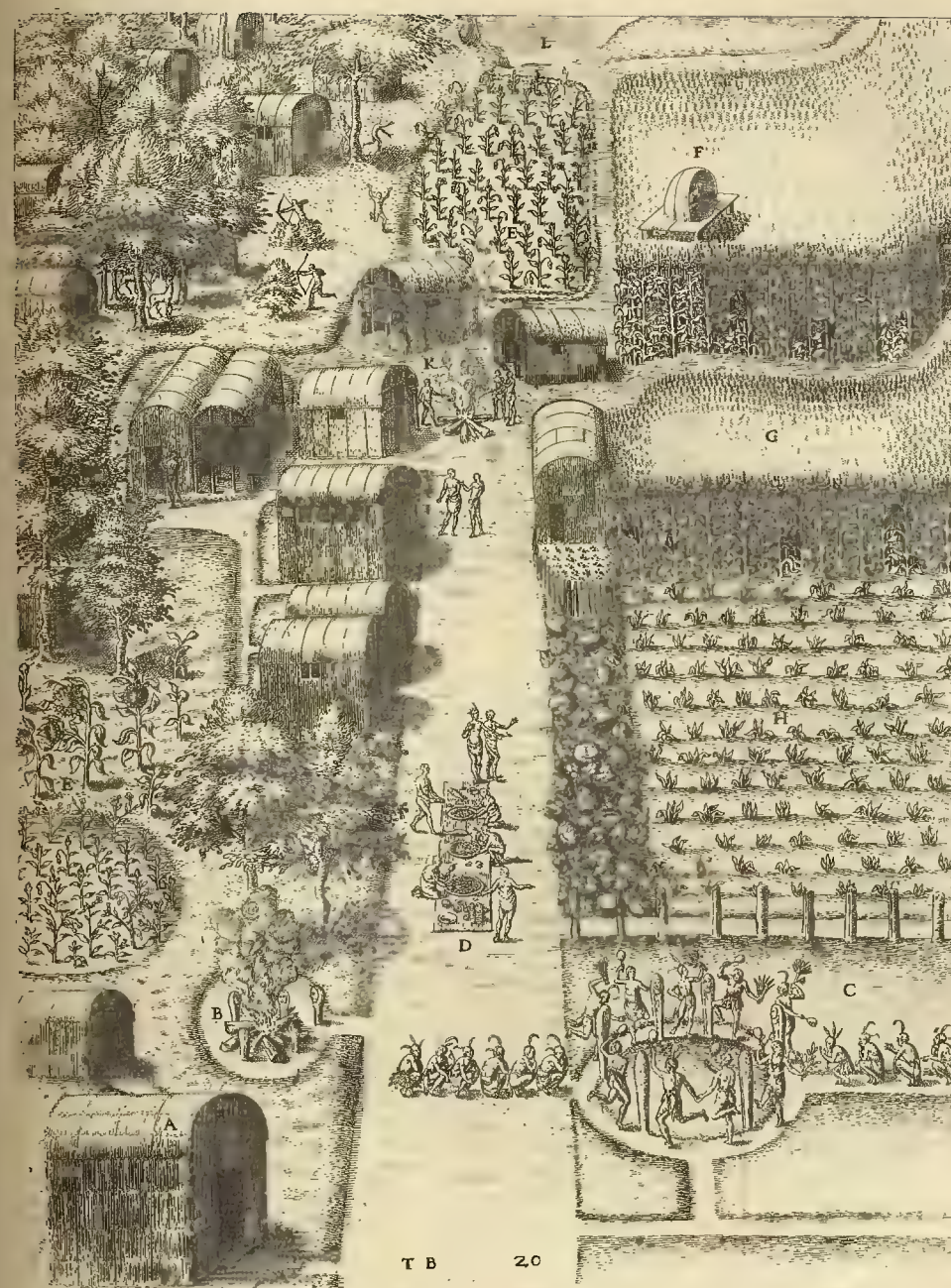
HARIOT, Thomas (1560-1621)

DE BRY. MERVEILLEUX ET ESTRANGE RAPPORT. Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1590.

[*Translation of title*] Marvellous and strange report, entirely faithful, of the products which are found in Virginia, [and] the customs of the natives there. Recently discovered by the English led there by Sir Richard Grenville to found a colony in the year 1585 at the principal charge of Sir Walter Raleigh, superintendent of the tin mines, favored [therein] by the Queen of England and authorized by her letters patent. By Thomas Hariot, servant of the above-mentioned Sir Walter, one of the said colonists, who was employed to explore [survey]. Newly translated from English into French. With the privilege of the King for four years [printed on a slip, and pasted on]. At Frankfort-on-the-Main, with the types of Johann Wechel, published by Theodore de Bry in the year 1590. For sale at the shop of Sigismund Feyerabend.



TITLE OF DE BRY, FRENCH AMERICA, PART I, 1590



Uppowoc GARDEN

The ground marked "E" was set aside for the cultivation of tobacco

VIRGINIA, destined to become the greatest tobacco-producing colony controlled by Great Britain,¹ made a comparatively late appearance in the annals of the plant. The reason for this lies in the conditions which governed English exploration and colonization in North America in the XVIth century.² Hariot,³ who went out

¹ *V. the Introduction*, pp. 86 ff.

² *V. the Introduction*, pp. 43-44.

³ The author, an astronomer and mathematician

of considerable repute, was Raleigh's mathematical tutor and occasional literary adviser. He spent almost a year in Virginia.

to "Virginia" under Ralph Lane on the second English expedition, August, 1585, had been instructed by Raleigh to survey the new possession and to report upon its natural products.

His highly readable account⁴ contains a passage which is of especial significance to the history of tobacco. It first (1588) recorded the presence of the plant⁵ in "Virginia" (now North Carolina),⁶ gave an implication of its original importation (together with Indian clay pipes) for social use into England, and provided the earliest published evidence that Indians of those parts (besides their southern brethren)⁷ made ritualistic and ceremonial use of tobacco.⁸ It contained, too, a hint that certain Elizabethan ladies of high estate were indulging in the new habit of smoking.

There is an herbe which is fowed a part by it felfe & is called by the inhabitants *vppówoc*. In the West Indies it hath diuers names, according to the feuerall places & countries where it groweth and is vfed: The Spaniardes generally call it *Tobacco*. The leaues thereof being dried and brought into powder: they vse to take the fume or fmoke thereof by sucking it through pipes made of claie^[9] into their stomacke and heade; from whence it purgeth superfluous fleame & other grosse humors, openeth all the pores & passages of the body: by which meanes the vse thereof, not only preferueth the body from obstructions; but also if any be, so that they haue not beene of too long continuance, in short time breaketh them: wherby their bodies are notably preferued in health, & know not many greuous diseases where-withall wee in England are oftentimes afflicted.

This *Vppówoc* is of so precious estimation amongst thē, that they thinke their gods are maruelously delighted therewith: Whereupon sometime they make hallowed fires & cast some of the powder therein for a sacrifice: being in a storme vpon the waters, to pacifie their gods, they cast some vp into the aire and into the water: so a weare [weir] for fish being newly set vp, they cast some therein and into the aire: also after an escape of danger, they cast some into the aire likewise: but all done with strange gestures, stamping, somtime dauncing, clapping of hands, holding vp of hands, & staring vp into the heauē, vttering therewithal and chattering strange words & noises.

We our felues during the time we were there vfed to suck it after their maner, as also since our returne,^[10] & haue found manie rare and wonderful experiments of the vertues thereof; of which the relation would require a volume of it felfe: the vse of it by so manie of late, men & women of great calling as elfe, and some learned Phisitions also, is sufficient witnes. [b₄^b; C₃^{a-b} in original edition, 1588—*v. infra*.]

Prof. Arber writes, in relation to Hariot's account, "Hawkins may have brought home a few specimens of the plant in 1565;^[11] but for the importation of it in any quantity and for the teaching of how to smoke it, we are indebted [not to Raleigh,

⁴ First published in 1588 (*v. infra*).

⁵ The species then prevalent there was *N. rustica*. *N. Tabacum* was introduced into Virginia from Trinidad not before 1610 (*v. n.* 112, *n.* 12).

⁶ *V. the Introduction*, p. 47.

⁷ *V. nos.* 26 and 35.

⁸ These uses of tobacco provide the best possible evidence of the antiquity of the plant in America.

Cf. the Introduction, pp. 6 and 13-17.

⁹ Among the engraved plates one (XVI), which depicts an Indian and his mate at meal, illustrates a short-stemmed clay tobacco pipe. *Cf. Dunhill*, pp. 210-211.

¹⁰ In relation to the introduction of clay pipes into England, see De l'Escluse's footnote in *n.* 73 [C₄^a].

¹¹ *V. the account supra*, pp. 240-241.

but] to Mafter Ralph Lane [first governor of Virginia] and to his fellow-colonists, who acquired both from the Indians, during the twelve months they were cut off from all intercourse with their mother-country."¹² (*Arb.*, p. 86.)

Despite Raleigh's association with the expeditions to Virginia, he himself never visited the famous colony nor learned there to "suck" tobacco after the Indian manner. Tytler remarked: "There can be little doubt that Lane had been directed to import [tobacco, by Raleigh], who must have seen it used in France during his residence there."¹³ (*Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, 1833, p. 64.)

As Hariot remarks that his companions continued to smoke after their return to England, it seems but logical to assume that they had provided themselves with a considerable supply of the seeds and leaves of the Virginian tobacco to which they had become accustomed. Further evidence of such an importation lies in the fact that shortly after 1586, *N. rustica* (then prevalent in Virginia) was planted at Winchcombe (Gloucestershire).¹⁴ As it prospered there the crops were probably supervised by some of the returned colonists, who adopted the Indian methods of cultivation.

It is evident that there was a joint introduction of both *N. rustica* and *N. Tabacum* upon the historic occasion when Lane and his adventurers returned to England. It was Drake (already credited with an importation of tobacco)¹⁵ who transported the colonists home in 1586, after his successful plundering expedition to the West Indies. Hakluyt (*n.* 57-A [III, Yy^a]) records the fact that during these raids Drake called at the "Ile of Dominica," where the inhabitants fetched "from their houfes great store of Tabacco," with other goods. (This incident, and another recorded in Hakluyt [*ibid.*, Ccc^a], indicate that there was already a profitable demand in England for this kind of tobacco: *N. Tabacum*.)

FIRST (AND SOLE) EDITION. (French America, Part I of De Bry's *Grands Voyages*.) Folio (a⁴; b⁶; c⁴; d⁸; A⁶; B-C⁸; D⁶ [last, blank]; E⁸; F⁶ [last, blank]. Title to plates, on d⁴^a. Colophon, on F³^a: A FRANCFORT | DE L'IMPRIMERIE IAN | Wechel, aux despens de Theodore | de Bry. | M D XC. |).

ENGRAVED TITLE, coat of arms of Wilhelm, Count Palatine, double-page map of Virginia, twenty-seven engraved plates (five of the Picts), and "Adam and Eve" plate. That reproduced is numbered XX. First issue of the plates.¹⁶

All of the plates are signed "T. B[ry]" except seven, four of which are signed G. Veen and three are unsigned. These plates are partly after the drawings of John White, a member of Lane's colony.

MOROCCO, elaborately tooled, by Lortic. Size of leaf: 13¼ x 9¼ inches.

With manuscript notes relating to this volume, by Serge de Sobolewski, Paris, 1848 and 1849, which give the census as then known to him: 7 perfect, 5 imperfect copies, and 1 described in a dealer's catalogue. (At least twelve perfect copies are now known.)

¹² Camden (*n.* 170) and Sir Richard Baker (*n.* 220) were among the contemporary authors who credited Lane with the original introduction of tobacco into England. But there were undoubtedly earlier exhibitions of the custom of smoking in England than those displayed by the returned colonists. *V. the Introduction*, p. 44, the reference to the return of Amadas and Barlowe (*n.* 68, *n.* 2), and the excerpt in Pennant (*n.* 893).

¹³ Raleigh served with the Huguenots in France

as a volunteer, 1569, and probably remained on the Continent for several years.

¹⁴ It was this district which was later to become the scene of the conflict between the government and the tobacco planters. *V. nos.* 140, 142, and the *Introduction*, pp. 114 ff.

¹⁵ *V. supra*, pp. 298-299.

¹⁶ Brunet regarded the engravings in this edition as the earliest impressions, and superior to those in the Latin edition.

The notes by Sobolewski indicate that this volume once belonged to La Rive of Milan (probably C. Riva) and was acquired by Sobolewski in Dec., 1849. It was later in the library of Dr. J. Court (sold 1884, n. 161).

REFERENCES: Crawford, 193. C., n. 203. J., i (ii), 386. S., iii, 20-24 and 28-29. Comes, 47 ff.

This copy corresponds with that described by Crawford and in C., n. 203, except for the privilege slip pasted on the title. This differs from other examples of the French version examined, reading: *Avec Privilege du Roy pour quatre ans.*, whereas the usual text is: "Auec grace & priuile. de la Maieft. Imper. pour quatre Ans."¹⁷ It would appear, therefore, that those copies containing the privilege of the king were designated for sale in France only. This variant slip seems to be unknown in any other example.

Hariot's *A Briefe and True Report of the new found land of Virginia* was published at London, 1588. It is very rare; but five copies are recorded. This was the earliest English book relating entirely to any part of what is now the United States, and the first work selected by De Bry for his famous series of American relations.

This translation of Hariot is the only volume in French in De Bry's collection. It is evident from the date of its dedication, *24. de Mars 1590*, that it preceded the English, Latin and German issues by a week or more. Because he was not encouraged to continue the publication of the voyages in English and French, De Bry confined himself thereafter to Latin and German for the extensive and famous series which preserved the records of travellers to the West and East Indies.

For other volumes in this library of De Bry's *Voyages*, see the Index: De Bry.

HARIOT, Thomas (1560-1621), translated by Charles de l'ESCLUSE (1526-1609)

DE BRY. ADMIRANDA NARRATIO. Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1590.

[Translation of title] Wonderful yet faithful account of the products and the customs of the natives of Virginia, recently discovered by the English, led there to found a colony by Sir Richard Grenville in the year 1585, at the charge of Sir Walter Raleigh, superintendent of the tin mines, with the authority of her Most Serene Highness, the Queen of England. Written in English by Thomas Hariot, servant of the same [Sir] Walter, sent to this colony to make careful observations of the country. Now first presented in Latin by C[harles] C[lusius] [of] A[rtois]. At Frankfort-on-the-Main, printed by Johann Wechel, published by Theodore de Bry in the year 1590. For sale at the shop of Sigismund Feyerabend.

The passage relating to *vppówoc* in this Latin edition of Hariot occurs on the same page as in n. 36.

FIRST EDITION, FIRST ISSUE, except for 6 plates, as noted. (Latin America, Part I of De Bry's *Grands Voyages*.) Folio (a⁴; b⁶; c⁴; d⁸; A⁶; B-C⁸; D⁶ [last, blank]; E⁸; F⁶. Colophon on last.).

This copy is without the privilege slip—described by Crawford, p. 105, and C., No. 140—which is usually pasted on the title.

¹⁷ Crawford records this as "Imp. auec grace &c.," but as his copy lacked the slip and he got the notice of it from Brunet, his inclusion of "Imp." is probably an error.



TITLE OF DE BRY, LATIN AMERICA, PART I, 1590

PLATES AND MAP as in n. 36, except that the engraved coat of arms here is that of Maximilian, King of Poland. Plates III, V, VI, VIII, IX, and XV, are of the second issue.

MOROCCO, by Riviere. Size of leaf: 12¹⁵/₁₆ x 9³/₈ inches.

REFERENCES: Crawford, 105. J., i (ii), 383-384. C., n. 140.

THE FAERIE QVEENE:

Disposed into twelue books,

Fashioning
XII. Morall vertues.



LONDON
Printed for William Ponsonbie.
1590.

TITLE OF SPENSER, 1590, VOLUME I

THIS great Elizabethan epic contains the first known reference in English poetry to tobacco. Spenser originally associated tobacco with terms of praise long to be remembered by English writers: "divine" and "sovereign."

It is to be observed that the attribute "divine" is used here as an acceptance of the assumed medicinal value of tobacco, and not as a compliment to Spenser's friend, Sir Walter Raleigh, as Warton and others have thought. Long before this Liébault (n. 12) had written of its "divine effects," Pena and De l'Obel (n. 13) had called the plant the "holy herb," on the Continent it was awarded other equivalent phrases, and it was popularly known as a wonder-working simple.

Belpheobe, the huntress, finding Timais¹ sorely wounded:

Into the woods thenceforth in haste shee went,
To seeke for hearbes, that mote [might] him remedy;
For shee of herbes had great intendiment [understanding],
Taught of the Nymphe, which from her infancy
Her nourced [nursed] had in trew Nobility:
There, whether yt diuine *Tobacco* were,
Or *Panachæa*, or *Polygony*,
Shee fownd, and brought it to her patient deare
Who al this while lay bleding out his hart-blood neare.

The foueraine weede betwixt two marbles plaine
She powned small, and did in peeces bruze,
And then atweene her lilly handes twaine,
Into his wound the iuice thereof did scruze [squeeze],^[2]
And round about, as she could well it vze,
The flesh therewith shee suppled [soothed] and did steepe,
T'abate all spafme, and foke the swelling bruze,
And after hauing searcht the intuse [bruise] deepe,
She with her scarf did bind the woūd frō cold to keepe.^[3] [Gg,^a]

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A-Z⁸; Aa-Pp⁸; Qq⁴).

Printed by John Wolfe, with his device on the title.

This copy has the usual features: the dedication to Queen Elizabeth on the v^o of the title; X,^b (p. 332) without the Welsh words; Pp₆₋₇ uncanceled; and the four leaves, Qq₁₋₄, containing complimentary sonnets, after Pp₈. The date on the title has the wide spacing.⁴

¹ The two characters represent Queen Elizabeth, as Woman, and Sir Walter Raleigh.

² The *modus operandi* indicated was similar to the advice of the herbalists for the use of tobacco juice in healing wounds (cf. nos. 12, 17, et al.).

³ John Lyly (cf. n. 33) made a reference to tobacco in a situation similar to the above in *The Woman In The Moone*, 1597:

Pandora, having wounded a lover with her spear, sends Gunophilus to gather "balme and cooling Vi-olets, And of our holly hearbe Nicotian," of which, with pure honey, she will make a salve to cure the "wound of my vnhappy hand." (Act III, Sc. i.)

Lyly's comedy was composed perhaps as early as 1591 and seems to have been on the stage, 1593-1594. *V. Works*, ed. Bond, and Ch., iii, 416-417.

⁴ *V. A Critical Bibliography of the Works of Edmund Spenser*, F. R. Johnson (Baltimore, 1933). Dr. Johnson's painstaking examination of *The Faerie*

Queene confirms the opinion recently advanced by bibliographers that there were "states" and "variants" of this work but not separate issues. As was customary in XVIth century books, changes were made in the forms during the course of printing; when the work was ready to be bound, revised and uncorrected sheets were indiscriminately mixed. "Thus existing copies exhibit an entirely haphazard combination of revised and unrevised readings, and it is quite possible that there are no two copies whose readings agree throughout."

The page without the Welsh words on X,^b is undoubtedly in an earlier state than the one on which they do appear. Three states of the sonnets exist: the original form, ten sonnets and the volume concluding with [Pp₈]; the corrected form, with [Pp₆] and [Pp₇] cancelled and replaced by Qq, four leaves; and the form in which sheet Qq has merely been added, with [Pp₆] and [Pp₇] uncanceled.

MOROCCO, by Riviere. Size of leaf: $7\frac{5}{16} \times 5\frac{5}{16}$ inches. (Accompanied by *The Second Part of the Faerie Queene*, London, 1596.)

From the collections of Charles Lilburn, Beverly Chew, and Henry E. Huntington (Dec. 10, 1917, n. 356), with the bookplates of the first two.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 23081. C-E, n. 655. E., n. 241. *Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart (1882), vols. v-viii. La., *Europe*, 22-23. *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, Thos. Warton (ed. 1807), ii, 180.

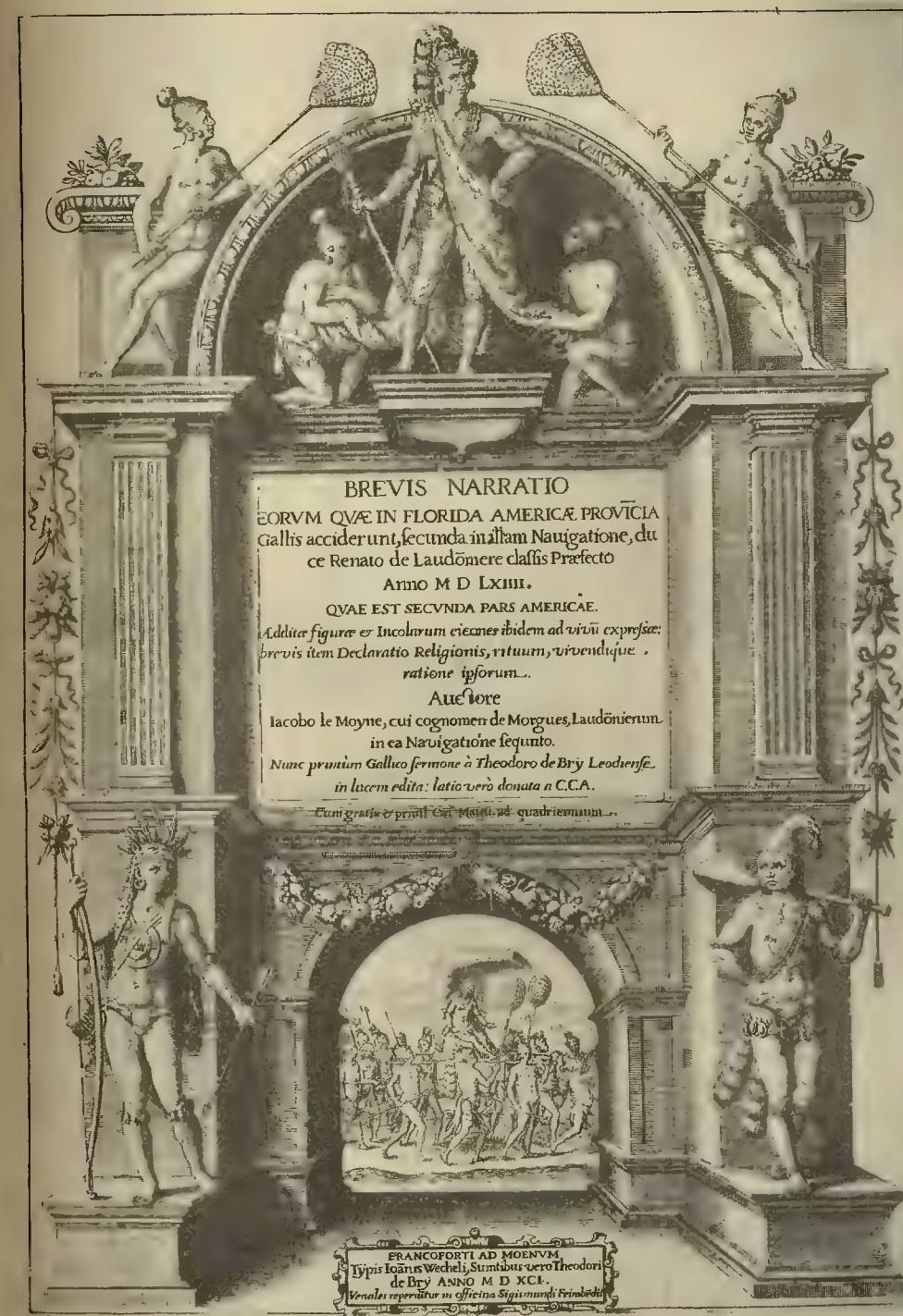


INDIAN METHODS OF TREATING THE SICK IN FLORIDA
From the 1591 edition of *De Bry*

LE MOYNE DE MORGUES, Jacques (d. 1588), translated by Charles de l'ESCLUSE (1526-1609)

DE BRY. BREVIS NARRATIO. Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1591.

[Translation of title] A brief narration of those things which befell the French in the province of Florida in America, on the second voyage to it under the leadership of René de Laudonnière, commander of the fleet, in the year 1564. Which is the second part of America. Illustrations and figures of the inhabitants there depicted to the life are added; also a short explanation of their ceremonies and mode of life. The author, Jacob le Moyne, surnamed de Morgues, who accompanied Laudonnière on this voyage. For the first time published in French by Theodore de Bry, of Liège; truly rendered into Latin by C[harles] C[lusius] [of] A[rtois]. With the grace and privilege of His Imperial Majesty for four years. At Frankfort-on-the-Main, with the types of Johann Wechel, published by Theodore de Bry in the year 1591. For sale at the shop of Sigismund Feyerabend.



TITLE OF DE BRY, LATIN AMERICA, PART II, 1591

THE earliest known published representation of an Indian smoking a pipe (as reproduced) occurs in the section of this work devoted to the native methods of healing the sick. The accompanying account of it tends to confirm the evidence already presented through the writings of early visitors to the Americas that, origin-

ally, the chief (perhaps, indeed, the only) medicinal use to which the Indians put tobacco was the inhalation of its smoke for the relief of asthmatic conditions, or for other "moist humours." This portion occurs in Le Moyne's relation of Laudonnière's expedition to Florida.¹

The first part of the text to the plate describes various methods of treating the sick. They have also a certain plant, whose name has escaped me² which the Brazilians call *Petum*, and the Spaniards *Tabaco*. The leaves of this plant, properly dried, they put in the part of a tube where it is widest and when the leaves are lit they take the tube at its narrowest point into their mouth and inhale the smoke so strongly that it goes out again through the mouth and nostrils. At the same time it draws out the humours freely. These people are especially subject to venereal disease³ for the curing of which they have their own remedies supplied to them by nature. [D₃^a]

FIRST EDITION. (Latin America, Part II of De Bry's *Grands Voyages*.) Folio ()⁴; a-d⁴; A-G⁶; H⁵; I⁴; K⁶ [last, blank]. Colophon on K₅^b.

The colophon to the plates, H₆, known in but a few copies, is not present here. The arrangement otherwise agrees with Crawford, pp. 111 ff.

ENGRAVED TITLE; engraved arms of Christian, Duke of Saxony; half-page plate of Noah sacrificing; folding map of Florida, etc.; title to plates, in same border used in first title; and forty-two plates, by T. de Bry (after Le Moyne). Plate XIII is pasted over a duplicate of XIII—a condition which is not mentioned in the Crawford or Church catalogues and which does not occur in several other copies examined.

Morocco, by Riviere. Size of leaf: 12¹⁵/₁₆ x 9³/₈ inches.

REFERENCES: Crawford, III. C., n. 145. J., i (ii), 387–388. *Narrative of Le Moyne*, trans. from the Latin of De Bry [by Fred B. Perkins] (Boston, 1875).

The tragic, unsuccessful expeditions of the French Huguenots to Florida under Jean Ribaut (1562) and Laudonnière (1564), and Dominique de Gourgues' futile effort for revenge (1567), are reported in this work. (Laudonnière's relation, edited by Basanier, had been published in French as *L'Histoire Notable de la Floride*, 1586.)⁴ The account of Laudonnière's expedition employed by De Bry was written by Jacques le Moyne (surnamed de Morgues), an artist who had accompanied the French adventurer. The authors of the other two relations are unknown. Le Moyne, having escaped the massacre by the Spaniards at Fort Caroline, 1565, made his way to England, where, some time later, he died. De Bry purchased his manuscripts and drawings from his widow.

LE MOYNE DE MORGUES, Jacques (d. 1588), translated by Oseam HALEN
DE BRY. DER ANDER THEYL . . . AMERICÆ. Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1591.

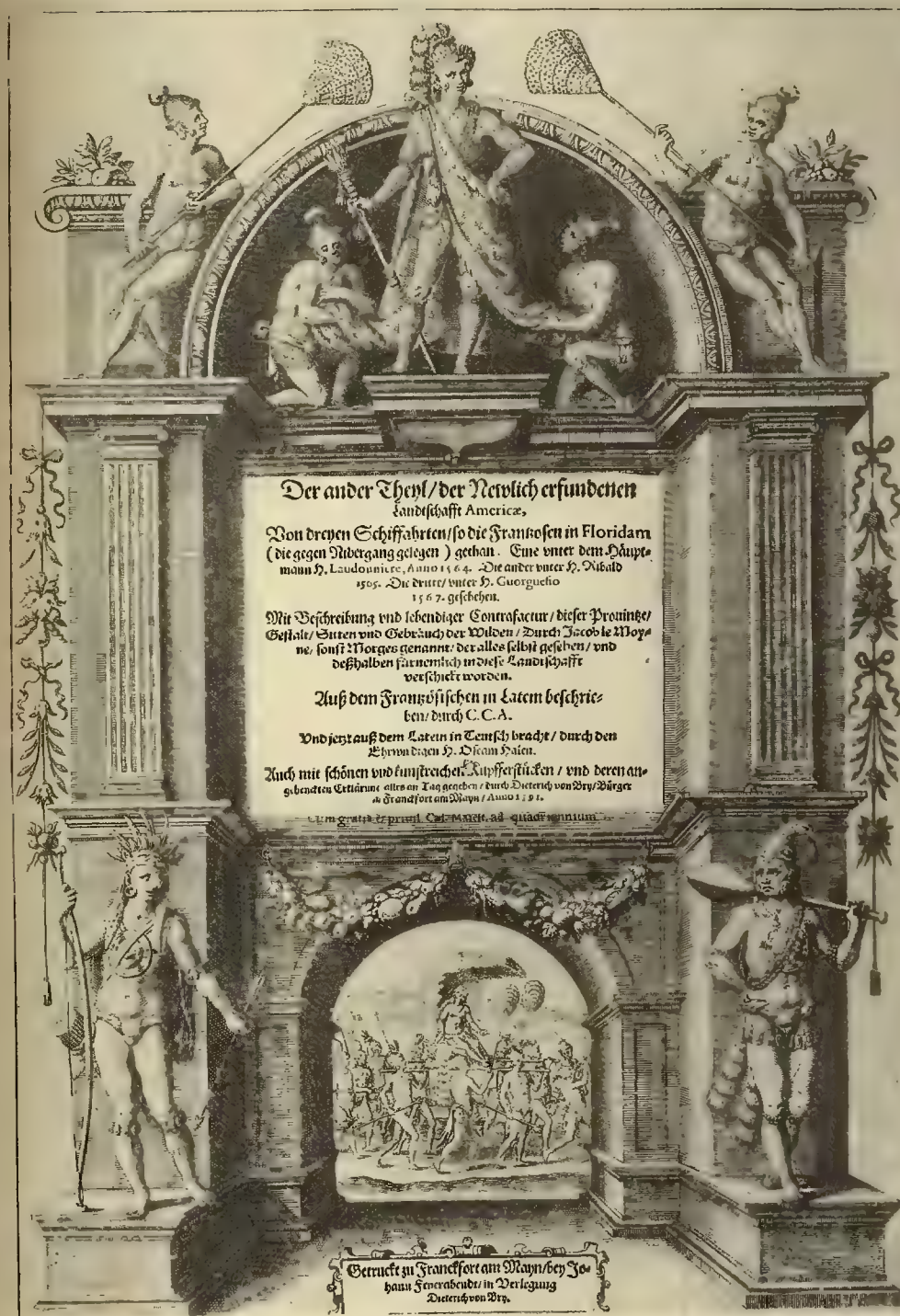
[Translation of title] [From type, and pasted within the engraved border:] The other part of the newly discovered country of America. Of three voyages which the Frenchmen made to Florida (which is situated to the westward). One, occurring under Captain [René de] Laudonnière in the year 1564; the second, under [Jean] Ribaut, 1565 [1562]; and the third, under

¹ This preceded Hawkins' visit (v. *supra*, p. 241).

² See the addition to this passage in the German edition, 1591 (n. 40).

³ I.e., syphilis (cf. n. 4 [vii^a] and n. 40).

⁴ The passage relating to the use of tobacco, etc., did not occur in Basanier's edition.



TITLE OF DE BRY, GERMAN AMERICA, PART II, 1591

[Dominique de] Gourgues, 1567. With descriptions and life-like representations of these provinces and the appearance, customs and manners of the savages, by Jacob le Moyne, surnamed de Morgues, who saw everything himself and was for this purpose especially sent to this country. Translated from the French into Latin by C[harles] C[lusius] [of] A[rtois].

and now translated from the Latin into German by the worthy Herr Oseam Halen. Published with beautiful and artistic copper-plates and accompanying explanations by Theodore de Bry, citizen of Frankfort-on-the-Main in the year 1591. [Engraved on border plate:] With the favor and privilege of His Imperial Majesty for four years. [From type, and pasted over the engraved Latin imprint at foot:] Printed at Frankfort-on-the-Main by Johann Feyerabend from the publishing-house of Theodore de Bry.

THE text relating to the healing of the sick and the illustration reproduced in n. 39 occur in this German edition of Le Moyne, *et al.*, on F₁₁^a. There are additions to the text. The opening and concluding lines of the passage relating to tobacco have been altered to read as follows:

They have . . . a plant which the Floridans call *Vbauuoc*,¹ the Brazilians *Petum* . . .

These people are especially subject to the French [illness—*i.e.*, syphilis] for which disease nature has given them remarkable remedies.

FIRST EDITION. (German America, Part II of De Bry's *Grands Voyages*.) Folio (a-e⁴; f⁶ [last, blank]; Plates, A-N⁴; O⁶ [last, blank]. Colophon on O₅^b).

THE PLATES AND MAP are the same as those described in the Latin edition, 1591 (n. 39), except that the engraved coat of arms is that of Prince Wilhelm, Count Palatine.

HALF MOROCCO. Size of leaf: 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

REFERENCES: Crawford, 7. C., n. 179. J., i (ii), 389.

LÉRY, Jean de (1534-1611)

DE BRY. AMERICAЕ TERTIA PARS. Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1592.

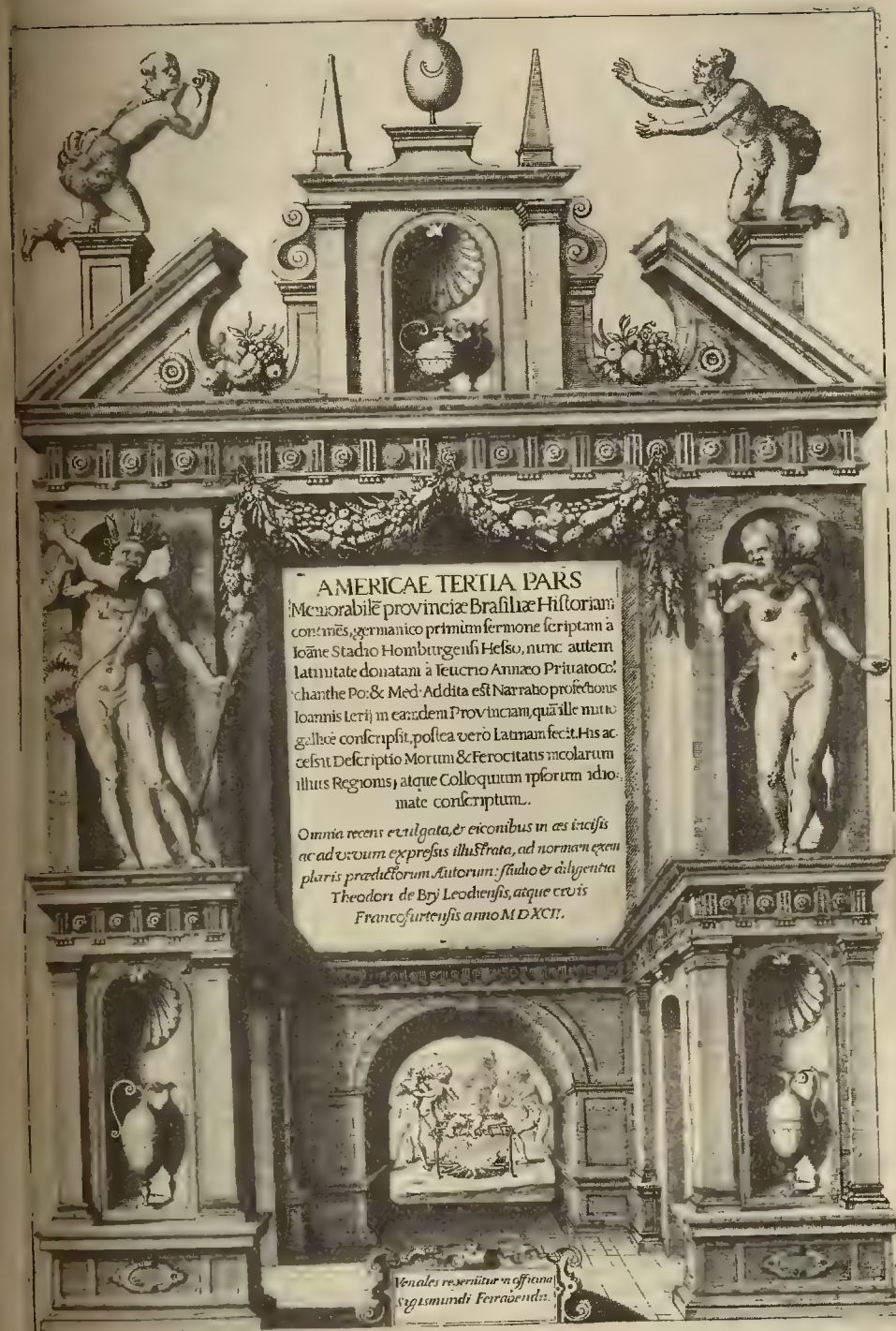
[*Translation of title*] The third part of America, containing the remarkable history of the province of Brazil, first written in German by Johann von Staden of Homburg in Hesse, now rendered into Latin by Johann Adam Lonicer . . . A narrative is added of the voyage of Jean de Léry to the same province, which he wrote first in French and afterward put into Latin. To these is joined a description of the customs and the fierceness of the inhabitants of that region, and a conversation written in their language. All newly published and illustrated with figures cut in copper and depicted to the life, according to the pattern provided by the aforesaid authors, by the zeal and diligence of Theodore de Bry of Liège, and citizen of Frankfort, in the year 1592. For sale at the shop of Sigismund Feyerabend.

[*Translation of colophon*] Printed at Frankfort-on-the-Main, at the shop of Johann Wechel, published by Theodore de Bry, 1592.

THE earliest known illustration which displays with graphic detail the ritualistic use of tobacco by American natives here occurs on Ff₂^b in De Léry's text. It represents the *Petum* dancing ceremony of the Caribs, of which De Léry (*v. nos.* 26, 29) gives a brief account. The illustration has been reproduced in n. 26. (*Cf.* p. 283.)

On Cc₁^{a-b} and Ff₂^b, respectively, occur the account of *Petum* and the relation of the dancing ceremony, both from the Latin edition of 1586 (n. 29), recorded in n. 26.

¹ *Cf.* Harriot's *uppowoc* (n. 36) and Strachey's *apooke* (n. 112).



TITLE OF DE BRY, LATIN AMERICA, PART III, 1592

FIRST EDITION, FIRST ISSUE. (Latin America, Part III of De Bry's *Grands Voyages*.) Folio (a-b⁴; A-Z⁴; Aa-Qq⁴ [last, blank]. Colophon on Qq₃).

This agrees with the collation given in the Church catalogue, No. 148.

ENGRAVED TITLE; coat of arms of Wilhelm, Duke of Bavaria; plate of seven coats of arms (background white); folding map of South America, etc.; forty-five plates in the text (of which fifteen are repeated, two being in triplicate); engraved title to De Léry's relation; and "Adam and Eve" plate. The engravings, etc., correspond to those described by Crawford, except that plates occur on p. 14 (not 12) and on p. 228 (not 238), and to those in the Church copy (No. 148), except that no plate is pasted over that on p. 52.

MOROCCO, by Riviere. Size of leaf: 12 $\frac{15}{16}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

REFERENCES: Crawford, 117. C., n. 148. J., i (ii), 390-391.

Johann von Staden's two voyages to Brazil, 1546-1548 and 1549-1555, described in his *Wahrhaftig Historia*, 1557, and De Léry's report of his expedition to Brazil, 1556-1558 (n. 29-v. n. 26), comprise the chief part of this volume. The first edition of Von Staden's work (Marburg, 1557) contains woodcuts, among which are two (on h₁₁^b and t₁₁^b) depicting native cigar-smokers.



TITLE OF DE BRY, GERMAN AMERICA, PART III, 1593

LÉRY, Jean de (1534-1611), *translated and edited by* Johann Adam LONICER (1557-1599)

DE BRY. DRITTE BUCH AMERICÆ. Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1593.

[*Translation of title*] [From type, and pasted within the engraved border:] The third book of America, in which Brazil is described in German by Johann von Staden of Homburg in Hesse, from his own experience. Also, the history of the expedition of Jean de Léry into Brazil, which he himself published, now again translated into German by [Johann Adam Lonicer] . . . Concerning the inconceivable fierceness of the inhabitants [there], all kinds of foreign fauna and flora, and a conversation in the language of the savages. All engraved again with artistic designs, on copper, and published by Theodore de Bry of Liège, now a citizen of Frankfort-on-the-Main. 1593. [Engraved on border plate:] For sale at the shop of Theodore de Bry.

The illustration first published in the Latin edition of this work, 1592 (n. 41), here occurs on X_i^a, the account of *Petum* on P_{iv}^b-Q_i^a, and the relation of the dancing ceremony on V_{iv}^b-X_i^a.

FIRST EDITION. (German America, Part III of De Bry's *Grands Voyages*.) Folio (:)⁴; A-L⁴; M⁶; Schiffart in Brasilien in America . . . by De Léry, 1593 . . . A-Z⁴; Aa-Dd⁴; Ee⁶).

THE PLATES are the same as those in the Latin edition, 1592 (n. 41), except that almost all of them occur on different pages and only six are repeated, making thirty-six in all. With the folding map, the coat of arms (pasted down) of Frederic IV, Count Palatine, and six virtues added to the plate containing the seven coats of arms.

HALF MOROCCO. Size of leaf: 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

REFERENCES: Crawford, 11. C., n. 181. J., i (ii), 392-393.

Lonicer's version of De Léry's text, employed in this volume, has been called a paraphrase, rather than a translation of the latter's edition of 1586 (n. 29).

HARVEY, Gabriel (1545?-1630)

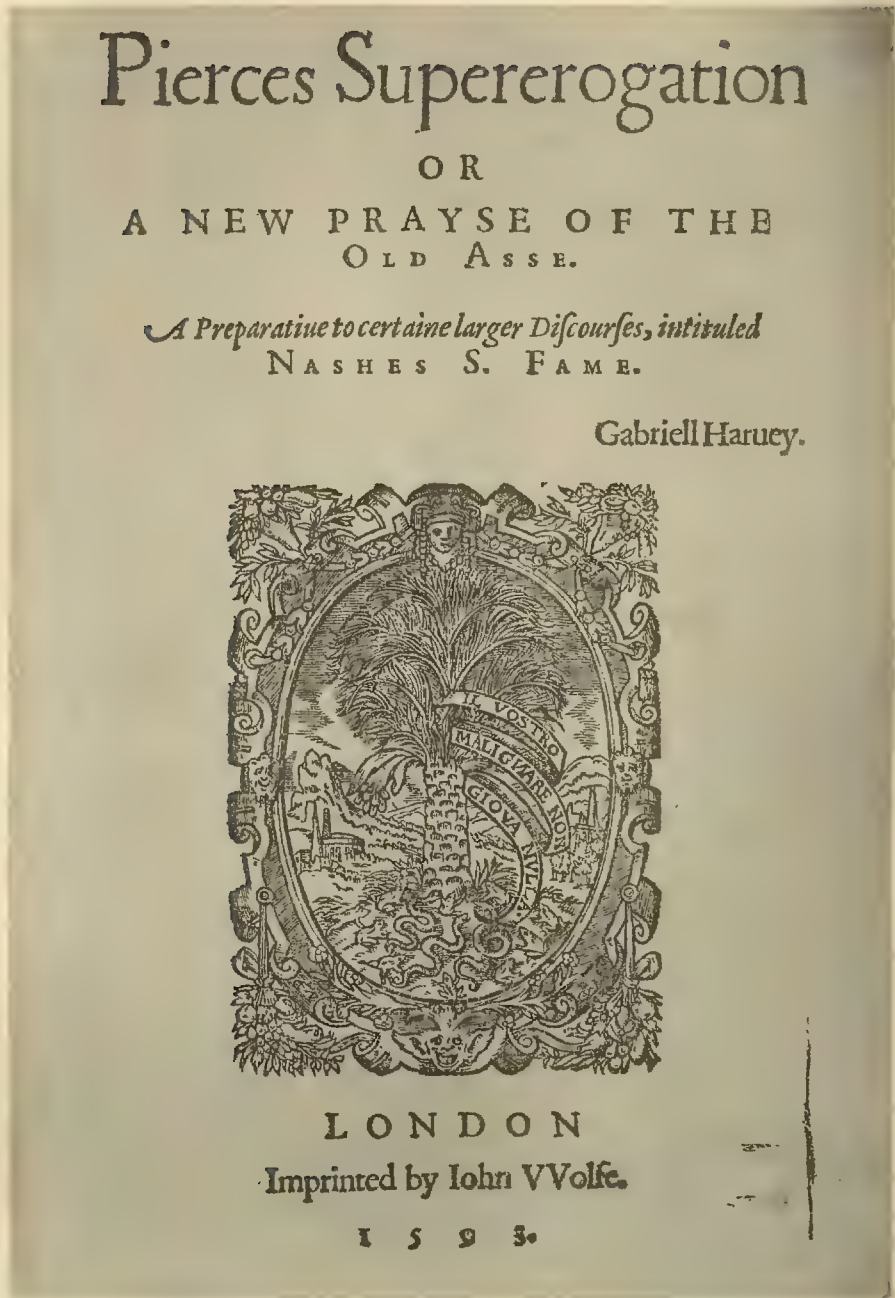
PIERCES SVPEREROGATION. London, 1593.

DURING the course of the bitter battle of books which raged between Nash and Harvey (*v. infra*), the latter replied to his opponent's *Strange Newes*, 1592, with this exercise in learned vituperation. In it, echoing Spenser, he implies that he was no anti-tobacconist.

. . . the Country affordeth sufficient prouisiō of water, to encounter, the terriblest Vulcanist, that brandisheth a burning sword, or a fierie tounge. Howbeit some looker-on, that feare not greatly the flame, cannot but maruell at the smoake; and had rather see them, breathing-out the fume of diuine Tobacco, thē of furious rage. [O₃^a]

Slight as the reference is, it emphasizes the point that tobacco had got into the consciousness of literary men as a "holy herb," more, certainly, because of its widely advertised remedial virtues than for any other reason.

Nash, too, thought tobacco "divine," as one will find in his *Lenten Stufe* (n. 57). It was, perhaps, the only subject upon which he and Harvey publicly agreed. (Cf. the concluding notes to nos. 33 and 46.)¹



TITLE OF HARVEY, 1593

The latter again displayed a Spenserian influence and confessed his admiration for the herb when, in a phrase in his *A New Letter of Notable Contents*, 1593, he linked "Tobacco" with "Panacea," apparently his only other reference to tobacco.

¹ One of the dedicatees in Harvey's work is "Anthony Chewt." *V.* n. 46.

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (*2; **4; ***4; A-Z4 [Second title, identical with first, on A1; Aa-Ee4 [last, blank, lacking]]. Printer's device on the title.

This copy does not contain the six leaves, Ff4; Gg2, on which appear the letters and poems by J. Thorius and A. Chute referred to in the printer's advertisement. They occur in some copies, but it is believed that they were added as an afterthought.

MOROCCO. Size of leaf: 6 13/16 x 4 7/8 inches. With a brief ms. note in the hand of Richard Farmer on the front fly-leaf, quoting from Oldys' *Life of Raleigh* in relation to this work. Farmer's autograph signature occurs on another leaf.

From the collections of Richard Farmer (1798, n. 3683 [Nash]), Thomas Corser (1869, III, n. 465, bought by Thorpe for Miller), W. H. Miller, and S. R. Christie-Miller (2 Apr., 1924, n. 407).

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 12903. Co., iv, 393; ix, 53. *Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nashe*, E. G. Harman (1923), 144 *et seq.* Harman advances the curious theory that Francis Bacon was the writer behind the masks of the anti-Harveyans, successively impersonating Lyly, Greene and Nash. It is difficult to accept the opinion.

Corser (vii, 180-181), who once owned this copy, gives a brief history of the scurrilous paper warfare in which Harvey became involved with Nash and Greene. The combat lasted, he writes, "for a period of more than six years with great bitterness and rancour, and was only at last put an end to by public authority and by the seizure and destruction of their numerous pamphlets on both sides, with an injunction from the prelates Whitgift and Bancroft, that none of them should ever be reprinted hereafter; an injunction which has rendered most of the works published in this quarrel extremely rare. The origin of this literary controversy was the charge made by Greene against Harvey, that he was the son of a ropemaker at Saffron-Walden in Essex, a circumstance of which he had the weakness to be ashamed, and being joined with some other follies and affectations, brought him under the lash and ridicule of his unmerciful opponents . . . the truth of Greene's charge, that . . . Harvey's father was a ropemaker is not denied,—it is true [that this trade] afterwards came to be looked upon in a degrading light."

BENZONI, Girolamo (1519-1570?), translated by Urbain CHAUVETON

DE BRY. AMERICA PARS QVARTA. Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1594.

[Translation of title] The fourth part of America, or the remarkable and admirable history of West India, first discovered by Christopher Columbus in the year 1492. Written by Girolamo Benzoni of Milan, who, having spent fourteen years there, made careful observations. The idolatry of these natives is treated in annotations not to be ignored, which are added to almost every chapter. In addition a chorographic map of those regions is present. All illustrated by elegant figures engraved on copper by Theodore de Bry of Liège, a citizen of Frankfort, in the year 1594. With the privilege of His Imperial Majesty.

[Translation of colophon] Printed at Frankfort-on-the-Main, with the types of Johann Feyerabend, published by T. de Bry, 1594.

On O2^b-O3^a is the passage relating to tobacco which first appeared in Benzoni's *Historia*, 1565 (n. 10). This is from the Latin version, 1578 (n. 25).

FIRST EDITION, FIRST ISSUE. (Latin America, Part IV of De Bry's *Grands Voyages*.) Folio (): (4;): (): (4; A-Q4; R6 [last, blank]. Colophon on R5^b. Plates, with engraved title and text: A-E4; F6 [last, blank, lacking].)

This copy agrees throughout with the details of the first issue, as described by C., No. 153.



TITLE OF DE BRY, LATIN AMERICA, PART IV, 1594

ENGRAVED TITLE; plate of seven coats of arms with six virtues; two half-page engravings; folding map of West Indies, etc.; engraved title to plates; and twenty-four numbered plates.

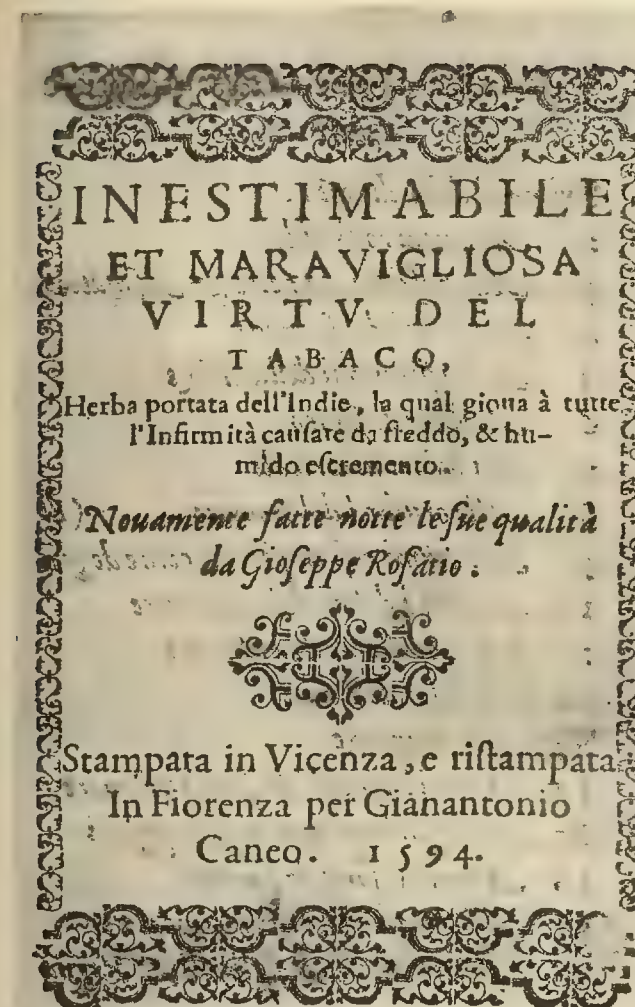
MOROCCO, by Riviere. Size of leaf: $12\frac{15}{16} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The correct first title has been misbound as the title to the plates.

REFERENCES: Crawford, 129. C., n. 153. J., i (ii), 393.

The text comprises only the first part of Chauveton's translation of Benzoni, 1578 (n. 25), to which are added the notes taken from his version of the same into French, 1579. The remainder of Benzoni's history was published by De Bry in Parts V and VI of the *Grands Voyages*.

ROSACCIO, Giuseppe (fl. 1581-1650)

INESTIMABILE . . . VIRTU DEL TABACO. Florence, 1594.



TITLE OF ROSACCIO, 1594

[Translation of title] Inestimable and marvellous virtue of tobacco, a plant brought from the Indies, which helps all infirmities caused by cold and damp excrement. Its qualities newly made known by Giuseppe Rosaccio. Printed at Venice, and reprinted at Florence by Gianantonio Caneo, 1594.

ROSACCIO'S pamphlet, the earliest Italian work in this library entirely devoted to the subject of tobacco (*cf.* n. 20), merely propagates the gospel of Monardes (n. 15), and therefore contributes nothing new to the history. On the reverse of the title occurs a familiar list of ailments—eighteen in all—for which the plant provided an invaluable remedy. The text itself deals with the methods by which tobacco was to be employed medicinally. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to Monardes and mentions, incidentally, the title of a work apparently recently published, *Virtù mirabile dell' Herba Regina o Tabaco*.

EDITION UNDETERMINED; apparently the second. Sixteenmo (A, 4 leaves).

HALF MOROCCO, uncut. Size of leaf: $6\frac{1}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

An examination of numerous bibliographies, etc., has failed to reveal any information on this work. The imprint indicates that this edition was preceded by one issued at Venice. No other copy appears to be recorded. The author wrote on geography, astronomy and medicine.

CHUTE, Anthony (*d.* 1595?)

TABACO. London, 1595.

THIS work, the first in the English language devoted to the subject, expressed an earnest conviction of the medicinal value of tobacco and propagandized for its correct use by smokers.

It presented some novelties to readers by the first representation published in a book of a European smoker (much improved when it was reengraved for the Dutch edition, 1623, n. 151), and by its dedication to Humphrey King. The latter seems to imply the existence of an exclusive or secret society of smokers, of which King, referred to as "his Excellitude," etc., was grandmaster.¹ The fact that apothecaries were actively engaged in selling tobacco (for it was a "medicinal plant") is indicated by the author. From his complaint it is evident that they demanded extravagant prices for their ware, even when it was not that "right stuff" from Brazil or the West Indies, and that they were guilty of adulterating what they offered. It was perhaps their avarice which had made necessary some kind of cooperative society of smokers under the management of the mysterious Humphrey King.

The chief new contribution of Chute's work to the therapeutics of tobacco was the author's opinion of the value of the herb when employed by pipe. The majority of the earlier writers on the subject had contented themselves with repeating the advice of Liébault (n. 12) and Monardes (n. 15), relating to the uses of tobacco only in anti-septic applications, "suffumigations," etc. It is of interest to observe, too, that Chute first relates that silver pipes were in use as well as the more common clays.²

To the Heroicall minded Gentleman, Maister Humphrey King.

By the Authors immutable decree, being his laft, this booke was destinate to you, and vpō your allowance, to paffe for authorifed. What he willed, I haue performed. Agreeing in this with the Authors opinion, That the clereft fighted can

¹ *Cf.* nos. 57 and 106.

² The expensive metal pipes were rare, however. Several makeshift pipes were in use among the poor,

as is shown by contemporary records, but the clay, brought into fashion by the returned Virginian colonists was most popular. *V. infra*, n. 6.

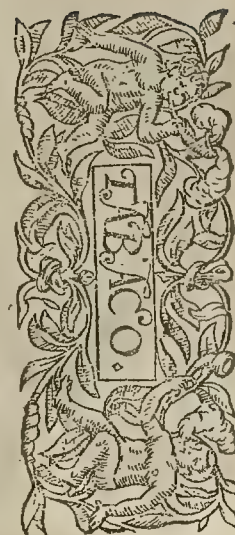
TITLE OF CHUTE, 1595
From the copy in the American Antiquarian Society Library

LONDON,
Printed by Adam Jflap.
1595.



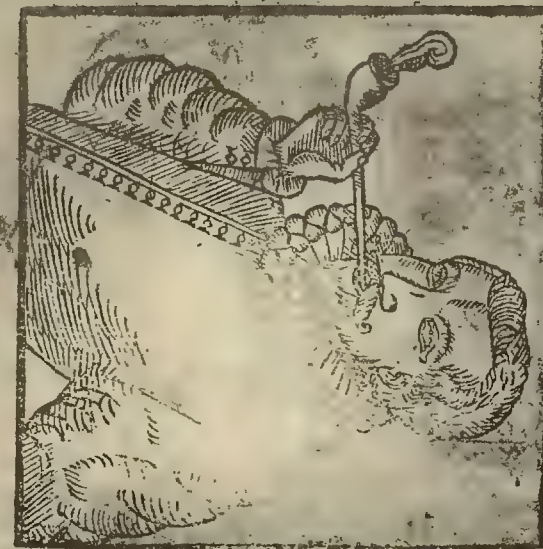
Calender by A. C.

The distinct and feuerall o-
pinions of the late and best Phi-
fitions that haue written of
the diuers natures and qua-
lities thereof.



LAST LEAF OF CHUTE, 1595
From the copy in the Henry E. Huntington Library

LONDON,
Printed for William Barlow, and are
to be sold at his shop in Gracious-
street. 1595.



best iudge of colours. What your experiēce is in this diuine hearbe, al men do know; and acknowledge you to bee *The Souereigne of Tabacco*, and for such they do honor you. [The dedicator is unskilled in the usual terms set forth by authors for their patrons, but] by the report that runneth of your fame, I doe auouch in one word that you are *Most-worthie*. And for such I do recommend this rare worke of a most pretious hearbe vnto you . . . [Signed by the printer:] *A. I[slip]*. [A₁₃^{a-b}]

The Printer to the Reader.

Gentle Reader, this discourse of Tabacco being left in my hands by a gentleman who in his owne particuler had seene great triall of the effects thereof, and as well by priuat conference with men of learning, as by the reading of such authors of credit, who haue reported the strange and woonderfull operations thereof, he was mooued to make knowne vnto all men that which the most part did doubt of, touching the vse & practise thereof, as well in taking the smoke of it with the Pipe, the leafe being drie, as in applieng the greene leafe to the cure of many fores and diseafes.

In publishing this tract the printer is but carrying out the last instruction of the author. This he does more willingly since he has been informed

that besides the effects reported by the author, of the taking of it with the Pipe; it hath cleered the sight in a knight of great Commaundment and Worship: and cured a gentleman that long languished of a Consumption. I doubt not but it hath many other strange vertues which are yet vnknowne . . .

The author has observed, as recorded by his "authors," that the herb has the same virtue to heal as have the green leaves, if it be dried after the Indian manner.

Indeed it would seeme somewhat much for any man to say, that if the drying of it were according to the care of them, who here with vs make it their trade to gaine by, that we might attribute so much power to it, being dried after such a maner: but surely I cannot thinke, but that comming from those poore people, where couetousnesse hath not taught [them] . . . to dissemble with any for profit, we may esteeme it either as good as the greene, or at least as that greene which growes heere in our clime, which reason persuades vs is vnapt to bring forth the hearbe in hir naturall heat and vertue being so hote, and our foile so cold.

He thinks it curious that his authors have not dealt more largely with the benefits to be derived from the use of tobacco through a pipe—perhaps they were ignorant of that way to use it.

. . . to say truth, who hath long known it an vsuall thing in this part of the world, to drinke [*i.e.*, to smoke] *Tabacco*? and yet who is he that euer knew it longest and can iustly say, that this or that discommoditie is come to him by it, vnlesse drinking it extreemly, he hath changed the good into a bad effect, since euerie extreme vertue is a vice . . .

But the author is no physician; he will not arrogate to himself "any title of perfection in phisick." He gives the opinion of a young doctor,³ who loves tobacco and has made

³ Possibly a reference to Raphael Thorius. *V.* the introductory note to n. 157, and n. 2 there.

great trial of "drinking" it, concerning the value of the dried leaf, saying, *inter alia*, "that a stinking breath, proceeding not from any great or dangerous infection, is (by drinking *Tabacco* fasting in the morning) clenfed away." But it must be inhaled in good quantity, so as to force a cough or at least dry up the corrupt humors of the stomach.

Who hath euer found a more foueraign remedy against coughs, rheume in the stomacke, head, and eyes? from whence it will fetch the humor in so strange quantity, as in some is admirable.

The author will not insist upon this or that method for using tobacco, but he finds it most effective when employed in the mornings, fasting, and an excellent and sovereign remedy when one is wearied with journeying too far.

. . . I thinke that those writers which haue so effectually written of the nature of *Tabacco*, by outward applications both knew the secreat effects of the greene leafe, applying it to wounds, and of the dried leafe receiuing it by pipes: but hearing of so strange a maner of receiuing it, as phisicke was neuer guilty to the vnderstanding of, they thought it meet to preferue in a perpetuall concealment among themselves, least being knowne to the world, the inhabilitie [uselessness] of other hearbs and deuises being discouered, and this made knowne, it might turne to the common detrement and hurt of their Art . . .⁴ And I doubt not but if an idle *Tabacconist*, and a hot Phisition were met without a moderator, it would proue a hard question in their naturall reasons, whether hee that first deuised this secret of drinking *Tabacco*, being a phisition himfelfe, (as surely I thing he was) was worthy to be accompted a good or an euill perfon, since he (it is likely) for his owne priuat commodity, did make that knowne to many, by the which many haue receiued more losse of gold in generall, than any of them did receiue good, to whom he did first impart it. . . .

And thus farre for drinking of *Tabacco*, which is more vulgarly receiued with vs now than euer, and although it seems that the Indians vse to take this *Tabacco* in other maner of pipes then we,⁵ yet I thinke we shall not need to thinke our earthern⁶ or siluer pipes more vnapt than those which the Indians make of Palme leaues and such like. . . .

But to conclude, I will limit no man to any prescript order of drinking *Tabacco*, nor wish that any should vse it, but as they finde themselves cold in their stomacke, rheumaticke, or hauing the headache, or for diuers other such necessarie occasions, for I see not how such vnmeasurable drinking should not both harme them that drink it, and wrong others by robbing the world of so singular a treasure as this. I could therefore wish it were a penal law, that whosoever should abuse it by vnmeasurable and needlesse drinking, should forfeit at the pleasure of *his Excellitude*,⁷

⁴ Suspicion of the medical fraternity was occasionally expressed by other tobacco enthusiasts who felt that as the plant was a panacea, it had rendered the aid of physicians practically unnecessary.

⁵ Cf. n. 13.

⁶ While various materials were employed for early English tobacco pipes (v. the *Introduction*, p. 50, notes 9 and 11) the most popular pipes were composed

of clay, with a small bowl, in various shapes, set at a forward angle to stems ranging in length from six to twelve or more inches. The flat heel or base of the bowl was characteristic of the period, while the size of the bowl was dictated by the high cost of tobacco then. Cf. Dunhill, pp. 208 ff.

⁷ Humphrey King is meant here. Cf. the introductory note, *supra*, and nos. 57 and 106.

from three times vpward, so much as he hath waisted – toward the maintenance of *Tabacco* in the treafury^[8] and by this means I feare not, but we should make that our singular profit, which we now turne to our disprofit and harme, and that wee should not remaine in that great want of good *Tabacco* which wee haue done of a long time together, but that hoarding Apothicaries might be glad to abate their prizes of their mingle mangle which forfooth they will not fell, vnder vnreasonable rate, when there is scarce good to be got, although that which they haue be as bad at the best, as the worst of but indifferent good, when good may be bought.

That which may be faid more I refer to the conceit of them that hold it in her due price, for my felfe in few, I thinke that there is nothing that harmes a man inwardly from his girdle vpward, but may be taken away with a moderate vse of *Tabacco*, and in those parts consist the chiefe reasons of our health, for the stomacke and head being cleare and void of euill humors, commonly the whole body is the better. . . .

I speake it with an vpriht feare to God, I thinke man hath not known an excellenter preferuatiue against the late dangerous infection [the plague], than this, and if any one who made vse of it in good order, hath died of the infection, I am truly refolued, that for that one which died, it hath faued threescore . . .^[9]

The remainder of this tract is composed of a summary of Liébault's chapter on tobacco (n. 12), a brief excerpt from Monardes (n. 15), and references from Gohory (n. 17), Everard (n. 32), *et al.*, with various recipes derived from these older authorities.

FIRST EDITION. Sixteenmo (A⁴; B–D⁸; E⁴).

WOODCUT OF SMOKER, B₈, repeated on last leaf, E₄ (as reproduced); cut of tobacco plant, on D₂, reengraved from that in n. 13; and woodcut arms on v^e of title-page—a shield bearing a pipe between a lance and a sword per pale, in chief a crowned head, between two chaplets of tobacco.

PHOTOSTAT OF THE COPY IN THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY LIBRARY, with leaves D₂ and E₄ supplied from the Britwell Court copy in the Huntington Library. (The first leaf in the latter copy is the last leaf, E₄, transferred to supply the missing title.)

The only copies known of this work are the two foregoing—both imperfect, as indicated.

Chute's book was long known to students only by collateral evidence, the fact of its publication having been recorded by some contemporaries.

The first clear notice of it appears to be the reference in Brathwait's *The Smoaking Age*, 1617 (v. n. 129 at n. 9). As will be seen, he added a digest of it to his own treatise, introducing it as “. . . a little Tract, entitled *Tobacco*: published by especiall direction of the Author upon his deathbed,^[10] dedicated to *Humphrey King*, one well experienced in the use, benefit, and practice of that herbe, and printed for *Will. Barlow* (with Tobacco Armes) then keeping shop in *Gracious streete*.” [N₇^a–O₁^b]

It has been suggested that the publisher of this tract was in reality William Barley, the printer of music, located in Gracechurch Street, 1596. Herbert's Ames (ii, 227) has the entry: “William Barley had a licence to print a Treatise describing the nature of Tobacco.” Maunsell's *Catalogue* (1595) also lists *Tabacco [sic]*, as printed for William Barley.

⁸ Of the “fmoakie [tobacco] Societie,” undoubtedly. Cf. the introductory note, *supra*.

⁹ This appears to be the earliest reference in an English work (cf. n. 13) to the use of tobacco as a

prophylaxis during the pestilences which ravaged Europe during the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Cf. the *Introduction*, p. 33, n. 6.

¹⁰ Cf. the introductory note to n. 151.

Credit for the discovery of Chute's (or Chewt's) authorship is due Dr. Robert J. Kane. In his thesis, “Tobacco in English Literature to 1700” (Harvard University, 1929), he devotes considerable space to an examination of the subject. The evidence he has produced points clearly to Chute's responsibility for *Tabaco*.

The following is a summary of the most decisive proof submitted by Dr. Kane in “Anthony Chute, Thomas Nashe, and the First English Work on Tobacco” (†, 1931):

In 1596 Nash published his belated reply to Harvey's *Pierce's Supererogation*, 1593 (n. 43), entitled *Haue With You to Saffron Walden*. In this work two characters discuss Chute by name, and one, Respondent (Nash's *alter ego*), says among other things, “. . . this I will say [against him] . . . for his Oratorship, it was such that I haue seene him *non plus* [nonplussed] in giuing the charge, at the creating of a new Knight of *Tobacco* [perhaps in Humphrey King's “fmoakie Societie”—v. n. 106]; though, to make amends since, he hath kneaded and daub'd vp a Commedie, called The tranfformation of the King of *Trinidadoes* two Daughters, Madame *Panachea* and the Nympe *Tobacco*; and, to approue his Heraldrie, scutchend out the honorable Armes of the fmoakie Societie . . .” [Q₄^{a-b}] (Cf. Co., iv, p. 394.)

“The significance of this passage,” writes Dr. Kane, “is now apparent. The only English work on tobacco that is known to have been published before the date of Nashe's writing is the little pamphlet of 1595. Nashe attributes a work on this subject to Anthony Chute. The initials that appear on the title-page of *Tabaco* are ‘A. C.’ To be sure, Nashe refers to the production as a ‘Commedie.’ But the title that he offers is, on the face of it, too fantastic for exactitude.” Nash did have a preference for dramatic metaphors, but even though he was being satiric, perhaps he really meant what he said and thought that Chute's work was a comedy. Certainly the often involved style of that author seems unwittingly comic at times.

“As for the ‘Armes of the smoakie Societie,’ which Chute is said to have ‘scutchend out,’ who could resist the mute eloquence of sig. A 1 verso in the *Tabaco* treatise . . .”

MONARDES, Nicolás (c. 1512–1588), in Johann Jacob WECKER (1528–1586), translated by Charles de l'ESCLUSE (1526–1609)

ANTIDOTARIUM GEMINUM. Basle, 1595.

[Translation of title] A two-fold dispensatory, general and special, faithfully collected from the writings of esteemed authors, both ancient and modern. Carefully and very greatly augmented over earlier editions and finally issued with improvements by Johann Jacob Wecker of Basle. Most complete indices are added. With the privilege for ten years. At Basle, by Conrad Waldkirch, at the expense of the bishopric, 1595.

IN THE second part, *Antidotarium Speciale*, of this voluminous work, on f₅^b–f₆^b, the author quotes the entire passage on tobacco from De l'Escluse's translation of Monardes, 1574 (n. 18), together with that translator's own annotations (except for one paragraph).

On o₄^a of the same section, Wecker repeats the account of the best means of distilling the herb *petum*, and the medicinal uses of that liquor. This he found in the work of *Leo Suauius* (i.e., Jacques Gohory, v. n. 17), who had himself derived the essentials of that process from Liébault (n. 12).

ANTIDOTARIUM
GEMINUM,
GENERALE
ET
SPECIALE:

A
IOAN. IACOBO VVECKERO
BASILIENSE

EX OPT. AUTHORUM,
tam veterum quam recentiorum, scriptis fideliter
congestum, & tandem methodicè, supra priores edi-
tiones, vberimè auctum, communè
editum, & exor-
natum.

Adiectis ELENCHIS locupletis.



Cum Privilegio ad Annos decem.

BASILEAE,
Per CONR. VVALDKIRCH, sumptibus
EPISCOPIANORVM,
cl. 15. xcv.

TITLE OF WECKER, 1595

HISTORIA
NATVRALE, E MORALE
DELLE INDIE;

SCRITTA
DAL R. P. GIOSEFFO DI ACOSTA
Della Compagnia del Giesù;

Nellaquale si trattano le cose notabili del Cielo, & de gli
Elementi, Metalli, Piantè, & Animali di quelle:
i fuoiriti, & ceremonie: Leggi, & gouerni,
& guerre degli Indiani.

Novamente tradotta della lingua Spagnuola nella Italiana

DA GIO. PAOLO GALVCCI SALODIANO
ACADEMICO VENETO.

CON PRIVILEGII.



IN VENETIA,

Presso Bernardo Bafa, All'insegna del Sole.
M. D. XCVI.

TITLE OF ACOSTA, 1596

1595 SECOND COLLECTED EDITION IN LATIN. Quarto (α^8 ; aa-gg⁸; hh². *Antidotarium Speciale*:):(⁶; a-z⁸; A-Q⁸).

OCCASIONAL WOODCUTS in first part.

WRAPPERS. Size of leaf: $9\frac{5}{8} \times 6\frac{7}{8}$ inches. Contemporaneous notation at foot of title, scored out.

REFERENCES: BM. Ferguson, ii, 534-535.

According to Michaud (Vol. XLIV), the first edition of *Antidotarium Speciale* appeared in 1561, and *Antidotarium Generale*, in 1576. Ferguson remarks that the date of the dedication indicates that the first Latin edition of this collection may have appeared in 1582 or 1583 (and the French in 1584), but he had not met with any editions of those years. Wecker's daughter, Anna, edited his *Antidotarium Speciale*, etc., which appeared in 1588. The two tobacco passages occur in this latter edition on f₃^{a-b} and o₅^a.

1596 ACOSTA, José de (1539-1600), translated by Giovanni Paolo GALUCCI (fl. 1590)
HISTORIA NATVRALE . . . DELLE INDIE. Venice, 1596.

[Translation of title] The natural and moral history of the Indies, written by Father José de Acosta of the Company of Jesus. In which are treated the notable things of the heavens, the elements, metals, plants and animals there; the rites, ceremonies, laws, government and wars of the Indians. Newly translated from the Spanish language into Italian by Giovanni Paolo Galucci, of Salò, Academician of Venice. With the privilege. [Printer's device] At Venice, from the press of Bernardo Basa . . . 1596.

On X₄^b-Y₁^a and Gg₁^b-Gg₂^a, respectively, occur the first reference to tobacco, and the account of the *petum* unction, as recorded in the original edition, 1590 (n. 35).

FIRST ITALIAN EDITION. Small quarto (††; †††; a-d⁴; A-Z⁴; Aa-Tt⁴; Vu⁶ [last, blank]).

ORIGINAL VELLUM. Size of leaf: $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

With a partly undecipherable armorial stamp on the title, perhaps that of the Buoncompagni family, and therefore probably from the collection of Baldassare Buoncompagni, Rome, 1898.

REFERENCES: Palau, i, 11. S., i, n. 124. Br., n. 9.

This is the only Italian version and is printed with the types of Aldus.

RALEIGH, Sir Walter (1552?-1618)

THE DISCOVERIE OF . . . GVIANA. London, 1596.

THE most famous English figure in nicotian annals,¹ Sir Walter Raleigh, made no important contribution to the written history of tobacco nor published a word in its praise. But one casual reference to the plant occurs in his printed works,² in this report of the expedition he had made, 1595, to the coast of South America in search of the new *El Dorado*. In the passage describing "the Tivitivas" (that is to say, the Waraus) that "dwell vpon the branches of *Orenoque*," he stated that those

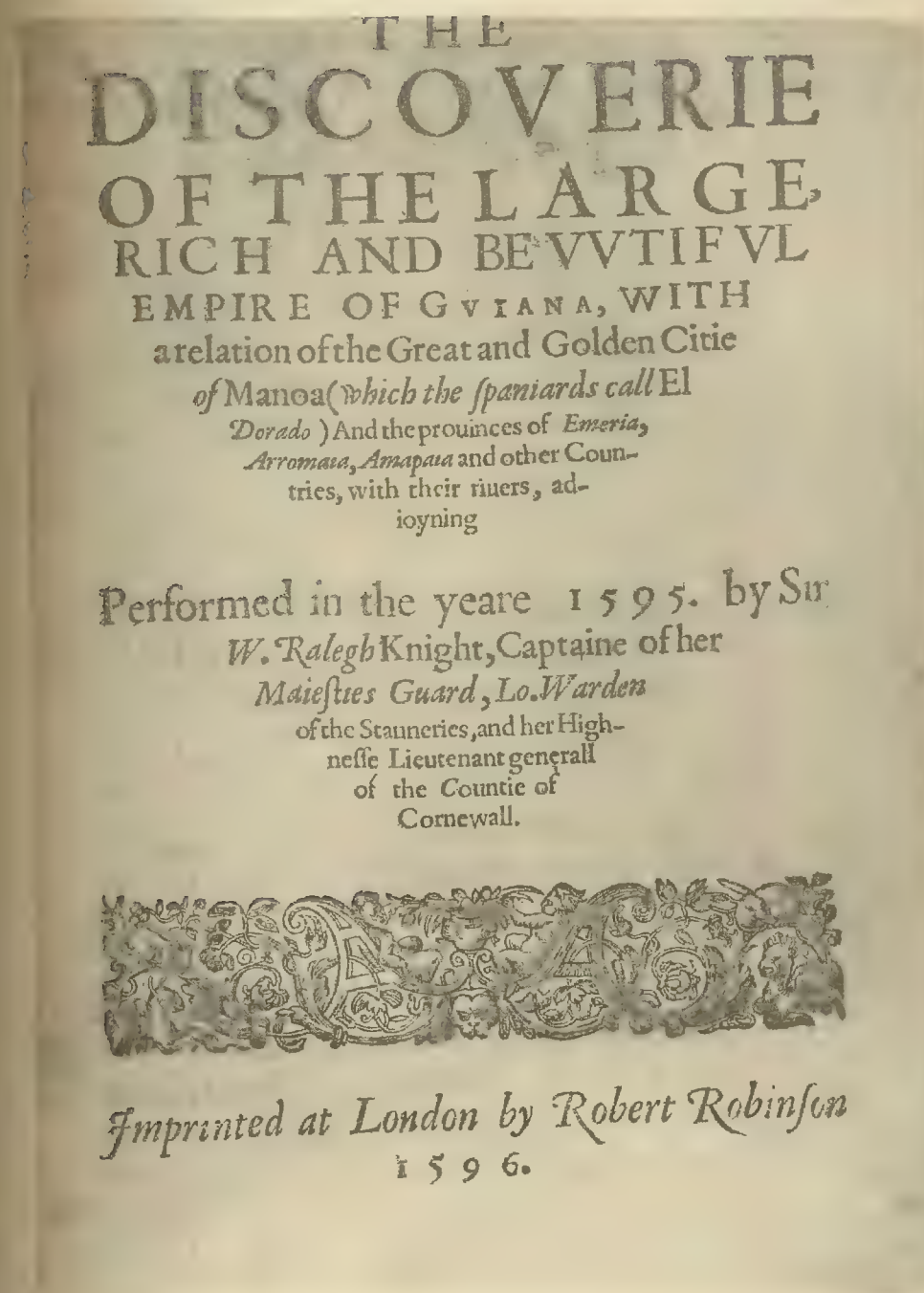
¹ Cf. the *Introduction*, pp. 47 ff.

² It has been often said that none of Raleigh's works contains any reference to tobacco. Stahl (*op. cit.*, in n. 2, n. 8, ¶2) and others have attributed to Raleigh passages of nicotian interest which occur in

the work of his lieutenant, Lawrence Keymis. The latter's *Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana* . . . 1596, was included in a Latin translation, in De Bry's collection. *V.* n. 55 for the references to tobacco.

called *Cupuri* [Capuri] and *Macureo*, are for the most part Carpenters of *Canoas*, for they make the most and fayrest houses, and sell them into *Guiana* for golde, and into *Trinidado* for *Tobacco*, in the exceffiue taking whereof, they exceed all

1596



TITLE OF RALEIGH, 1596

nations, and notwithstanding the moistneffe of the aire in which they liue . . . in all my life either in the Indies or in Europe did I neuer beholde a more goodlie or better fauoured people, or more manlie. [G₂^a]

In line 14, p. 21, the text reads "*Nuevo reyno de Granada*." In the title occur "EMPIRE," "Citie," and "*spaniards*" (v. *infra*).

THREE-QUARTER MOROCCO. Size of leaf: 7 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 5 $\frac{3}{16}$ inches. E₁ misplaced in binding.

With manuscript notes on an end-paper by Halliwell-Phillipps.

From the collections of J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps (1889, n. 193, bought by Sotheran) and William A. White (acquired 1890).

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 20635 [records this under n. 20634, "edition undetermined"]. *C.*, n. 254. *S.*, xvi, n. 67553. *B.*, i, n. 507. *Catalogue*, White Library, Henrietta C. Bartlett. Reprint, ed. Sir Robt. H. Schomburgh (Hakluyt Society, 1848). Reprint, ed. V. T. Harlow (1928).

The first edition was also printed in 1596. The three editions of this year (in four issues or variants) with typographical peculiarities too numerous to list here, are fully described by Dr. Eames, in *S.*, xvi, and are recorded in *STC.*, numbers 20634-20636^a.

Raleigh's position at the Elizabethan court made him England's most distinguished smoker. It was the generous encouragement he gave to the habit³ which rapidly induced the popular belief that it was to him the nation was indebted for this new delight. It is, of course, of only academic importance to correct the general impression⁴ that he was the original importer of tobacco into England and the first smoker there.⁵ He was only the first to make the habit fashionable among Englishmen, but that entitles him to the honorable tributes bestowed upon him.

It may be recorded in passing that students have long believed Raleigh's sole direct reference⁶ to tobacco to be that contained in his first testamentary note, written just prior to his execution, 29 October 1618, reading:

"Sir Lewis Stukeley sold all the tobacco at Plimouth of which, for the most part of it, I gave him a fift part of it, as also a role for my Lord Admirall and a role for himself . . . I desire that hee may give his account for the tobacco."⁷

In *Raleghana*, Dr. Brushfield collected some interesting data from Aubrey and others. It was stated that Raleigh smoked just before he went to the scaffold—"wch some formall persons were scandalized at," remarked Aubrey, "but I thinke it was well, and properly donne to settle his spirits." (†, 1813, II, pp. 519-520.)

It was reported, too, that when Raleigh introduced the custom of smoking in Elizabeth's court, the queen, "after two or three whiffs . . . was seized with a nausea, upon observing which, some of the Earl of Leicester's faction whispered that Sir Walter had certainly poisoned her. But her majesty, in a short while recovering, made the Countess of Nottingham and all her maids smoke a whole pipe out among them." The tale is not so apocryphal as may at first appear; several contemporaries have testified that the ladies of Elizabeth's court did smoke tobacco pipes, and what more likely than that the champion of the "divine herb" should have attempted thus to amuse (and educate) his sovereign.⁸ (See, for further accounts of Raleigh and his smoking habits, Brushfield, pp. 32, 33, 37, *et passim*.)

³ *V.* the *Introduction*, pp. 47 ff.

⁴ Buttes (n. 53), James I (n. 68), Edmund Howes (n. 176), were among those who announced that Raleigh was the first to introduce tobacco or the habit of smoking into England.

⁵ *Cf.* nos 13, 31, 36.

⁶ *Cf.* the *Introduction*, p. 68, and n. 8 there.

⁷ Quoted in Brushfield, p. 32.

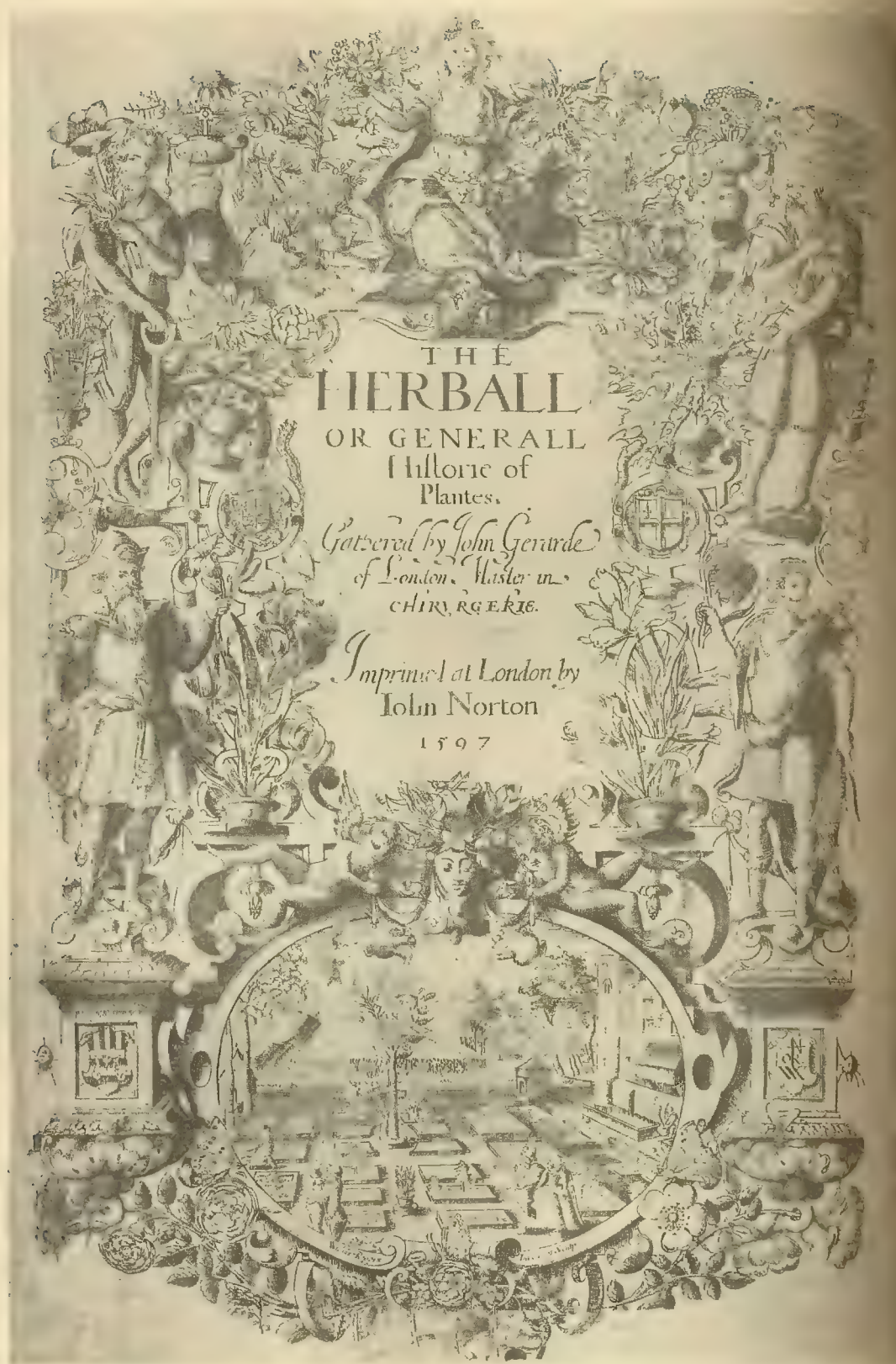
⁸ *Cf.* the concluding note in n. 238, n. 710 [y^{a-b}], and the *Introduction*, p. 49, n. 2.



SIR WALTER RALEIGH

Engraved by G. Vertue. From Oldys' edition of Raleigh's *The History of the World*, 1736.

Raleigh's account of his experiences has been called "the most brilliant of all the Elizabethan narratives of adventure." It is a romantic tale, heightened with an occasional fable, and was received with great incredulity. Camden (n. 170), the antiquary, was impressed with its style and characterized it as an elegant production.



TITLE OF GERARD, 1597

The garden illustrated in this title was Gerard's own

THE HERBALL. London, 1597.

GERARD'S *Herball*, still fragrant after three centuries, was the first work to give a detailed account of the species of tobacco then most prevalent in England, *N. rustica*. The author was familiar, too, with *N. Tabacum*, in two varieties. All these plants were among the horticultural specimens he displayed in his famous garden in London.¹ It was as a plant of known medicinal virtues that Gerard valued tobacco, and he accepted most of the therapeutic dogmas then relating to it. As an herbalist he was, of course, opposed to those who "dranke tabaco for wantonneffe."

Writing of *N. rustica*, cultivated in England, he says:

Of yellow Henbane, or English Tabaco.²

Yellow Henbane groweth to the height of two cubits. The stalke is thicke, fat and greene of colour, full of a spongius pith; and is deuided into fundrie braunches, fet with smooth and euen leaues, thicke, and full of iuice. The flowers growe at the tops of the braunches orderly placed, of a pale yellowe colour, something leffer then those of the blacke Henbane. The cups wherein the flowers do stande are like, but leffer, tenderer and without sharpe pointes, wherein is set the hulke or cod somewhat rounde, full of very small feede like the feede of Marierome [marjoram]. The roote is small and threddie.

[It] is sown in gardens where it doth prosper exceedingly, infomuch that it cannot be destroyed where it hath once sown itself, and is dispersed into the most parts of Englande.³

It flowreth in the sommer moneths, and oftentimes till Autumne be farre spent, in which time the feede commeth to perfection.

Yellow Henbane is called *Hyoscyamus luteus*⁴ [and also *Petum*, *Petun*⁵ and *Nico-fiana*] . . . this hath beene taken for a kinde . . . of the true tobacco [*N. Tabacum*], infomuch that *L'Obelius*⁶ hath called it *Dubius Hyoscyamus*, or doubtfull Henbane, as a plant participating of Henbane and Tabaco: and is vsed of diuers in feede of Tabaco, and called by the same name, for that it hath beene brought from Trinidada, a place so called in the Indies [America]; as also from Virginia or Norembega [New England] for Tabaco, which doubtlesse taken in smoke [medicinally] worketh the same kind of drunkennes that the right Tabaco doth.

This kinde of Henbane is thought of some to be colde and moist; but after *L'Obelius* it rather heateth then cooleth at all, bicause of the biting taste, as also that rofennes or gummineffe it is possessed of, which is evidently perceiued both in handling and chewing it in the mouth [again as medicine].

¹ V. n. 56. This was situated in what is now Fetter Lane. All the varieties of tobacco then available were undoubtedly grown as well in the gardens of Lord Burghley in the Strand, and elsewhere, which Gerard supervised for twenty years.

² Henbane and coltsfoot, too, were sometimes referred to as "English" tobacco, in provincial England during this and later periods.

³ This provides confirmation of the fact, suggested by Harrison in his "Great Chronologie" (v. n. 31), that *N. rustica* was common in England.

⁴ Cf. nos. 13 and 31.

⁵ One of Gerard's frequent errors. Most botanical writers had learned to differentiate *Hyoscyamus luteus*, etc. (*N. rustica*), from *petum*, etc. (*N. Tabacum*).

⁶ Matthias de l'Obel. V. n. 13.

This herbe preuaileth against all apoſtemes, tumours, inueterate vlcers, botches and ſuch like, being made into an vnguent or ſalue as followeth. Take of the greene leaues threepounde and a halfe, ſtampe them very ſmall in a ſtone mortar; of oile oliue one quart; ſet them to boile in a braſſe pan or ſuch like, vpon a gentle fire, continually ſtirring it vntill the herbes ſeeme blacke, and will not bubble nor boile any more; then ſhall you haue an excellent greene oile, which being ſtrained from the feces or droſſe, put the cleere and ſtrained oile to the fire againe, adding thereto of waxe halfe a pounde, of roſen fower ounces, and of good turpentine two ounces; melt them altogether and keepe it in pots for your vſe to cure inueterate vlcers, apoſtemes, burnings, greene wounds, and all cuts and hurts in the head, wherewith I haue gotten both crownes and credit.

Some use it instead of tobacco (meaning again, of course, *N. Tabacum*), but while it causes the same stupefaction, giddiness and spitting which tobacco does, it is not nearly so good nor of such value.⁷ It is better to use rosemary, thyme or sweet marjoram rather than this doubtful henbane, when it is necessary to inhale smoke medicinally. [S₆^b-S₇^a] (Illustrated by the cut of *N. rustica* var. *texana* which occurs in Dodoens, n. 17-A: *Hyoscyamus luteus*.)

In his account of *N. Tabacum*, in two varieties, he writes:⁸

There be two forts or kindes of Tabaco, one greater, the other leſſer; the greater was brought into Europe out of the prouinces of America, which we call weſt Indies: the other from Trinidada an Ilande neere vnto the continent of the ſame Indies; ſome haue added a thirde fort, and others making the yellowe Henbane [*N. rustica*] for a kinde thereof, although not properly.

A botanical description of both is given, followed by a notice of their original habitats, "the weſt Indies, in which is the prouince or countrey of Peru [*sic*]."⁹ They prosper well in the gardens of Europe. It is these varieties which are growing here now

which I take to be better for the conſtitution of our bodies, then that which is brought from [America, while] that growing in the Indies [*is*] better for the people of the ſame countrey; notwithstanding it is not ſo thought nor receiued of our Tabackians; for according to the Engliſh prouerbe; Far fetcht and deere bought is beſt for Ladies.

The time for ſowing tobacco is given, based on the author's own experiences. A number of the names given to it, already familiar, are recorded, and reference is made to the testimony of Thevet (n. 8) that tobacco induces a kind of drunkenness. Monardes' (n. 15) opinion regarding its temperature and certain of its medicinal powers is related. The author compares its effects with those of opium and follows this with an account of its "vertues." His sources here, as usual, are Liébault (n. 12) and Monardes, with a glance at Everard (n. 32).

⁷ Harrison (n. 31) was of the same opinion.

⁸ He illustrates the two varieties under the captions: "1 *Hyoscyamus Peruvianus*. Tabaco or Henbane of Peru," and "2 *Sana Sancta Indorum*. Tabaco of Trinidada." The captions for these figures are transposed, as Johnson indicates in his edition of Gerard, 1633 (n. 184). The illustration of the plant Gerard intended for *H. Peruvianus* (and which he

captioned *Sana Sancta Indorum*) appeared first in Pena and De l'Obel's work, 1570, n. 13, q.v. (It was excluded in Johnson's edition.) His first cut was published in De l'Obel's work, 1576 (v. n. 13, n. 2), as *HERBA sancta, ſive TABACVM minus* (v. illustration in n. 27).

⁹ Dodoens (n. 17-A, q.v., at n. 1) supplied this information.

The drie leaues are vſed to be taken in a pipe ſet on fire and ſuckt into the ſtomacke, and thruſt forth again at the noſthrills againſt the paines of the head, rheumes, aches in any part of the bodie, whereof ſoeuer the originall doth proceed, whether from Fraunce, Italy, Spaine, Indies, or from our familiar and beſt knowne diſeaſes.

While tobacco eases pain for a time in certain infectious diseases, it cannot cure entirely, for it fails to remove the cause. Some patients thus afflicted, who thought that tobacco was helping them, would have died had not the author employed other and more effective medicaments.

Some vſe to drinke it (as it is tearmed) for wantonneſſe or rather cuſtome, and cannot forbear it, no, not in the middeſt of their dinner, which kinde of taking is vnholſome and very daungerous: although to take it ſeldome and that Phifically is to be tolerated and may do ſome good, but I commend the fyrupe about this fume or ſmokie medicine.

Near the conclusion of his long account of tobacco's "vertues," Gerard provides further recipes. Of one he says:

I ſende this iewell vnto you women of all forts, eſpecially to ſuch as cure and helpe the poore and impotent of your countrey without rewarde. But vnto the beggerly rabble of witches, charmers, & ſuch like couſeners, that regarde more to get money then to helpe for charitie, I wiſh theſe fewe medicines far from their vnderſtanding, and from thoſe deceiuers whom I wiſh to bee ignoraunte heerein.

But despite such thieving villains, he will not deprive gentlewomen of the knowledge he has which will be useful to them. Whereupon he provides another recipe, containing tobacco and the usual recommended ingredients (helpful in themselves), wherewith to cure "thy wounded poore neighbour." [S₇^b-T₁^a]

FIRST EDITION. Folio (A⁴; B⁶; A-Z⁸; Aa-Zz⁸; Aaa-Vuu⁸; Xxx¹² [last two, probably blank, lacking]; Aaaa-Tttt⁸; Vuuu⁶; Index and Tables, Aaaaa-Iiiii⁴. Colophon, on r^o of last: *Imprinted at London by Edm. Bollifant, | for Bonham and Iohn | Norton. | M.D.XCVII. |*).

ENGRAVED TITLE, by William Rogers [*fl.* 1580-1610]; portrait of Gerard (as reproduced), by the same; and woodcuts in text. More than 2000 cuts illustrate this work, of which the majority are from the same blocks that Bergzabern, better known as Tabernæmontanus, used for his *Eicones plantarum seu stirpium*, Frankfurt, 1590. These, Norton, printer of *The Herball*, borrowed from the printer of the *Eicones*. Among the sixteen new cuts is the first which shows the "Virginian" potato.

CONTEMPORARY SHEEP. Size of leaf: 12¼ x 8½ inches.

"Richard Gardner . . . his book" written beneath Gerard's portrait. Occasional additions in a coeval hand to Table at end; verso of last leaf and fly-leaves at end filled with recipes, cures for cattle, etc., apparently in Gardner's hand.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 11750. Arber, 108-110. Pulteney, chap. 9. Osler, n. 2722.

By 1595 Gerard, "Master in Chirurgie," was known as a skilled herbalist. The publication of *The Herball* made him the most famous horticulturist in England. Although this work was a revision of a translation, yet it is so richly suffused with his own personality that it has all the novelty of an original composition. Out of his abundant love for flowers and plants he wrote glowing accounts of flora, sometimes familiar, but more often strange to English readers, who followed with fascination this amiable and loquacious guide. It is true that Gerard did not attain the purely scientific standard to which he laid claim for his work, for he accepted



JOHN GERARD

From the 1597 edition of Gerard.

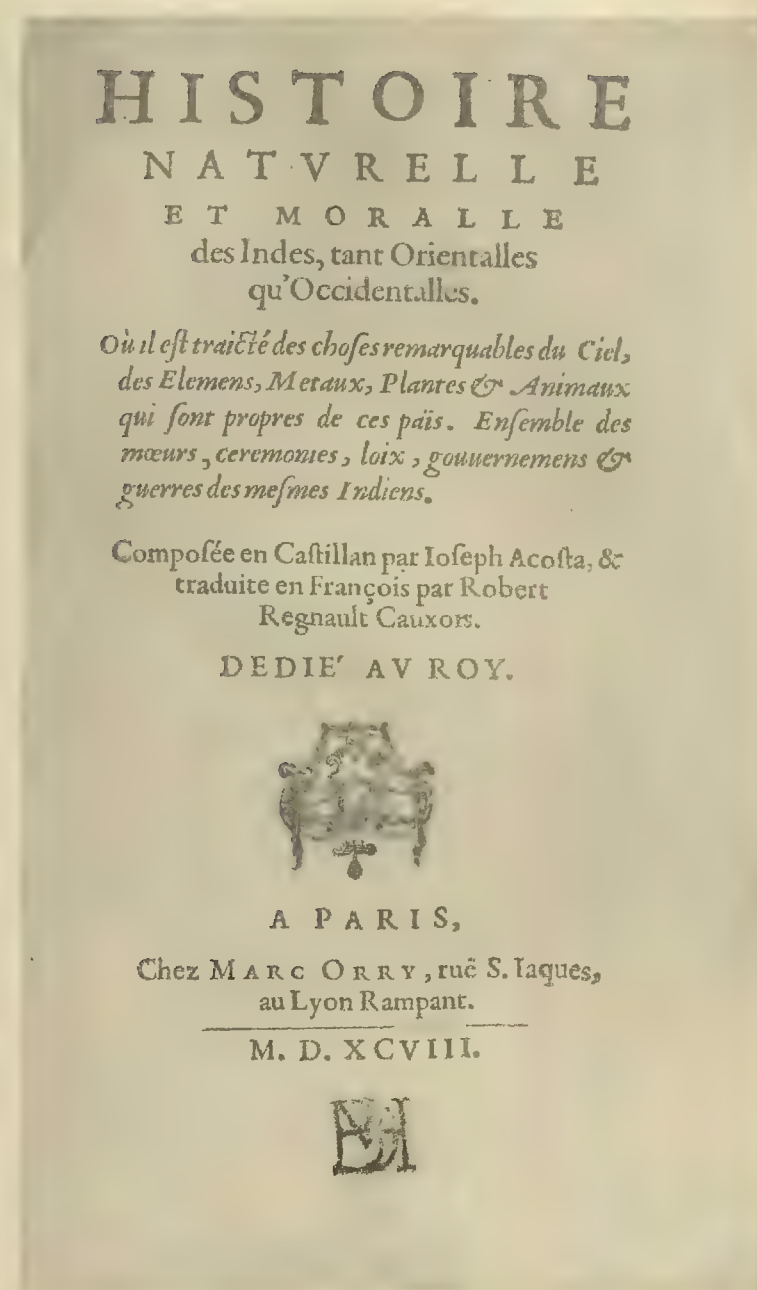
much contemporary folk-lore. But in his preface he points out that *The Herball* was principally intended for gentlewomen—and what lady of the time would have preferred science to likely fables? The popularity of the work in Elizabethan days proves that the public wanted diversion with its facts.

This most famous of early English herbals is virtually a translation of the Latin *Pemptades* of Rembert Dodoens (v. n. 88, n. 1) made by a Dr. Priest of the College of Physicians. John Norton, the printer, had commissioned him to do the work, but he died before its completion, and the unfinished version came into Gerard's hands. Despite the uncertain copyright arrangements of the day, the casual relations between publishers and authors, and the historical obscurity of this particular case, it seems that Gerard was hardly honest in the matter, and much less than fair to Priest. After making alterations in the arrangement of his subject matter to conform to that in De l'Obel's *Adversaria* (n. 13), Gerard added a few illustrations and his own inimitable notes.

But in his preface *To the courteous and well-willing Readers*, he remarks, with careless evasion, "Master Lyte a worshipfull Gentleman, translated *Dodoneus* out of French into English; and since that Doctor Priest, one of our London Colledge, hath (as I heard) translated the last edition of *Dodoneus*, which meant to publish the same; but being prevented by death, his translation likewise perished: lastly, my selfe one of the least among many, haue presumed to fet forth vnto the view of the world, the first fruits of these mine owne labors . . ."

It was pointed out to Norton that Gerard had committed a number of serious errors in the use of illustrations, whereupon De l'Obel was called in to make corrections. (He appears to have neglected or overlooked two relating to tobacco, which Johnson—*v. supra*, n. 8—set right.) De l'Obel found it necessary, he said, to make more than a thousand changes but he was prevented from further modifications by Gerard, who complained, among other things, that the former had forgotten English. In his *Illustrationes*, De l'Obel writes with unconcealed bitterness of the English herbalist, saying that Gerard plundered freely from his *Adversaria*.

ACOSTA, José de (1539–1600), translated by Robert REGNAULT
HISTORIE NATVRELLE . . . DES INDES. Paris, 1598.



TITLE OF ACOSTA, 1598

[Translation of title] The natural and moral history of the East as well as the West Indies. In which are treated the notable things of the heavens, the elements, metals, plants and animals characteristic of these lands. Together with the customs, ceremonies, laws, governments and wars of the same Indians. Composed in Castilian by José de Acosta, and translated into French by Robert Regnault, of Caux. Dedicated to the King. At Paris, from the house of Marc Orry . . . 1598.

On Z^{a-b} and Ii^a-Kk^b, respectively, occur the first reference to tobacco and the account of the *petum* unction, as recorded in the original edition, 1590 (n. 35).

FIRST FRENCH EDITION. Small octavo (â⁸; A-Z⁸; Aa-Zz⁸; Aaa-Ccc⁸).

THREE-QUARTER MOROCCO. Size of leaf: 6¾ x 4¾ inches.

The cipher stamped on the title, HDMB, is that of Honoré d'Agut and his wife, Marguerite Blégiers; on the last leaf is the coat of arms of d'Agut, *Conseiller au Parlement d'Aix*, 1603.

REFERENCES: Palau, i, 11. S., i, n. 125. Atkinson, n. 385.

* * *

Nos. The second and third French editions, Paris, 1600, and Paris, 1606, respectively, 51-a, are also in this library. The references to tobacco in the 1600 edition occur on 51-b the same leaves as in the 1598 edition. The first reference in the 1606 edition occurs on Y_{vi}^b-Y_{vij}^a; the second, on hij^b-h_{iiij}^a.

HAKLUYT, Richard (1552?-1616)

THE PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS. London, 1598-1599.

FROM the notices given by Pena and De l'Obel (n. 13) and Harrison (v. n. 31), and from collateral evidence as well,¹ it has been established that the tobacco plant was growing in England before the last quarter of the XVIth century. The first definite statement to this effect, however, seems to have been that made by Hakluyt in the passage following. It is very probable that the importation to which he refers had been made by Drake, who returned from his third voyage to the West Indies in 1573.² The species introduced from the islands would then have been *N. Tabacum*, and the purpose for which Hakluyt says it was employed supports this opinion. It was the smoke of varieties of *N. Tabacum* which was then thought to be helpful in catarrhal complaints. *N. rustica* had other extensive medicinal uses but it was not generally approved as an inhalation for this ailment.³

In "Remembrances for master S. to giue him the better occasion to informe himselfe of some things in *England*, and . . . other things in *Turkie* . . . Written by . . . master *Richard Hakluyt*, for a principall English Factor at *Constantinople* 1582," occurs:

The feed of Tabacco hath bene brought hither out of the West Indies, it groweth heere, and with the herbe many haue bene eased of the reumes, &c.^[4] [Vol. II, O₃^a, O₅^a]

There are further references to tobacco in the third volume, 1600. See n. 57-A.

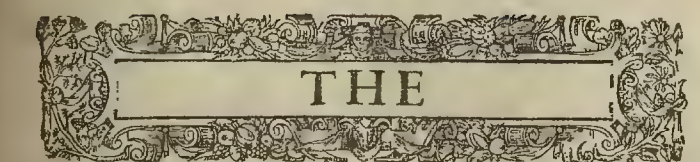
FIRST EDITION, FIRST ISSUE. Two volumes in one. Folio (I: *⁶; **⁶; A-Z⁶; Aa-Zz⁶; Aaa-Eee⁶; Fff⁴. II: *⁸; A-Z⁶; Aa-Cc⁶; Aaa-Rrr⁶).

The original issue, first state, of the "Voyage to Cadiz" is in this copy (Vol. I, Eee⁴-Fff⁴). There are several differences in set-up and text between the title of the first issue and that of the second issue, which is dated 1599. (V. n. 57-A.)

¹ V. *supra*, p. 239, n. 1. ² V. the *Introduction*, p. 45.

³ V. the passage from Harrison, recorded in n. 31.

⁴ This passage does not appear in any prior edition of Hakluyt's works. V. Brushfield, p. 25.



THE PRINCIPAL NAVI- GATIONS, VOIAGES, TRAFIQUES AND DISCO- ueries of the English Nation, made by Sea

or ouer-land, to the remote and farthest di-
stant quarters of the Earth, at any time within
the compasse of these 1500. yeeres: Deuided
into three severall Volumes, according to the
positions of the Regions, wherunto
they were directed.

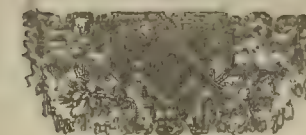
This first Volume containing the woorthy Discoueries,
&c. of the English toward the North and Northeast by sea,
as of *Lapland*, *Scrikfinia*, *Corelia*, the Baie of *S. Nicolas*, the Isles of *Col-
goine*, *Vaigat*, and *Nova Zembla*, toward the great riuer *Ob*,
with the mighty Empire of *Russia*, the *Caspian* sea, *Geor-
gia*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Persia*, *Boghar* in *Bactria*,
and diuers kingdoms of *Tartaria*:

Together with many notable monuments and testimo-
nies of the ancient forren trades, and of the warrelike and
other shipping of this realme of *England* in former ages.

Whereunto is annexed also a briefe Commentarie of the true
state of *Island*, and of the Northren Seas and
lands situate that way.

And lastly, the memorable defeat of the Spanish huge
Armada, Anno 1588, and the famous victorie
atchieued at the citie of *Cadix*, 1596.
are described.

By RICHARD HAKLUYT Master of
Artes, and sometime Student of Christ
Church in Oxford.



Imprinted at London by GEORGE
BISHOP, RALPH NEWBERIE
and ROBERT BARKER.
1598.

1598-
1599

ORIGINAL CALF. Large Paper. With the arms of Queen Elizabeth of England impressed on the sides. Size of leaf: 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. (Vol. III is not included in this copy. V. n. 57-A.)

Occasional marginal notes in a contemporary hand. Sig. G^a is inscribed "W. G[uy]" in an early hand. A pencil note on the end-paper reads, "See Mr. Thorpe's¹ memorandum relating to the purchase of this volume, May 30, 1859. £11. S. C. M[iller]."

From the collections of Queen Elizabeth, S. R. Christie-Miller (1 July 1919, lot 358), and Charles T. Jeffery (1936, lot 187).

REFERENCES: STC., 12626. Cf. C., n. 322. B., i, n. 525. S., vii, nos. 29595, 29597.

Hakluyt's devotion to the cause of English exploration, colonization, and commerce had its first full expression in *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, which he published at London, 1589, in one volume. This he revised and increased to a considerable degree during the succeeding years, and in 1598-1600 he issued his masterpiece, *The Principal Navigations*, which Froude aptly characterized as "the prose epic of the modern English nation." (See n. 158 for Purchas' compilation, *Hakluytus Posthumus*.)

The "Voyage to Cadiz" referred to in the collation above was suppressed by order of Queen Elizabeth, after the disgrace of Essex (v. n. 52) in 1599. This section of the work is in the earliest state of the three described in C., Vol. II, p. 756. In a comparatively few copies occurs the famous Molyneux-Wright map, the first terrestrial globe on the Mercator projection made in England.

c.1598-
1600

DEVEREUX, Robert, Earl of Essex (1566-1601)

MS. THE POOR LABOURING BEE, c. 1598-1600.

AMONG the manuscript poems which were circulating in exclusive circles during the latter years of Queen Elizabeth's reign was one which symbolized tobacco as an anodyne for its unhappy author. Its obvious purpose was to express, under a thin allegorical guise, the grievance of a disappointed courtier, and while undistinguished by any exceptional qualities, it was apparently well received.

Its popularity was undoubtedly due to the general belief that it was the production of Elizabeth's favorite, the Earl of Essex. A poem composed by the earl would have been a desideratum of many of his adherents, and this piece was frequently copied. The majority of the extant MSS. of it (v. *infra*) are assigned directly or by inference to Essex. Sir Henry Wotton, one of Essex' secretaries, recorded the fact that "to evaporate his thoughts in a sonnet" was the earl's "common way," and the present "evaporation" seems, under the circumstances of its production, a natural expression of that petulant young man.

The ascription to Essex has, however, not been permitted to go unchallenged. It was assigned, c. 1630-1640, to Henry Cuff, a secretary or chaplain to Essex, but the attribution has slight claim to consideration. In recent years, however, a more serious claim was laid to it for John Lyly by that poet's editor (v. *infra*).

¹T. Thorpe, the bookseller; afterwards librarian of William Henry Miller, founder of the Britwell Court Library.

c.1598
-1600

The poor labouring Bee.

^{1.}
It was a tyme, when fillie bees could speak,
And (in that tyme) I was a fillie bee.
who fed on tyme, wntill my hart did break.
yet never fund the tyme to fovour mee,
Of all the swarme, I onlie could not thrywe,
yet brought I waxe and Honnie to the hywe.

^{2.}
Thus then I buzz'd, when tyme no sapp would giue,
Why is this blessed tyme to me so dry;
Since (in this tyme) the lazie Drone doth live
The waspe, the worme, the Gnat, the Butterflie.
Maited with greif, I kneeled on my knees,
And thus Complained to the king of Bees.

^{3.}
God grant (my Liedg) thy tyme may never end,
And yet woutchafe, to heir my plent of tyme.
Whill evrie fruitles flie hath found a freind.
I am cast downe, yet Attonies do Clime.
The king replyd, but thou poore perwisk bee.
art borne to Serue the tyme, the tyme not the.

^{4.}
The tyme not the; this woord Clipt short my wings,
and maid me noorme-lyk creep, that once did flie.

FIRST PAGE OF THE MANUSCRIPT POEM, THE POOR LABOURING BEE¹

It was a tyme, when fillie bees could speak,
And (in that tyme) I was a fillie bee.
who fed on tyme, wntill my hart did break.
yet never f[lo]und the tyme to fovour mee,
Of all the swarme, I onlie could not thrywe,
yet brought I waxe and Honnie to the hywe.

¹This manuscript of the poem, assigned to the period between 1598 and 1600, is the only one

known to which the name "Essex" is signed. It has been collated with the Egerton MS., as

Thus then I buz'd, when tyme no fapp would giue,
Why is this blessed tyme to me so dry?
Since (in this tyme) the lazie Dron doth liue.
The waspe, the worme, the Gnat, the Butterfliue.
Maited [Mated (E)] with greif, I kneeled on my knees,
And thus Complained to the king of Bees.

God grant (my Liedg) thy tyme may never end,
And yet woutchafe, to heir my plent of tyme.
[vouchsafe to heare my plaint of tyme (E)]
Whill ev'rie fruitles flie hath found a freind.
I am cast downe, yet Attomies do Clime.
The king reply'd, but thou poore pewifh bee.
art borne to Serue the tyme, the tyme not the.

The tyme not the? this woord Clipt short my wings,
And maid me woorme-lyk creep, that once did flie.
Afull regaird, disputeth not with kings,
Receau's repulse, yet neuer asketh why.
then frome the tyme, a tyme I me withdrew,
to feed on Hemlok, Henbean, netles, rew.

[But from those leaues no dram of sweete I drayne
their head strong furry did my head bewitch
The iuice disperst black bloud in every veine
for hony gall, for wax I gathered pitch
My Combe a Rift, my hiue a leafe must bee
so chang'd; that Bees scarce took me for a Bee] (E)

I fed on weeds when Moone was in the wayne.
whilst all the swarme in fun-fhyne suck the Roif, [rose (E)]
On blak rute fearne, I fought and suck't my bayne,
when on the eglentyn, the rest repoif,
having too much, they still repine for moir,
being cloy'd with plentie, surfeit in thair store.

Swolne fatt with feaft's, full merrelie they pafse,
In sweetned clusters, hanging on a tree.
when finding me to nible on the grafse,
Some fcorne, some smyle, and some doe pitie mee.
And some do envye, whifpring to the king,
And some ar still, and some must haue no sting.

reproduced by R. Warwick Bond (*v. infra*), and variant words or phrases inserted. These have been bracketted and are indicated by (E). The stanza marked (E), here following the fourth, does not occur in the Arents copy.

This appears to be the earliest MS. in English of interest in this history. In Gough's Norfolk MS., (43, Bodleian Lib.) occur some verses entitled "M:

Butler's Busse against Tabacco." This begins, "Tabacco that outlandishe weede, Doth in our Land strange humours breede . . ." No exact date of composition has been determined, but it was probably not copied out before 1600-1602. The volume was partly a commonplace book and has entries to 1603. Cf. Fairholt, p. 95, who prints a different version of the poem.

Ar bees waxt wasps, and spyders to infect?
do hoony bouells, mak the ffireits gall?
Is this the Iuyce of flours to stirre suspect?
Ist not enewgh, to trade [tread (E)] on them that fall?
what sting hath patience, but a fighing greife.
that stings not [nought (E)] but it self, without releife.

Poore patience, the prowender of fooles,
Sad patience, that waiteth at the doore,
Patience that learn's thus to conclud in skooles.
patient I am, therefore, I must be Poore.
Great king of bees, that rightest ev'rie wrong,
Liftin to patience, In her dying song.

I Can not feed on fennell, lik some flies,
Nor flie to eve'rie floure to gather gaine.
My appetite waits on my princes eies,
fed with content. and alwayes pleais'd with paine.
And yet expecting, for ane happie hour,
When hee may say, this bee f[h]all suck a floure.

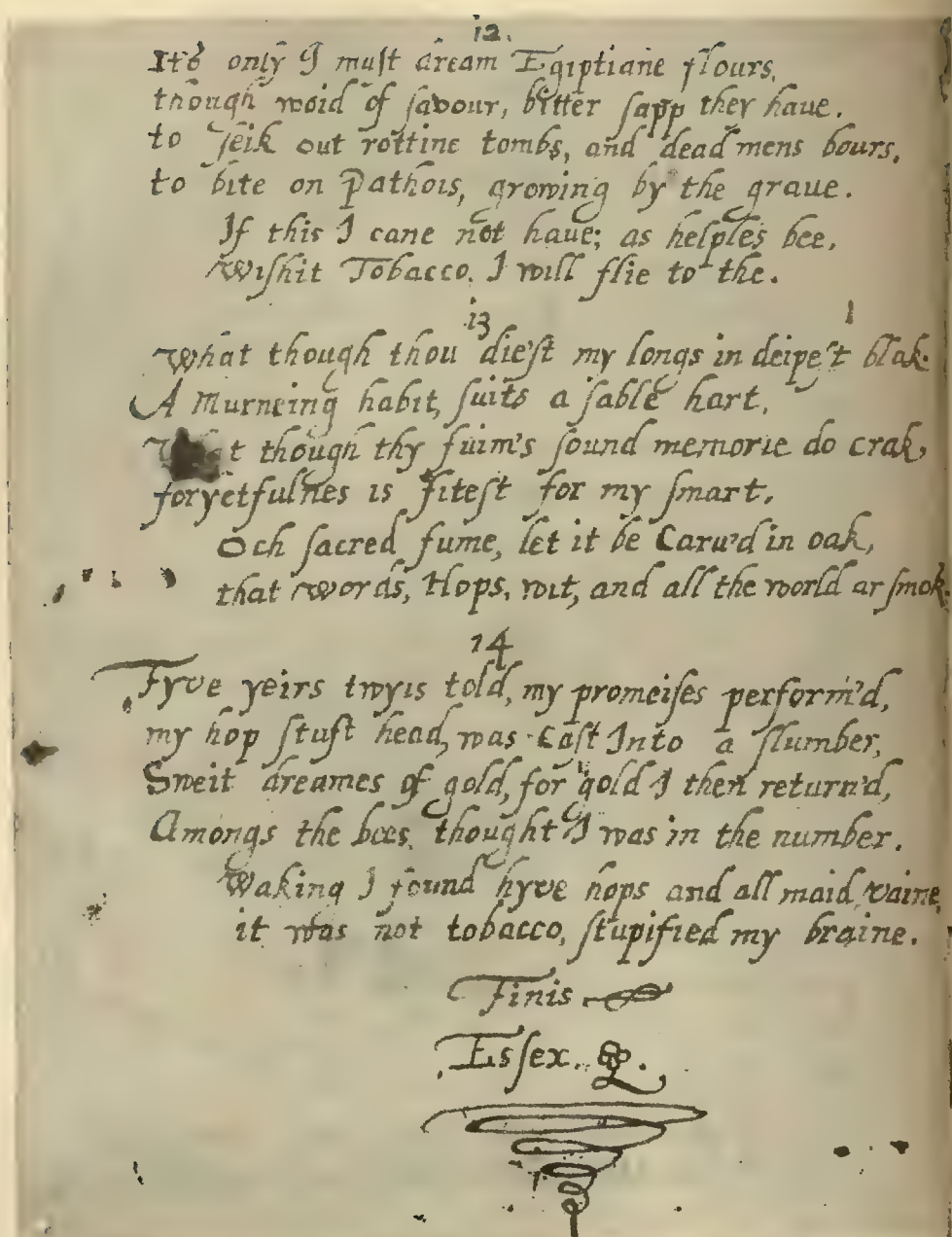
Of all the greiff's that most my patience grate,
thairs on[e] that freateth in the hiest degrie.
to Sie some Caterpillers bred of late.
Cropping the floure, that f[h]ould fusteine the bee.
yet fighed I, becaus the wyfest knowes,
that moath's will eat the cloath, canker the Rose.

Once did I Sie, by flicie in the feild,
foule Bees [beasts (E)] to bruze [browse (E)] vpon the lillies fair.
wertewe and beautie, could no succour yeild.
All's prowender to Assis, but the air.
The partiall world, of this takes little head [heed (E)].
To giue them flours, that f[h]ould on thiftlis feid.

It's only I must dream [draine (E)] Egiptiane flours,
though woid of favour, bitter fapp they haue.
to feik out rottine tombs, and dead mens bours,
to bite on Pathois [nightshade (E)], growing by the graue.
If this I cane not haue; as helples bee,
Wifhit [witching (E)] Tobacco, I will flie to the.

What though thou die'ft my longs in deipest blak.
A Murneing [mourning (E)] habit, fuits a fable hart.
What though thy fuim's found memorie do crak,
foryetfulnes is fiteft for my smart.

Och facred fume, let it be Caru'd in oak,
that words, Hop[e]s, wit, and all the world ar fmok.



LAST PAGE OF THE ESSEX MANUSCRIPT

Fyve yeirs twyis told, my promiseis perform'd,
[wth promises p^rfume (E)]
my hop[e] stufte head, was cast Into a slumber,
Sweit dreames of gold, for gold I then return'd,
[on dreames I then p^rsume (E)]
Amongs the bees thought I was in the number.
Waking I found hyve hop[e]s and all maid vaine,
it was not tobacco, stupified my braine.

Finis—Essex.

QUARTO (2 leaves). Followed by a short, abusive poem, not related to it, in the same hand.

The MS. was written late in the XVIth century, but the copyist has not been identified.

CONTEMPORARY VELLUM, with the initials D. B. on both sides. Size of leaf: 6 13/16 x 5 1/8 inches.

"James Douglas with my hand" inscribed on an end-paper, in a late seventeenth century hand.

From the collections of James Douglas; Rev. John Brand, the antiquary [1744-1806] (1807, n. 8453); Richard Heber (1836, VIII, n. 208, bought by Thorpe); W. H. Miller; and S. R. Christie-Miller (1927, n. 1497). (The presence of fly-leaves from Heber, VIII, with notations in his hand, indicates that this piece was contained in lot 208, a miscellaneous collection from Brand's library, but this MS. is not listed as part of it.)

REFERENCES: Col., ii, 189.

Dr. R. Warwick Bond, in his edition of Lyly's works (1902, iii, pp. 445-447) disputes the validity of Essex' title to this poem, and claims it for Lyly. He reprints (iii, pp. 494-497) a version of it from the Egerton MS. (923, ff. 5-7), which is unsigned, but headed "A Poem made on Robt Deuorex Earle of Essex by M^r Henry Cuff his Chaplaine," "as furnishing, though late, the best copy, possessing the 5th stanza, which Harl. MS. 6910, the next best copy, lacks." This is the only MS. which assigns the poem to Cuff, and it is dated in the catalogue "c. 1630-1640."

Dr. Bond's contention is based on the autobiographical content of the poem, which, he submits, is especially applicable to Lyly. It forms, he writes, "a most natural expression of his reflections on the rejection of his First Petition, presented after ten years' service, i.e. in 1598.¹² It is the burthen of both petitions that he has been working hard and has received *nothing*. Tobacco is especially associated with Lyly in passages of Nash and Ben Jonson . . . bees furnish probably his most frequent image in *Euphues* and elsewhere: and those who will verify the references given in the margin [of his reprinted text of the poem] will find many special likenesses [particularly to *Euphues* and *Tiltyard*]."

Except for the early ascription to Cuff, Essex' authorship appears not to have been questioned for three centuries. No refutation of Dr. Bond's opinion seems to have been attempted,³ and it may be well, therefore, to set forth the evidence in favor of the usual attribution to Essex.

No fewer than twelve coeval MSS. of this poem (containing eleven to fifteen stanzas each) are recorded—clear proof of its popularity. Of those known, the majority are contemporaneously assigned to Essex, or associated with him. The Sloane MS. (1303) is headed, "The Earle of Essex his Buzze w^{ch} he made vpon some discontentment he receiued, a litle before his iourney into Ireland. Año Dñi 1598." In *Lives and*

¹² This plea spoke of ten years' service, the "Fyve yeirs twyis told" of the poem (stanza 14, l. 1). In the *DNB*. (xxxiv) Sir Sidney Lee remarks that about 1591 the poet, in a piteously worded petition, reminded the queen that he had waited ten years, "with unwearied patience," for some substantial recognition of her favour. . . . Three years later he renewed his complaints. . . . "Thirteen years," he cried, "your highness's servant, but yet nothing."

Dr. Bond had at first accepted the usual dates, 1595 and 1598 respectively, for the First and the Second Petitions, but when the printing of his *Lyly* was nearing completion, he found at Oxford a copy

of the Second Petition definitely marked 1601. The date 1598 for the First Petition may, therefore, be regarded as correct, and it excludes Sir Sidney Lee's dating from consideration.

³ Indeed, in a letter of December 22, 1930, Dr. Bond remarks: "Of reviewers of my *Lyly* . . . while most are inclined to reject my 'Doubtful Poems' the only two who specially mention *The Bee* seem inclined to favour my ascription to Lyly." One of these critics was Dr. E. K. Chambers, who, in *The Athenaeum*, Feb. 14, 1903, notes the poem "which several other MSS. give, very likely incorrectly to Essex."

Letters of the Devereux, by the Hon. W. B. Devereux (1853, ii, p. 194, n.) it is remarked, in relation to this poem, that it was said to have been written during Essex' "first discontentment and absence from Court," in July-August 1598. It appeared, too, in several works assigned to Essex (*v. Bond, op. cit.*, iii, p. 446).

The external testimony which indicates Essex' authorship rests chiefly, therefore, upon the frequent appearance or suggestion of his name in these early copies, and the very evident contemporaneous tradition which credited him with the composition of this piece.

The poem itself, objectively regarded, seems to add further reason for accepting the ascription to Essex. It may hardly be considered a creditable performance for a great literary stylist writing in a mood of sincere bitterness and anger. The fact that it employs the figure of a bee, which frequently appears in Lyly's writings, has no particular significance, as the bee is a common symbol in poetry. And while it is true that there are echoes of phrases to be found in Lyly's works, that may mean nothing more than that the author of the piece under consideration was readily familiar with the writings of "the Euphuist," who was then being widely imitated.

But as the basis for Dr. Bond's opinion is the content of the poem, it is necessary that the substance of this allegory be analyzed:

The verses speak of one who has done great service for the state; who has been rebuked by his sovereign, and has thereupon withdrawn to bitter exile. But even in exile, he was of sufficient importance to be thought worthy of envy and calumny, and to have a cabal formed against him. Denied the pleasures and benefits of the "hive," he turns to God for justice. But, he protests, he cannot survive without his accustomed provender and the approbation of his sovereign. He waits only for rehabilitation by being recalled. Here rage seizes upon him at the thought of the success of those "caterpillars bred of late." He wishes to be able to forget and turns to tobacco as a symbol of a Lethean drug.

When these expressions are related to the circumstances of Essex, then, they seem to be more applicable to him than to Lyly:

After his quarrel with Elizabeth over the appointment of a Lord Deputy for Ireland—a quarrel which was the result of a peevish struggle and which culminated when the queen boxed the earl's ears—Essex withdrew to voluntary exile at his house in Wanstead. There, in a state of agitation, depression and petulance, he awaited his hoped-for recall and wrote numerous letters to his friends and to the queen. In one of the latter he complained bitterly of the injuries done him, prayed for blissful forgetfulness, commended his faith to the judgment of God, emphasized his loyalty, and ended with a caustic reference to the baseness of those advisers the queen still retained.

In such a mood of mingled abnegation, rage, despair and hope, the spoiled young earl may well have imagined himself the most abused and unhappy of men. If, as was his "common way," he sought "to evaporate his thoughts in a sonnet," this poem contains expressions typical of his character and literary ability.

It may be said, in conclusion, that only a haughty and disdainful nobleman would have dared to designate his enemies (some of them socially his equals) with such insulting terms as "waspe," "worme," "caterpillars," etc., and to have permitted the free circulation of his invective verses. The autobiographical content seems clearly to illustrate the mental condition and position of Essex in the latter part of 1598.

BUTTES, Henry

DYETS DRY DINNER. London, 1599.

1599

DYETS DRY DINNER:

Consisting of eight severall
Courses:

- | | |
|-------------|---------------|
| 1. Fruites. | 5. Whitmeats. |
| 2. Hearbes. | 6. Spice. |
| 3. Flesh. | 7. Sauce. |
| 4. Fish. | 8. Tabacco. |

All served in after the order of Time
vniuersall.

By Henry Buttes, Maister of Artes, and
Fellowe of C. C. C. in C.

Qui miscuit utile Dulci.

Cicero.
*Non nobis solum nati sumus, sed
Ortus nostri sibi vendicant*

Printed in London by Tho. Creede, for W. L.
ham Wood, and are to be sold at the West end
of Powles, at the signe of Tyme. 1599.

TITLE OF BUTTES, 1599

TOBACCO, as an accompaniment of a teetotal dinner, was an essential required by the amiable author of this little work. His advocacy of it thus was not, however, to be taken for approval of its social use, for he advised daily indulgence in it purely as a digestive aid. Otherwise he commended it only for those medicinal purposes prescribed by moderate physicians.

His dislike of the practise of smoking for mere pleasure is expressed in the concluding poem—apparently the earliest English verses published on the subject.

In his historical relation of the plant he credits Raleigh with its introduction (or perhaps he meant its original importation) into England—the first, it seems, to do so by direct statement.

The genial host, in his dedication to Lady Ann Bacon, announces what kind of fare she shall find. "Twill be

A Dry Dinner, not only *Caninum Prandium*, without Wine, but *Accipitrinum*, without all drinke except *Tabaco*, (which also is but Dry Drinke): herein not like to be liked of many. . . . [but] take it as you finde it, and welcome. [A₄^b-A₅^a]

The matter is more fully discussed, by the dinner's eight courses, in the succeeding dedication. Coming at last to the post-prandial dish, he remarks that our bodies being drowned (as it were) by this surfeit of food, become subject to a

superfluous rawe humour, (commonly called Rheume). Hence is it that we perfume and aire our bodies with Tabacco smoake (by drying) preserving them from putrefaction. [A₈^b]

He is a generous host and invites all countrymen who read his book. Having tempted them with a variety of substantial foods, he does not forget his final course.

As for the *Middle-sex* or *Londoner*, I smell his Diet. . . . Here is a Pipe of right *Trinidado* for him. The *Yorkers* they will bee content with bald *Tabacodocko* [ordinary dock-tobacco]. [Aa₁^b]

The dinner commences with fruits, followed by herbs, that is to say vegetables, salads, and the like. There are flesh-foods and fish, white-meats (including milk, butter, cream), spices, sauces, and finally tobacco.

Choife. Translated out of India in the seed or roote: Natiue or satiuue [cultivated] in our own fruitfulest foiles: Dried in the shade, and compiled very close: of a tawny colour, somewhat inclining to red: most perspicuous and cleare: which the Nose sooneft taketh in snuffe.^[1]

Vfe. It cureth any griefe, dolour, opilation, impostume, or obstruction, proceeding of cold or winde: especially in the head or breast [and a number of other mild complaints, including toothache, "naughty breath," and "fits of the mother"]. 4. ounces of the iuyce drunk, purgeth vp and downe: cleanseth the eyes, being outwardly applied. . . . The fume taken in a Pipe, is good against Rumes [rheums], Catarrhs, hoarseness, ache in the head, stomacke, lungs, breast: also in want of meat, drinke, sleepe, or rest.

Hurt. [Tobacco] Mortifieth and benummeth: causeth drowsinesse: troubleth & dulleth the senses: makes (as it were) drunke: dangerous in [but not after] meale time.

Correc-tion. The leaues be-ashted or warmed in imbers and ashes: taken once a day at most, in y^e morning, fasting.

Degree. Hot and dry in the second: of a stiffening and foddering nature. Also disenfing and dissoluing filthy humours, consisting of contrary qualities.

Season. Age. Constitu-tion. In Winter and Spring, for hot, strong, youthful and fat bodies only, as some thinke.

It is essential for the complete and perfect dinner that there be appropriate and entertaining talk, and to each of the courses he has provided, the author offers this concomitant. Tobacco has its history, and he tells it briefly:

¹ Perhaps tobacco snuff is really meant here. Cf. n. 33.

This Hearbe is of great antiquitie & high respect among the Indians, and especially those of *America* or new *Spain*. Of whō the Spaniards tooke it, after they had subdued those Countries, first vpon a liking of the hearbe verie faire and glorious to the eye; afterward vpon triall of his vertues worthie admiration.

The Name in *India* is *Pilciet* [*Picietl*], furnamed *Tabacco* by the Spaniards, of the Ile *Tabaco*.^[2] By their meanes it spread farre and neare: but yet wee are not beholden to their tradition. Our English *Vlisses*, renowned Syr *Walter Rawleigh* . . . hath both farre fetched it, and deare bought it: the estimate of the treasure I leaue to other: yet this all know, since it came in request, there hath bene *Magnus fumi questus* [a great quest of smoke], and *Fumi-vendulus*^[3] is the best Epithite for an Apothecary.

Thus much we have derived from general knowledge, but in late histories we learn how the Indian priests use it to intoxicate themselves before they prophesy. [P₅^b-P₆^a]

Nor is this all. A number of the lesser poets give an entertaining flourish to the subject of the eighth course. In the concluding poems John Weever prays that the poet change his dinner's name. With the viands and sauces he supplies, can he call his dinner "dry"? And is there not of "Tobaccos moyfture fresh supply [wherewith] thy Dinner is replenish't euermore?" [P₇^a]

In "The Authors Method comprised in Verse," Samuel Wallsall concludes:

But if thy lunges haue tane [taken] discomfiture
By the assault of Rume, loe surest fence
Gainst Rumes incurfion; power-full to recure
The feebled, and reuiue the deadened spright,
Soueraigne *Nepenthes*, which *Tabacco* hight.
Tabacco not to antique Sages knowne,
Sage wizards? that *Tabacco* knewen not?
Is minde agreeud with care? is head o'reflowne
With brinie deluge of defluxes hot,
Stillling by stealth the neighbour parts adowne?
Then Whiffe, and smoke *Tabaccos* antidot
Fom out thy kindly traunced Chimny-head,
With Indish ayre, like to Chameleon, fed. [Aa₃^b-Aa₄^a]

The following is unsigned, but Buttes as the author is suspect:

A Satyricall Epigram, vpon the wanton, and excessiue vse of *Tabacco*.

It chaunc'd me gazing at the Theater,
To spie a Lock-*Tabacco*-Chevalier,
Clowding the loathing ayr with foggie fume
Of Dock-*Tabacco*, friendly foe to rume.
I wisht the Roman lawes severity: Alex. feu. Edict.^[4]
Who smoke selleth, with smoke be don to dy
Being well nigh smouldred with this smokie stir,

² *Tobago* is meant, but the statement is erroneous.
³ *V. Minsheu*, n. 131, last excerpt.

⁴ This was used later by James I (n. 68) and
Sylvester (n. 128).

I gan this wize bespeak my gallant Sir:
 Certes, me thinketh (Sir) it ill befeems,
 Thus here to vapour out these reeking steams:
 Like or to Maroes steeds, whose nothrils flam'd;
 Or Plinies Nosemen (mouthles men) furnam'd,
 Whose breathing nose supply'd Mouths absency.
 He me regreets with this prophane reply:
 Nay; I resemble (Sir) Iehouah dread,
 From out whose nothrils a smoake issued:
 Or the mid-ayrs congealed region,
 Whose stomach with crude humors frozenon
 Sucks vp Tabacco-like the vpmoost ayr,
 Enkindled by Fires neighbour candle fayr:
 And hence it spits out watry reums amaine,
 As phleamy snow, and haile, and sheerer raine:
 Anon it smoakes beneath, it flames anon,
 Sooth then, quoth I, it's safest we be gon,
 Lest there arise some Ignis Fatuus
 From out this smoaking flame, and choken vs.
 On English foole: wanton Italianly;
 Go Frenchly: Duchly drink: breath Indianly. [P₃^b-P₄^a]

FIRST EDITION. Small octavo (A⁸ [first, blank, lacking]; Aa⁴; B-P⁸ [last, blank]. P₅ wrongly imposed.).

B₁^a contains the device of William Wood, the publisher (McKerrow, n. 312), which here appears to be used rather as an illustration to some verses headed "Grace before *Diets dry Dinner* served in by Time" than with reference to the publisher's sign.

BOUND IN A PARCHMENT LEAF from a XIVth century theological manuscript in Latin; restitched, partially uncut. Size of leaf: 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Paginated in a contemporary hand; end-papers made up from part of a manuscript fragment written in an Elizabethan hand. Samuel Jeake, the Puritan antiquary (1623-1690), has inscribed "Sa. Jeake. pret. 1^o 6^o." on a fly-leaf.

From the collections of Samuel Jeake and the "Property of a Lady" (Sotheby's, April 10, 1885, n. 62).

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 4207 [records four copies, but not this]. *Haz.*, 1, 60. *Arb.*, 92-94. *Hu.*, 1, 248.

Corser remarked of this work, "It is in prose, interspersed with poems by Samuel Walsall, John Weaver, &c. and is not remarkable for any interest or merit" (iii, p. 213).

CHAPMAN, George (1559?-1634)

AN HVMEROVVS DAYES MYRTH. London, 1599.

TOBACCO and its associations were to offer English dramatists abundant material for entertainment, chiefly of a satiric nature. It was not, however, until a period comparatively late in relation to its first uses in England that any mention of it occurs in English dramatic literature. The fact suggests that the smoking

A pleasant Comedy

entituled:
*An Humorous dayes
 Myrth.*

As it hath beene sundrie times publikely acted by
 the right honourable the Earle of Not-
 tingham Lord high Admirall
 his seruants.

By G.C.



AT LONDON
 Printed by Valentine Symes:
 1599.

TITLE OF CHAPMAN, 1599

and vending of tobacco, with its accessories, had not assumed sufficient proportions before 1590-1595 to be of popular value to the playwrights. A slight reference, based on the medical conceptions of the time, and another to a tobacco pipe occur in Lyly's *The Woman in the Moone*, 1597 (v. n. 38, n. 3), and there are one or two other unimportant allusions in plays presented before 1599.

Chapman, in this comedy originally acted in 1597-1598, was one of the first to introduce to English audiences any episode relating to the social uses of tobacco. Brief

though his allusion is in the following passage, it has a definite inferential value in the history of the subject.

Having entered Verone's tavern, Berger, a gallant, calls for his usual entertainment:

Ber. Hearke you my host, haue you a pipe of good Tabacco?

Ve. The best in the towne: boy drie a leafe.

Boy. [aside] Theres none in the house fir.

Ve. [aside] Drie a docke leafe. [Exit Boy] [E,¹]

The little scene indicates one of the tricks of tobacco vendors, already familiar to sophisticated Londoners. The dock is a coarse, weedy herb (of various species of *Rumex*) whose leaves were often used by unscrupulous sellers. Any kind of leaf which, when dried or treated, looked (or possibly tasted) like tobacco might of course be employed.¹ The herbalists may themselves have unwittingly suggested to cunning dealers the most likely materials for these substitutions or fraudulent blendings, as they often explained the physical characteristics of tobacco leaves by comparing them with varieties of docks or with coltsfoot, another popular substitute and mixture for tobacco.

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A-G⁴; H²).

Morocco, by Sangorski & Sutcliffe. Size of leaf: 7³/₁₆ x 5⁷/₁₆ inches.

From the collection of Lord Mostyn (1919, n. 44).

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 4987. Sc., i, 460, 464. Ch., iii, 251. [*Comedies*] of George Chapman, ed. T. M. Parrott [1914].

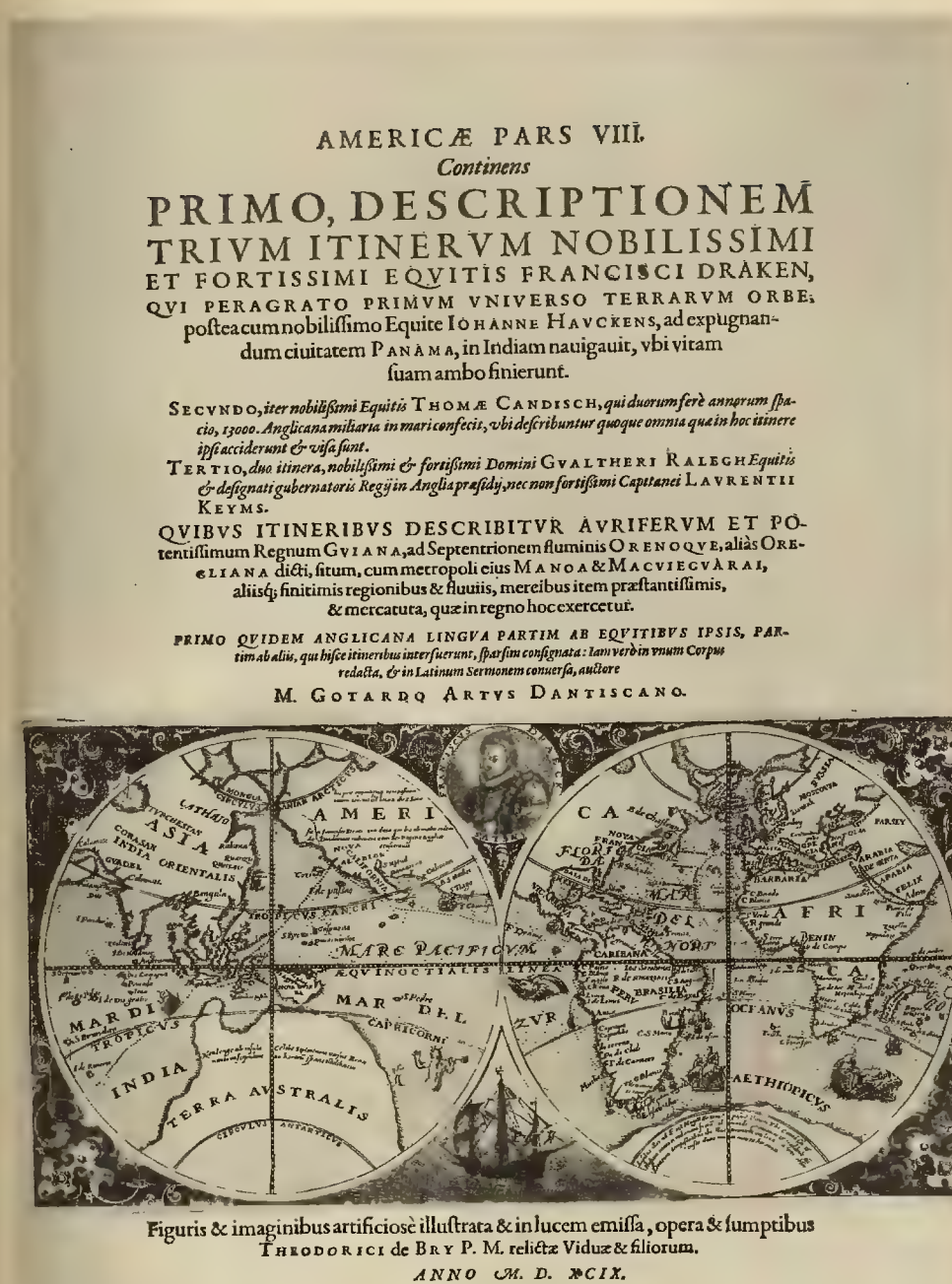
RALEIGH, Sir Walter (1552?-1618), *et al.*, translated by Gothard ARTHUS

DE BRY. AMERICÆ PARS VIII. Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1599.

[*Translation of title*] The eighth part of America containing first, a description of the three voyages of the most noble and brave knight, Francis Drake, who having wandered first over the whole world, afterward with the most noble knight, John Hawkins, went to India [America] for the purpose of storming Panama, where both died. Secondly, the voyage of the most noble knight, Thomas Cavendish, who, in the space of about two years, travelled 13,000 English miles on the sea, in which are described also all the things which happened or were seen on the way. Thirdly, two voyages of the most noble and brave Master Walter Raleigh, knight and royal commander-designate of the English garrison, and of the very brave Captain Lawrence Keymis. In these voyages is described the auriferous and very powerful kingdom of Guiana, situated to the north of the Orinoco River, otherwise named Oregliana, with its metropolis Manoa and Macuieguarai and other nearby regions and rivers; also the outstanding goods and trading which is carried on in this kingdom. At first written down here and there partly in English by the knights themselves, partly by others who were present on the journeys. Now faithfully brought together and translated into Latin, by Master Gothard Arthus of Danzig. Skilfully illustrated by figures and pictures and published [by] Theodore de Bry [through] his widow and sons. In the year 1599.

[*Translation of imprint, second title*] Printed at Frankfort-on-the-Main by Matthias Becker . . .

¹ Cf. nos. 46, 109, 120.



Figuris & imaginibus artificiosè illustrata & in lucem emissa, opera & sumptibus THEODORICI DE BRY P. M. relietæ Viduæ & filiorum. ANNO M. D. XCIX.

TITLE OF DE BRY, LATIN AMERICA, PART VIII, 1599

On Dd¹^b of the *Verissima Descriptio* . . . *Guiana* occurs the passage on the Waraus and their addiction to tobacco, as first related by Raleigh, 1596 (n. 49). There are incidental references to tobacco, of slight consequence, in the report of Drake's first voyage, on BB³^b (cf. n. 249), and in Keymis' relation, on Kk²^a, Ll³^a and Ll⁴^a.

FIRST EDITION, THIRD ISSUE. (Latin America, Part VIII of De Bry's *Grands Voyages*.) Folio (AA-KK⁴; Aa-Ll⁴; Mm⁶; a-e⁴ [last, blank]).

The title-page differs in arrangement and map from the first issue, sig. AA is entirely reset and rearranged, and there are other changes. (For details of the two prior issues of 1599 consult C., Nos. 163 and 164.).

ENGRAVED TITLE, folding map of northeastern part of South America (no Latin inscription and but one in German), eighteen plates (no numbers engraved on the coppers for Plates VI, VII, VIII, and IX), *mappa mundi* foot p. 78 (first pagination), and small map of North Atlantic foot p. 3 (second pagination).

MOROCCO, by Riviere. Size of leaf: 13¹¹/₁₆ x 9¹/₄ inches.

Part of the gatherings have been mixed by the binder so that GG₂-KK₄ (of Cavendish's relation) follow Ff₄, while Gg₁-MM₆ (of Raleigh's and Keymis' accounts) follow GG₁.

REFERENCES: C., n. 165 and notes to n. 163. Cf. J., i (ii), 401-402.

The text comprises three voyages of Drake, first, his circumnavigation, 1577-1580, written by Niño de Sylva, second, his voyage of 1585-1586, derived from Cates' account, and third, his expedition against Panama, 1595-1596, drawn from his log-book and his companion's notes; Candish's (or Cavendish's) circumnavigation, 1586-1588, described by a member of the expedition, one Pretty; Raleigh's own relation of his first voyage to Guiana, 1595 (published 1596-v. n. 49); and Lawrence Keymis' account of Raleigh's second voyage, 1596 (published the same year). Of these six relations, that of Drake's circumnavigation originally appeared in this part of De Bry.

GERARD, John (1545-1612)

CATALOGVS ARBORVM, FRVTICVM AC PLANTARVM. London, 1599.

[*Translation of title*] A catalogue of trees, fruits and plants, indigenous as well as exotic, growing in the garden of John Gerard, citizen and surgeon of London. [Printer's device] London, from the printing-house of Arnold Hatfield, published by John Norton, 1599.

THE first complete catalogue of an individual garden was that issued by Gerard, in 1596. In that work, his *Catalogus Arborum*, tobacco is recorded among his exotic plants, under the ambiguous term *Hyosch. luteus*² (on B₃^b). In this extended edition of 1599, the herbalist provided English equivalents for the botanical terms which classified his horticultural collection. On B₃^b here occurs: "*Hyosciamus luteus* Yellow Henbane"; on C₄^b, "*Tabaco*. Indian Tabacco, or Henbane of Peru."

The latter species entered was *N. Tabacum*. It is obvious from the former entry, from that in the preceding edition, 1596, and from his account of tobacco in *The Herball*, 1597 (n. 50), that among his eleven hundred plants of foreign and domestic origin Gerard had cultivated both *N. rustica* (*Englisch Tabaco*, etc.) and varieties of *N. Tabacum*.

¹ McKerrow (No. 293 and cf. pp. 170-171) does not consider the device to have been Hatfield's alone. Between c. 1594 and c. 1609, it belonged to the Eliot's Court press group (of which Hatfield was

a member) and was used by any of the partners.

² In his edition of the catalogue, Jackson has the explanatory phrase "[yellow henbane, *N. rustica*]." Cf. n. 5-A.

CATALOGVS ARBORVM, FRVTICVM AC PLANTARVM TAM INDIGENARVM, QVAM EXOTICARVM,

in horto Johannis Gerardi Civis
& Chirurghi Londinensis
nascentium.



LONDINI,
Ex officina Arnoldi Hatfield,
impensis Ioannis Norton.

1599

TITLE OF GERARD, 1599

SECOND EDITION. Small folio (A-B⁴; C⁶ [last, blank, lacking]).

MOROCCO, by Riviere. Size of leaf: 12³/₈ x 8⁷/₁₆ inches.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 11749. *Haz.*, 2, p. 245. *A Catalogue of Plants Cultivated in the Garden of John Gerard*, ed. B. D. Jackson (1876). Notes to n. 50.

Except for a copy of this work in the Bodleian Library, the present example, and one other known from a bookseller's catalogue, this slender folio has disappeared. It was probably issued in a limited edition for Gerard's patrons and friends. The first edition of 1596 is known only by the copy in the British Museum. It was inscribed to Lord Burghley,³ who died before the publication of this second edition, which is dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh, Gerard's patron. The arms on the verso of the title are Raleigh's.

NASH, Thomas (1567-1601)

NASHES LENTEN STVFFE. London, 1599.

THE enigmatic Humphrey King appears again as a dedicatee (v. n. 46) and is again advertised as tobacco's ambassador-extraordinary in this work by a devotee. The dedication smacks somewhat of irony though perhaps nothing of the kind was intended,¹ as Nash's language in this "light friskin of my witte," as Dr. McKerrow points out, is deliberately bombastic.

The dedication reads in part:

To his worthie good patron, Lustie Humfrey, according as the townsmen doo christen him, little Numps as the Nobilitie and Courtiers do name him, and Honeft Humfrey, as all his friendes and acquaintance esteeme him, King of the Tobacco-nifts *hic & vbique*, and a singular Mecœnas to the Pipe and the Tabour (as his patient liuery attendant can witnesse) his bounden Orator T. N. most profrately offers vp this tribute of inke and paper . . .

These [compliments] be to notife to your diminutiue excelsitude,² and compendiate greatnesse, what my zeale is towardes you . . . In the meane time my sword is at your commaund; and before God, money so scatteringly runnes heere and there vppon vtensilia, furnitures, ancients, and other necessary preparations, (and which is a double charge, looke how much Tobacco wee carry with vs to expell cold . . . that . . .) wee cannot doo as wee would . . . [A₂^{a-b}]

The phrase "Tobacco marchant" occurs in the dedication and may be a reference to a vendor who dealt exclusively in tobacco. Cf. n. 72, note to concluding excerpt.

Writing of authors of curious and trifling matters, Nash says:

Amongst our English harmonious calinos³ . . . A seuenth fettes a *Tobacco* pipe in stead of a trumpet to his mouth, and of that diuine drugge proclaimeth miracles. [D₄^b, E₁^a]⁴

³ Cf. n. 50, n. 1.

¹ But see n. 106.

² This phrase confirms the opinion (already derived from a similar reference in Chute, n. 46) that "excelsitude" was the title or part of the title by which King was known in the "fmoakie [tobacco] Societie," assumed to be an actual organization in

existence then. (For an account of King, v. n. 106.)

³ Dr. McKerrow points out that this is the only instance of the word in the *NED.*, and remarks that it was probably intended to relate to the French *calin*, "a beggarly rogue or lazie vagabond that counterfeits disease."

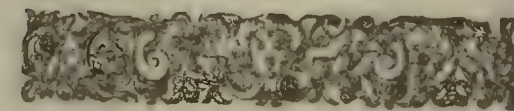
⁴ This may possibly be a reference to Chute. *V.* concluding notes to n. 46.

NASHES Lenten Stuffe,

Containing,
The Description and first Procreation
and Increase of the towne of
Great Yarmouth in
Norfolk:
With a new Play neuer played before, of the
praise of the RED
HERRING.

Fitte of all Clearkes of Noblemens Kitchens to be
read: and not vnecessary by all Seruing men
that haue short boord-wages, to be remembered.

Famam peto per undas.



L O N D O N
Printed for N. L. and C. B. and are to be
sold at the west end of Paules.
1599.

TITLE OF NASH, 1599

If . . . mine own stuffe . . . bee not more absurde then *Philips his Venus*⁵ . . . I wish in the foulest weather that is, to goe in cutte spanish lether shooes, or filke stockings, or to stand barehead to a nobleman, and not gette of him the price of a periwig to couer my bare crown, no not so much as a pipe of Tabacco to rayse my spirites, and warme my braine. [K₃^a]

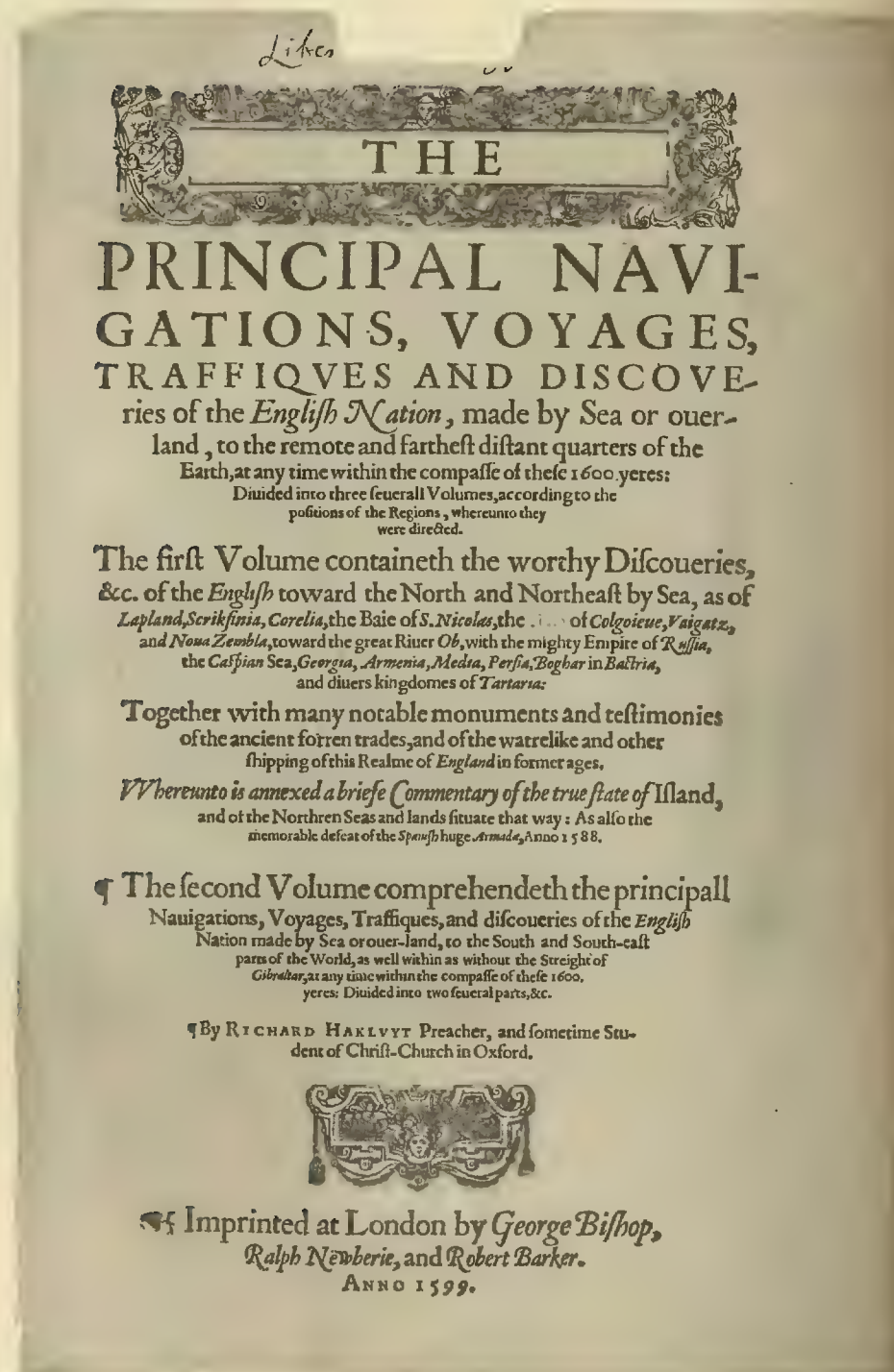
FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A-K⁴; L²).

OLD MOROCCO. Size of leaf: 6½ x 4¾ inches. Quotation in a contemporary hand on last leaf.

⁵ *Philippes Venus*, by Jo. M., 1591.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 18370. *Works*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (1904-1910), iii, and iv, 371 ff. L., 1652. E. G. Harman, 121 ff. (v. this reference in notes to Harvey, n. 43). Col., ii, 11-12.

"*Lenten Stufte* seems to have been intended as a glorification of Yarmouth in return for the hospitable treatment which [Nash] had there received when obliged to flee from London because of his *Isle of Dogs*." (McKerrow, iv, p. 372.)



TITLE OF HAKLUYT, 1599-1600

THE PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS. London, 1599-1600.

HAKLUYT'S notice of West Indian tobacco, as given in n. 51-A, appears on the same leaf of Volume II in this issue. In Volume III occur several passages relating to tobacco, the majority of which have already been recorded in this history, as follows: Cartier's report (n. 5), on T_2^b ; Hariot's (n. 36), on Z_2^{a-b} ; Alarcon's,¹ on Nn_2^a and Nn_4^b ; Hawkins' (*i.e.*, Sparke's, given in n. 13), on Vu_3^b ; the sentence relating to Drake's visit to Dominica (given in n. 36), on Yy_4^a ; the unimportant allusions in Keymis' relation (referred to in n. 55), on Ll_1^a , $_3^b$, and $_4^b$; and the following, in the report of the last voyage of Drake and John Hawkins, 1595-1596:

... we stood for Dominica, an Island . . . In it groweth great store of Tabacco: where most of our English and French men barter kniues, hatchets, fawes, and such like yron tooles in trucke of Tabacco. [*Ccc_2^a*]

FIRST EDITION, SECOND ISSUE. Three volumes, in two. Folio (I: *6; **6; A-Z⁶; Aa-Zz⁶; Aaa-Eee⁶; Fff⁴. II: *8; A-Z⁶; Aa-Cc⁶; Aaa-Rrr⁶. III: (A)⁸; A-I⁶; K⁸; L-Z⁶; Aa-Zz⁶; Aaa-Zzz⁶; Aaaa-Cccc⁶).

This copy contains the original issue, first state, of the "Voyage to Cadiz," Eee₄-Fff₄. The reference to the voyage to Cadiz is omitted from this title which differs in several other particulars from that of the first issue, dated 1598. V. n. 51-A.

ORIGINAL CALF. With the arms of Sir Philip Stanhope, first Earl of Chesterfield [1584-1656], impressed on sides. Size of leaf: 11 x 7 5/16 inches.

Armorial bookplate of the Stanhope family, Bradby [Bretby] Hall.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 12626^a. C., n. 322. B., i, n. 525. S., vii, nos. 29596-29598.

MAISON RVSTIQUE, OR THE COVNTREE FARME. London, 1600.

LIÉBAULT'S notice of *Nicotiane* was first made available for English readers by Frampton's version of it, 1577 (n. 24). This he slipped into his translation of Monardes without indicating Liébault's responsibility for it. The original account, published 1570 (n. 12), was little more than an introduction to that which the French author provided in the edition of 1574, and some minor additions were made even to the latter text in the succeeding issues of 1578 and 1583.¹ Surflet's translation was from the text of the last, and thus the extensive nicotian information supplied by Liébault was first fully presented in English. Although often quoted and occasionally republished, these valuable chapters on tobacco never attained the popularity accorded to Monardes' observations on the same subject (nos. 15, 24).

On T_4^b - V_2^b is *A discourse of Nicotian, or the male petum*, followed by *Of female petum*, V_2^b - V_3^b , from which have been derived the excerpts given in n. 28.

¹ As this copy of Hakluyt was acquired after the completion of the main text of the catalogue, it was thought advisable to leave the passages from Alarcon in their present position in n. 158 "b," where they

are of especial interest in relation to Purchas' reduction of the first excerpt and omission of the second. V., also, n. 249, n. 2, ¶2.
¹ [N. 58] Cf. n. 28.

Maison Rustique,
OR
THE COUNTRIE
FARM E.

Compiled in the French tongue by
Charles Steuens and John
Liebault Doctors of
Phyficke.

And translated into English by RICHARD
SVRFLET Practitioner in
Phyficke.

Also a short collection of the hunting of the Hart,
wilde Bore, Hare, Foxe, Gray, Conie; of
Birds and Faulconrie.

The Contents whereof are to be scene in
the Page following.



Printed at London by Edm. Bollifant,
for Bonham Norton.
1600

TITLE OF ESTIENNE AND LIÉBAULT, 1600

FIRST ENGLISH EDITION. Quarto (A⁸ [first, blank, lacking]; b⁸; B-Z⁸; Aa-Zz⁸; Aaa-Nnn⁸. Colophon on r⁹ of last.).

WOODCUTS AND DIAGRAMS IN TEXT. The cut of the plant on T₆^a (similar to that in n. 13) does not contain the negro head.

CONTEMPORARY SHEEP. Size of leaf: 8¼¹⁶ x 6¼¹⁶ inches.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 10547 [records four copies but not this. (There is also a copy in the New York Public Library.)]. *Haz., H.*, 576. *Shakespeareana*, n. 818.

This work is occasionally cited by commentators in illustration of Shakespearian phraseology.

In his dedication (dated 1582) to the Duke of Uzès, Liébault remarks, "... I have brought to light and published a certaine French treatise, called the countrey house, which to speak the truth, is not altogither of mine own doing, but in part the inuention and first draught of the deceased M. *Charles Steuens*: and yet so much reformed for order, and augmented and increased for quantitie by my labour in euerie edition which I haue reuiewed and augmented euerie yeere for the space of these eighteene yeeres, and that so carefully and with such diligent and curious examination, as that I haue made it (as it were) altogither new." [b.^a]

JONSON, Benjamin (1573?-1637)

EVERY MAN OUT OF HIS HUMOR. London, 1600.

THE affectations and extravagances of Elizabethan gallants in their smoking habits supplied Jonson with abundant material for satiric comment.¹ Some of his most admirable passages of robust humor depend upon this theme, and the absurdities of the vain and immoderate "tobacconists" of his day are clearly and graphically portrayed. Indeed had we no other than Jonson's ample evidence, it were sufficient to show what excesses were committed by the tobacco-taking fops who infested London.²

The dramatist introduces, in this play, a new and important mentor for the dandies and the gulls: the professor of the "art of whiffing," who knew the best and latest tricks in performing the mysterious rites of correct smoking and its accompanying etiquette.³

Puntaruolo, "a Vaine glorious knight," and Carlo Buffone, "a prophane Iester," go to look upon the "Billes" (placards) hung in the middle aisle of St. Paul's, then the fashionable promenade of Elizabethan bullies, gulls, and their sort.⁴ Among the advertisements of the "specialists," Puntaruolo reads:

If this Citie, or the sub-urbs of the same, doo affoord any young Gentleman, of the

¹ "He [Jonson] might almost be designated the historian of Tobacco, as out of the twelve comedies which remain, nine contain references to this plant, and in two of these, discourses on the custom of smoking, occupy several of the scenes; while in addition, some of his masques, also notice it. That this opposition, however, did not proceed, as has been frequently alleged, from any private disrelish to the plant, or inability to 'take' it, but was grounded on a desire for reproving folly, and preventing abuse, is apparent, from no article against its use having been included in the *Leges Conviviales*, framed for that club of congenial spirits who assembled at the Apollo Room of the Old Devil Tavern—so that like Vicar Bacon, Doctor Daniel

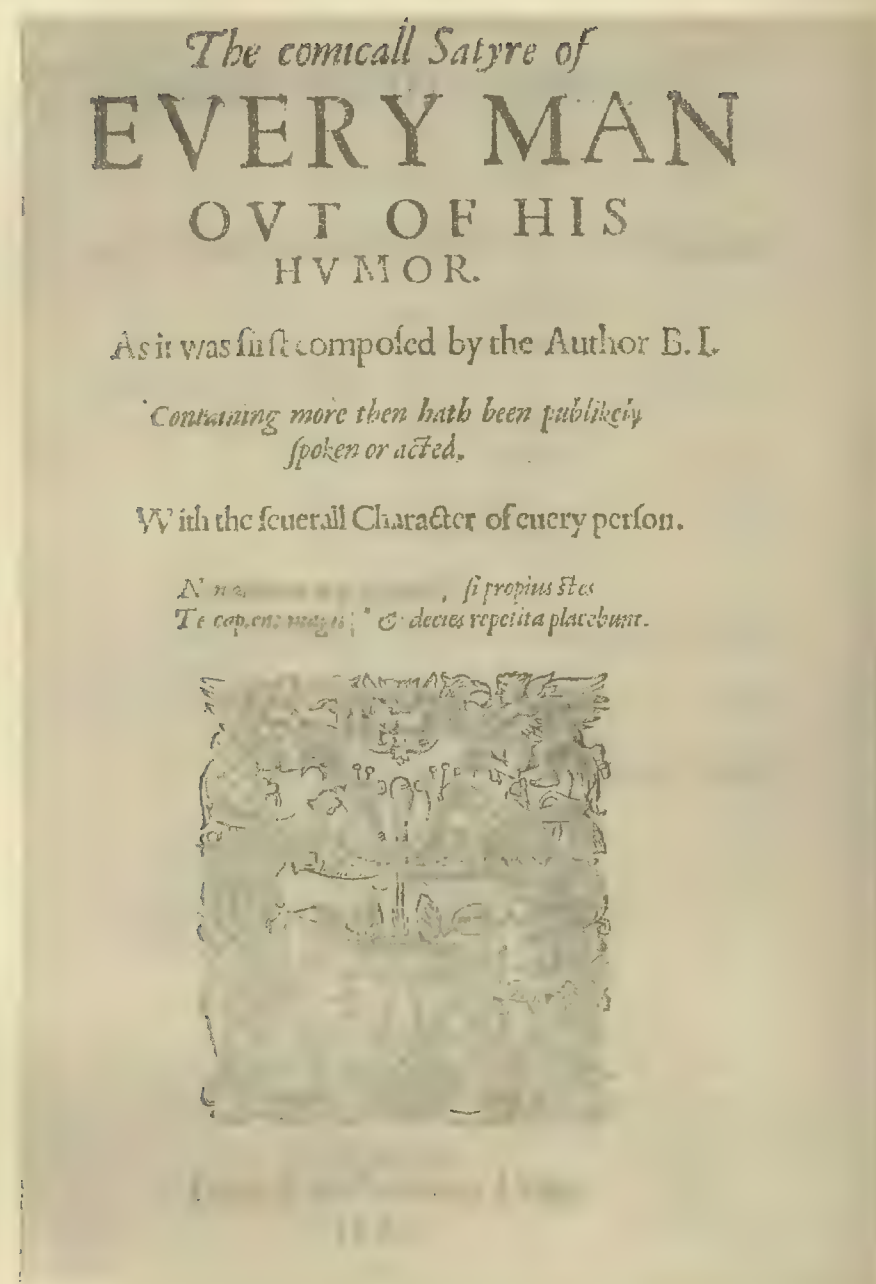
Dove's father-in-law, though he neither smoked nor took snuff, yet had old Ben no dislike to the fragrance of a pipe . . ." (Cleland, p. 16, n.) *V. the Introduction*, p. 55, n. 2.

² *V. the Introduction*, pp. 52 ff.

³ This is the first play in the English language to contain more than a minor reference to the subject of tobacco. *Cf. n. 54.*

⁴ Gifford (following Whalley), points out that the middle aisle of St. Paul's Church in Jonson's day "was the common resort of bullies, Knights of the post, and others of the like reputable professions, who carried on their various occupations here with great success; indeed bargains of all kinds were made here commonly as on the Exchange." (Pp. 88-89, n.)

1. 2. or 3. head,^[5] more or lesse, whose friendes are but lately deceased, and whose lands are but new come to his hands, that (to be as exactly qualified as the best of our ordinary gallants are) is affected to entertaine the most Gentlemanlike vse



TITLE OF JONSON, 1600

of Tabacco: as first, to giue it the most exquisite perfume;^[6] then, to know all the dilicate sweet formes of the assumption of it: as also the rare Corollary and practise of the Cuban Ebolition, EVRIPVS, and Whiffe;^[7] which he shall receiue or take in

⁵ Terms used in hunting to denote the ages of bucks.

⁶ I.e., "sophisticate" it, to give it a sweet odor.

⁷ The first two of these "mysteries" taught by the

here at London, and euaporate at Vxbridge, or farder, if it please him. If there be any such generous spirit, that is truly enamour'd of these good faculties: May it please him; but (by a note of his hand) to specify the place, or Ordinary where he vses to eat and lie, and most sweet attendance with Tabacco and Pipes of the best sort shall be ministred: STET QVÆSO CANDIDE LECTOR.^[8]

[Punt.] Why this is without *Paralel*, this!

Carlo. Well, I'll marke this fellowe for *Sogliardo's* vse presently.

Pu[n]t. Or rather, *Sogliardo* for his vse. [H_{ii}^{a-b} in this edition; L_i^b-L₂^a, in the folio, n. 125.]

In the explanation of the characters, *Sogliardo* is described as "An essentiall Clowne . . . so enamour'd of the name of a Gentleman, that he will haue it though he buyes it. He comes vp euery Tearme^[9] to learne to take *Tabacco*, and see new *Motions*" [puppet-shows, etc.]. [A_{ii}^b; G₄^a, in the folio, n. 125.]

In the same promenade Carlo Buffone meets Shift, "A Thredbare Sharke," among whose "chiefe exercises are taking the *Whiffe*, and squiring a *Cocatrice*."¹⁰ [A_{ii}^b-iii^a]

Shift. My name is *Cauallier Shift*: I am knowne sufficiently in this walke [St. Paul's] fir . . . it pleases the world (as I am her excellent *Tabacconist*) to giue me the style of Signior *Whiffe*: as I am a poore Esquire about the towne here, they cal me Master *Apple Iohn*, varietie of good names does well fir.

Whereupon Carlo Buffone associates him with the bill Puntaruolo has just read, and introduces him to *Sogliardo*. Shift, the cavalier, bows deeply.

Sog. In good time fir, nay good fir house your head, do you professe these sleights in Tabacco?

Shift. I doe more then professe fir, & (if you please to be a practitioner) I will vndertake in one fortnight to bring you, that you shall take it plaufibly in any

Ordinarie, Theatre, or the Tilt-yard if neede bee; the most popular assembly that is.

Punt. But you cannot bring him to the *Whiffe* so soone?

Shift. Yes as soone fir: he shall receiue the 1, 2, & 3, *Whiffe*, if it please him, & (vpon the receipt) take his horse, drinke his three cups of Canarie, and expose one at Hounslow, a second at Stanes, and a third at Bagshot.¹¹

Sogliardo is impressed, and further in the same scene the professor of the art of whiffing, pointing to Puntaruolo's dog, which has accompanied him, announces that he can make the animal take as many whiffs as he lists, "and hee shall retaine, or refuse them at my pleasure." Whereupon the offended Puntaruolo removes his dog and himself. [I_{ii}^{a-b}; L₄^b-L₅^a, in the folio.]

professors of the art of whiffing have proved puzzling to most of the editors who gloss the passage. "Ebolition" (Ebullition) here suggests an agitated exhalation of smoke; the *NED*. in fact uses Jonson's phrase in this connection. (Cf. a similar phrase in n. 77.) "Euripus" was the name given by the ancients to a channel of water noted for the violence of its flux and reflux. The word here, therefore, can have no other meaning than a rapid inhalation and exhalation of smoke. "Whiffe" is self-explanatory. ⁸ "The usual adjuration, I suppose, not to cover, or tear down, the advertisements." (Gifford, p. 94.)

⁹ Every law-term, when country gentlemen flocked to London for business and pleasure. "It may seem strange to enumerate taking tobacco among the accomplishments to be acquired in town, but it was then a matter of serious study, and had its professors like the rest of the liberal arts." (Gifford, p. 7, n.)

¹⁰ A pander, or, as Gifford describes him, "a brothel bully."

¹¹ Shift, if this be true, was the most expert of instructors. His pupils could be brought to the point ("vpon the receipt") whereby they would acquire such perfection in the art of whiffing that they could

The newly-created gallant, Sogliardo, goes earnestly to work to acquire perfection in the difficult system prescribed by Shift, and makes frequent appearances throughout the play, displaying his latest talent. Puntaruolo, having inquired for him, is told by Carlo:

... hee's a Lieger [resident ambassador] at *Hornes* Ordinarie yonder: his villanous *Ganimede* [*i.e.* Shift] and hee ha' bin droning a *Tabacco* Pipe there, euer fin' yester-day noone.

Punt. Who? Signior *Tripartite*, that would giue my Dogge the *Whiffe*?

Carl. I, he: they haue hir'd a chamber and all priuate to practife in, for the making of the *Patoun*, the *Receit Reciprocall*,¹² and a number of other mysteries, not yet extant. I brought some dosen or twentie Gallants this morning to view 'hem, (as you'd doe a piece of *Perspectiue*) in at a key-hole; and there we might see *Sogliardo* fit in a Chaire, holding his snout vp, like a Sow vnder an Apple tree, while th'other open'd his nostrilles with a Poking-sticke, to giue the smoke a more free deliuerie. They had spit some three or fourescore ounces betweene 'hem, afore we came away.

Punt. How! three or fourescore ounces?

Carl. I, and preferu'd it in porrengers, as a Barber does his Bloud, when hee pricks a veine. [*L_{ii}^b-L_{iii}^a; M₅^b, folio.*]

The enthusiastic Sogliardo praises Shift, as "the tallest [bravest] man liuing within the walles of *Europe*," descants on his ability to swagger, applauds him for five hundred robberies he has done in his time, and swears by Puntaruolo's dog that "he has the most rare gift in *Tabacco* that euer you knew." [*L_{iv}^b-M_{ii}^a; N₁^a-N₂^b, folio.*]

But not long after, having lost faith in his adviser, who has shown himself a liar and a coward, he declares, "I shall thinke the worfe of *Tabacco* while I liue for his fake." [*P_{ij}^a*]

Later, Carlo persuades Sogliardo to turn courtier, assuring him that kind nature, having given him a pure and simple mind, unadulterated by learning, fits him for the position.

Mary this Sir, you must euer be fure to carrie a good strong perfume about you, that your mistresse[s] Dog may smell you out amongst the rest; and (in making loue to her) neuer feare to be out [of countenance]: for you may haue a pipe of *tabacco*, or a base *Violl* shal hang o' the wall of purpofe, will put you in presently. The tricks your *Resolution* [*i.e.* Shift] has taught you in *Tabacco*, (the Whiffe, and those fleights) will stand you in very good Ornament there?

Fastidius Briske, is introduced, "a Neate spruce affecting Courtier, [who] speakes good Remnants (notwithstanding the Base-violl, and *Tabacco*:) . . ." [*A_{ii}^a; G₃^b, folio.*]

inhale a pipeful in London, retain the smoke while they drank their wine, and then expel this fume at will, in communities miles apart!

¹² Gifford (p. 133) attempts to relate "Patoun" to the French *pâton*, or lump of moulded dough, for poultry, suggesting that the tobacco was moulded into some small fantastic shape. But it will be obvious, by comparing this phrase with the discussion of the frontispiece in Brathwait (n. 129), that Jonson was but converting the then fairly common word for Brazilian tobacco, *petun*, to his own use. (*Cf.*, too, the use of "pettounes" in n. 121, at n. 3, and "Pe-

toune" in explanatory leaf to frontispiece, n. 129.) The "making of the Patoun" may have meant the fashioning and smoking of a cigar—then certainly a "mystery" to most Elizabethan gallants accustomed to a pipe. The "Receit Reciprocall," so puzzling to Gifford, Whalley, Reed, *et al.*, suggests the exercise of expelling smoke in rings, each increasing or decreasing in size.

The context of the passage in which these words occur certainly points to the fact that Shift and his pupil, Sogliardo, were practising *smoking* tobacco and nothing else.

Fa[st]. I, to some perhaps: but, and hee should come to my Miftresse with *Tabacco* . . . shee'd reply vpon him y faith.

The idea awakens ambition in Sogliardo's breast, and he exclaims:

O my trickes in *Tabacco* (as *Carlo* fayeres) wil shew excellent there. [*N₁^{a-b}; N₄^b-N₅^a, folio.*]

But the serious-minded Macilente, in a later scene, advises him against tobacco.

Sog. But shall I not vse *Tabacco* at all?

Mac. O, by no meanes, 'twill but make your breath suspected; and that you vse it onely to confound the rankeneffe of that.

Sog. Nay, Ile be aduis'd fir by my friends.

Macilente coaches him on his proposed approach to Saviolina, a court lady and wit.

Sog. Faith and you say the word, Ile begin to her in *Tabacco*

Mac. O fie on't, no you shall begin with, *How does my sweet Ladie* . . . [*N_{iii}^b-N_{iv}^a; N₆^b-O₁^a, folio.*]

Enter Macilente, Briske, Cinedo, with Tabacco.

Fa[st]. Well now Signior *Macilente*, you are not onely welcome to the Court, but also to my mistris with drawing chāber: Boy, get me some *Tabacco*, Ile but goe in, and shew I am here, and come to you presently fir. *Exit.*

Macilente soliloquizes somberly on the affectations and cruelties of courts.

Enter Fa[st].

Fa[st]. In faith I haue made you stay somewhat long fir; but is my *Tabacco* ready boy?

Cine. I fir.

Fa[st]. Giue me, my mistresse is vpon comming, you shall see her presently fir, (*Tab.*) you'll say you neuer accosted a more piercing wit. This *Tabacco* is not dried Boy, or else the Pipe's defectiue. Oh, your wits of Italy are nothing comparable to her . . .

Saviolina looks in, and promptly exits again, leaving Fastidius in a state of troubled expectation. He sees her returning:

Fa[st]. . . My good *Genius* embolden me. Boy the Pipe quickly. *Enter Saviolina.*

Mac. What? will he giue her musicke?

Fastidius makes what he imagines to be appropriate comments to his lady, interrupting each phrase with a pull at his pipe, and concluding with "mend the pipe boy."

Mac. I ne're knew *Tabacco* taken as a *parenthesis* before.

Fa[st]. Fore God (sweet Ladie) beleue it, I doe honour the meanest ruff in this chamber for your loue.

Savi. I, you need not tell me that fir, I do think you do prize a ruff before my loue.

The nervousness of Fastidius increases; he attempts to play a viola da gamba, which is hanging on the wall, but fails miserably and, in need of a stimulant, calls for tobacco.

Mac. *Tabacco* againe? he do's court his mistresse with very exceeding good changes.

Fa[st]. Signior *Macilente*, you take none fir? (*Tab.*)

Mac. No, vnlesse I had a mistresse Signior, it were a great *Indecorum* for mee to take *Tabacco*.

In the conversation which ensues between them, Fastidius continues to "drink" tobacco nervously, finally breaking out with

In good fayth here's most Diuine *Tabacco*.

Sau. Nay, I cannot stay, to Daunce after your Pipe.

Fast. Good, my deere Ladie stay: by this sweete Smoke, I thinke your wit bee all fire. (*Tab.*)

Mac. And hee's the *Salamander* that liues by it.

Sau. Is your *Tabacco* perfum'd fir, that you sweare by the sweete Smoke.

Fast. Still more excellent: before God, and these bright Heauens, I thinke (*Tab.*) you are made of *Ingenuitie*, I. (*Tab.*)

Mac. True, as your discourse is: O abominable!

Fast. Will your Ladiship take any?

Sau. O, peace I pray you; I loue not the breath of a *Woodcocks* [a fool's] head.

Fast. Meaning my head, Ladie?

Sau. Not altogether so fir; but (as it were Fatal to their follies, that thinke to grace themselues with taking *Tabacco*, when they want better entertainment) you see your Pipe beares the true forme of a *Woodcocks* head. [*K_i^b-K_{iii}^a; M_i^b-M₂^b, folio.*]

THIRD EDITION. Small quarto (A-Q⁴). (Text of N_{iii}^b and N_{iv}^a transposed.)

LEVANT MOROCCO, by Lortic Frères. Size of leaf: 6¹¹/₁₆ x 4¹¹/₁₆ inches.

From the collections of T. J. McKee (1901, III, n. 2439), "A New York Collector" [W. A. White] (Anderson Galleries, 6 Feb. 1920, n. 55), and G. D. Smith (1921, III, n. 151). With the bookplate of the first.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 14769. *SAB.*, i, 58-61. *Sc.*, i, 481-482, 536; ii, 410. *Ch.*, iii, 360-363. *Works*, ed. Gifford (Cunningham ed., 1875), ii. B. A. P. Van Dam and C. Stoffel, in *Anglia*, xxvi (1903), 377-392. *Ben Jonson*, ed. by C. H. Herford and P. Simpson (1925-1927), i and iii.

Three editions are known, each dated 1600. According to the researches made into their order of publication by Greg (*The Library*, 1920, vol. i, pp. 153 ff.), the first was printed for W. Holme, the second by [P. Short] for the same. The Linge edition, "the third quarto," has been described as "a bad reprint of its predecessor." The brevity of its imprint and its typographical composition suggest that it may have been a pirated publication, printed later than 1600.

This play, the first of Jonson's to be printed, was acted in 1599, in an abridged form.

A literal "war of the theatres" raged in London, between the years 1598 and 1602, in which Jonson and Marston attacked each other through the medium of satirical plays. Dekker, Munday, Daniel and other writers became involved in the conflict. Attempts have been made to identify the characters of *Every Man Out Of His Humor* with writers of the day. Thus Prof. Schelling, following in the main the conclusions of Penniman, links Fastidius Briske with Daniel, Carlo Buffone with Marston, Puntaruolo with Munday, and recognizes in Macilente, Jonson's complaisant portrait of himself (i, pp. 481-482). Divergent views have, however, been expressed by other students on the identity of the "poetasters." Hart (10*NQ.*, I, pp. 381-383), for instance, has a suggestive article in which he denies the association of Carlo Buffone with Marston, and awards the doubtful honor to one Charles Chester, "a bold impertinent" and noisy talker of the period, referred to by Sir John Harington and other



BEN JONSON

From an engraving in the Print Room of the British Museum

contemporaries. Dr. Chambers, on the other hand, expresses the opinion that "most of the characters are individuals and social types, rather than literary or stage types. I do not think," he goes on to say, "there are portraits of Daniel, Lyly, Drayton, Donne, Chapman . . . in the play . . . nor do I think there are portraits in the strict sense of Marston and Dekker, although no doubt some parody of Marston's 'fustian' vocabulary is put into the mouth of Clove" (pp. 362-363). See also Morse S. Allen, in *The Satire of John Marston* (diss. Princeton University, 1920), p. 32, *et passim*.

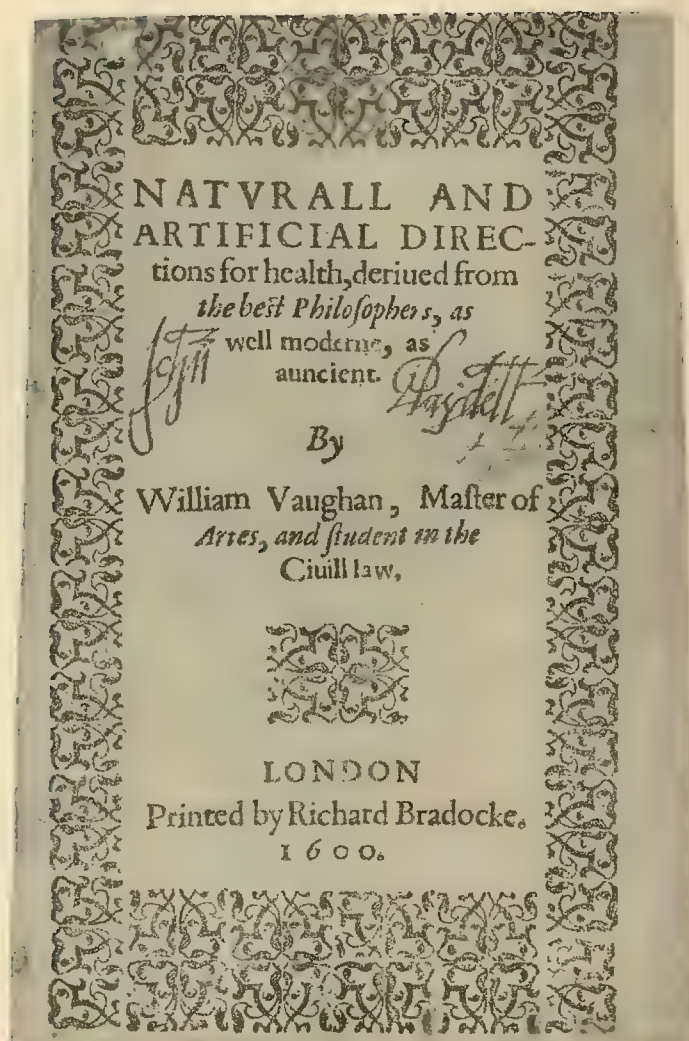
For other plays in this collection which were part of or associated with the "war," see nos. 65, 77, 81, 125 "a" and "c," and 126.

VAUGHAN, William (1577-1641)

NATVRALL DIRECTIONS FOR HEALTH. London, 1600.

VAUGHAN, best known for his interest in Newfoundland and his colony there,¹ had a naïve faith in the medicinal value of tobacco (*à la Monardes*). In his little handbook there is a chapter, "Of herbes," in which occurs:

¹ *V.* n. 161-A.



TITLE OF VAUGHAN, 1600

What is the vse of Tobacco?

Cane Tobacco well dried, and taken in a siluer^[2] pipe, fasting in the morning, cureth the megrim, the tooth ache, obstructions proceeding of cold, and helpeth the fits of the mother. After meales it doth much hurt, for it infecteth the braine and the liuer. [C₅^b–C₆^a]

In the chapter, "Of Fasting," occurs:

Shew mee a way to preferue my lyfe, if perhaps I be constrayned to straggle in deserts? Take licoras or *Tobacco* now & then, chew it, & you shall fatiffie both thirst and hunger. Or else, mixe some fuet with one pound of violets, and you shall preferue your life thereby, ten dayes. . . . [D₇^{a-b}]

The same passages appeared in the two succeeding editions of this popular work (1602, 1607). But when Vaughan republished his book for the fourth time,³ in 1612,

² Cf. n. 46, n. 2.

³ The title was changed for this edition to *Approved Directions for Health*.

he extended the first recommendation (*supra*). "Siluer pipe" gives way to "cleane pipe," and in proof of the fact that "after meales it doth much hurt," is the statement that anatomists have found the kidneys and hearts wasted of those who thus abused themselves. A fervent little sermon is read to those who injure their heads and brains by turning the use of tobacco to "*Bacchanalian* beaftly custome," and the author concludes with the verses repeated in his edition of 1626 (n. 161).

FIRST EDITION. Small octavo (A⁸ [first, blank, lacking]; B–F⁸ [last, blank]).

MOROCCO. Size of leaf: 5 $\frac{7}{16}$ x 3 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches.

Hazlitt records the contemporaneous owner, John Playdell, whose name appears on the title, in his *Roll of Honor*. In the same work, this early collector's signature is reproduced, although Hazlitt mistakenly assigns it then to a supposed John Hayslett.

REFERENCES: *STC*, 24612. Arb., 94 (in reference to the 1602 edition).

The only other copy recorded of this work is in the British Museum.

PHILARETES (*pseudonym of I., or J., H.*)

WORK FOR CHIMNY-SWEEPERS. London, 1601–1602.

THE habit of smoking for pleasure only spread with natural rapidity over most of Western Europe before the close of the sixteenth century. As the literature of the day indicates, it was nowhere more heartily taken up, after about 1590, than in England. While the fashion undoubtedly offered to many Englishmen a new relaxation, which they enjoyed quietly, its more exuberant devotees made it unpleasantly evident, chiefly in London and its environs. There the gallants were boisterously displaying the new tricks taught them by the "professors of the art of whiffing," and invading taverns, theatres and private homes with the "poysonfome Indian stink." In their youthful enthusiasm during the latter Elizabethan and the Jacobean days they probably did constitute themselves a general nuisance.

It was to be expected, then, that the reformers should attack with vigor a practise which they regarded as an unhealthful, novel, heathenish vice. While the custom had already been mildly reproved by Buttes (n. 53) and others, and satirized by Jonson (n. 59), it was only with the publication of Philaret's tract that the anti-tobacco campaign began in earnest.

The whole implication of the unknown¹ author's work is moral disapproval of social smoking, but his chief objections to the habit were grounded on some misconceptions (then pretty widely accepted) of the physical qualities of tobacco. He thought, for instance, that one of the certain results of taking tobacco was to make the brain sooty. He believed, too, that the use of this plant induced sterility—he was apparently the first to present the idea in print. This conceit, popular with the antitobacconists, was to spread to certain far corners of Europe and Asia and to result in severe legis-

¹ The prefatory address *To the Reader* is signed by "Philaret," whose anonymity has been preserved despite all efforts to identify him. The author of the introductory poem, I. (or J.) H., was almost certainly the writer of the tract itself. He is thought by some to have been John Hind (or Hynd), who

flourished about 1606, but no recent research tends to confirm the ascription. Nor does the suggestion that he may have been Bishop Joseph Hall (in whose *Virgidemiarum*, 1597, and *Mundus Alter et Idem*, 1605?, Book III, are several unfavorable references to tobacco) fit the case.

Work for Chimny-sweepers:

OR

A warning for Tabacconists.

Describing the pernicious
vse of *Tabacco*, no lesse plea-

sant then profitable for all sorts
to reade.

Fumus patria, Igne alieno Luculentior.

As much to say,

Better be chokt with English hemp,
then poisoned with Indian *Tabacco*.



Imprinted at London by T. Este, for Thomas
Buttall, &c. are to be sold at the great North
dore of Powles. 1602.

TITLE OF PHILARETES, 1601-1602

lation against tobacco by Oriental rulers.² From Monardes (n. 15) and others, the author derived his notion of the Satanic origin of the plant—a quaint opinion which is probably still preached.³

This tract was succeeded by many others which attacked the social use of tobacco. Within a year an amiable nicotian advocate produced the first defense of the maligned weed (n. 62), and the contest, thus early instituted, has persisted to our own times.

² V. n. 118, and the *Introduction*, pp. 71 ff.

³ V. the *Introduction*, p. 8, n. 2.

He is fully aware, Philaretes admits, that his undertaking will awaken the hatred of the smoky gallants whose abuse of tobacco he attacks. They,

having long time glutted themselves with the fond fopperies and fashions of our neighbour Countries: yet still desirous of nouelties . . . hugge a stinging serpent in their bosomes . . .

His wise readers, too, will wish to chide him for reprehending the use of a plant which has by many learned and excellent men been highly commended.

And in these our daies many excellent Phisitions and men of singuler learning and practise, together with many gentlemen and some of great accompt, doe by their daily vse and custome in drinking of Tabacco, giue great credit and authoritie to the same.

But if they will read with patience and care they will see that there are no valid reasons why they should continue so pernicious a habit.

In the verses which follow the preface, I. (or J.) H. insists that he writes neither for gain by private means, nor profit from some Mæcenas, nor from any vulgar desire to see himself in print. He wishes but to unmask "*Trinidado's*" smoky face. In these prefatory verses he has some cruel things to say about tobacco:

But hence thou Pagan Idol: tawnie weede,
Come not with-in our Fairie Cofts [coasts] to feede.

Our wit-worne gallants, with the sent [scent] of thee,
Sent for the Deuill and his companie,
¶Go charme the Priest and Indian Canniballs,
That Cerimoniously dead sleeping falls,
Flat on the ground, by vertue of thy sent . . . [B.i.^a]

The author summarizes the contents of his tract as follows:

For the dislike that I haue conceiued in the vse and practise of *Tabacco*, I take it to be grounded on eight principall reasons and arguments.

1 First, that in their vse or custome, no methode or order is obserued. Diuerfitie and distinction of persons, tymes and seasons considered, no varietie of accidents and diseases pondered.

2 Secondly, for that it is in qualitie and complexion more hot and drye then may be conueniently vsed dayly of any man: much lesse of the hot and cholerique constitution.

3 Thirdly, for that it is experimented and tryed to be a most strong and violent purge.

4 Fourthly, for that it withereth and drieth vp naturall moisture in our bodies, thereby causing sterilitie and barrenesse: In which respect it seemeth an enemy to the continuance and propagation of mankind.

5 Fifthly, for that it decayeth and dissipate[t]h naturall heate, that kindly warmeth in vs, and thereby is cause of crudities and rewmes, occasions of infinit maladies.

6 Sixtly, for that this herb or rather weed, seemeth not void of venome and poison, and thereby seemeth an enemy to the lyfe of man.

7 Seauently, for that the first author and finder hereof was the Diuell, and the first practisers of the same were the Diuells Priests, and therefore not to be vsed of vs Christians.

8 Last of all, because it is a great augmentor of all sorts of melancholie in our bodies, a humor fit to prepare our bodies to receaue the prestigations and hellish illusions and impressions of the Diuell himselfe: in so much that many Phisitions and learned men doe hold this humour to be the verie seate of the Diuell in bodies possessed. [B.i.^b]

After that little need be added by way of comment. Under his first reason he acknowledges that certain cold and moist humours, such as dropsy, are helped by a reasonable and medicinal use of tobacco. But certain diseases easily remedied may become incurable by its inordinate use.

. . . for certaine prooffe that *Tabacco* dryeth vp the sperme & seed of man, I heare by faithfull relation of such as haue much vsed it; That whereas before the vse thereof, they had bene long molested with a fluxe of seed . . . [or] *Gomorrhæa* [sic] . . . they were in short space eased of this affect by the onely vse of this medicine. For no doubt, this fierie fume, dried vp the superfluitie of that matter . . . [E.₂^a]

He has read Monardes (to whom he frequently refers) with care, and shows that Galen, Hippocrates and others support that author's medical opinions. He gives a special warning that the patrons of tobacco who attempt to cure hot and burning agues with an infusion of tobacco leaf steeped in white wine all night are in error, lists some of the ailments certain to ensue from a frequent use of the weed, and protests against its vile odor. He recounts an episode in the life of a learned physician, D. T.,⁴ who was so addicted to the use of the herb that his patient, an earl who objected to its odor, refused to see him. It is to be regretted that if one attempts to mix whole-some aromatic spices with tobacco, the whole commodity is rejected as "sophisticated." The poisonous force of this plant resembles nothing so much, he thinks, as the venom of a scorpion. It appears that the long-continued use of tobacco has done no harm to Indians, but they are accustomed to it from infancy and, too, he asks in essence, who would wish to be an Indian? While it is true that the use of tobacco is helpful to mariners (subject to cold and damp), so is it true that any other remedy with purging qualities would be helpful. The dark vapour of tobacco, piercing the brain, awakens melancholy humours.

The author explains the physical composition of melancholy in his last "reason," depending upon old Galen as an authority.

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A-C⁴ [first, blank, except for "A," lacking]; E-G⁴). With the publisher's device on the title.

Sheet D is not included in any of the known copies. While there is no apparent omission in the text, the type-measure, running-head, and woodcut initial "T" differ, from sheet E on, from those in the preceding gatherings. It is probable, therefore, that this work was set up by two different printers.⁵

MOROCCO, by Riviere. Size of leaf: 7 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 5 $\frac{3}{16}$ inches.

⁴ Doctor Thorius? *V.* n. 157.

⁵ Had it been handled by different compositors in

the same establishment, it is unlikely that such considerable changes would have been made.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 12571 [records four copies, but not this]. *Br.*, n. 11. *Haz. H.*, 608. *Arb.*, 94. *L.*, 2688. *Hu.*, v, 1622. *Mac.*, 37 (who inaccurately assigns the authorship to the publisher).

Dr. Kane (*v.* in concluding notes to n. 46) has pointed out that a problem of dates has been evoked by the words "late printed Booke" in the title of Marbecke's *Defence* (n. 62).

According to Arber's *Transcript* (iii, 186), *Work for Chimney-sweepers* was entered in the Stationers' Register on 25 June 1601 to Thomas Bushell, under the title *A Caveat for Tabacco*. Under 4 January 1601 [1602] *A Defence of Tabacco* is recorded (iii, 199).⁶ According to the title of the *Defence*, the *Work* was "late printed" by January, 1602; the latter must, therefore, have been published sometime in 1601. Furthermore, Marbecke offered his treatise to be read "to passe the time thefe Christmasse holy daies," 1601. [I.₃^{a-b}] But if Marbecke's pamphlet was issued before 25 March 1602, on which day the year began by old English reckoning, it, too, must have been issued in 1601, O.S.

Although no definite conclusion may be drawn about the date of the *Defence*, it would seem that the work of Philaretus was certainly printed in 1601.

MARBECKE, Roger (1536-1605)

A DEFENCE OF TABACCO. London, 1602.

THE author (a physician) who first in England took up the cudgels in tobacco's defense, produced a work of far greater merit than Philaretus'. While a liberal and a cultured opponent, he had a blunt, home-spun humor which gave him a definite advantage over the perturbed writer of *Work for Chimney-sweepers* (n. 61). He made a fairly gentle art out of criticism, managing to uncover with concise logic a number of manifest absurdities and contradictions in Philaretus' tract, without becoming either contemptuous or abusive. Only in his reply to the sixth reason does he lose patience with the incautious fellow who dared discourse of poisons in times "so dangerous."¹

He protests he knows not the name of him who penned the *Work for Chimney-sweepers*, published of late, but that he seems a man well read and of sufficient learning and understanding. Having, by his own friends, been requested to give what defense he can to the maligned weed, "that poore simple," he undertakes the task, though loath to meddle in any such matters.

If the intention of the author he opposes be to attack only the abuse of tobacco he willingly joins him there. But the meaning of that author seems not always clear. And surely, it is wrong wholly to condemn anything because it is sometimes misused.

So that some order may be preserved, the author will reply to Philaretus by employing his eight chief or capital arguments in their original arrangement with his own refutations appended to each.

Touching mine owne particular fantacie and affection to *Tabacco*: I protest, it is no maner of way, tyed vnto it. For in all my life, either I did neuer take it at all: or

⁶ Another entry, "19 aprilis [1602] Clement Knight Entred for his copie a booke called *A Defence of Tabacco and the true vse thereof* . . ." (iii, 204), is not to be confused with Marbecke's *Defence*. This work I have found in the Britwell Court sale-catalogue (30 Mar.-3 Apr. 1925, lot 83): [Dr. Bellamy], *A New and Short Defence of Tabacco: with*

the effectes of the same; and of the right vse thereof, London, Printed by V. S. for Clement Knight, 1602.

¹ This was probably in reference to the assumed plot to poison Queen Elizabeth in which her physician, Roderigo Lopez, was implicated and for which he was executed, 1594.

A DEFENCE OF
TABACCO: VVITH A
FRIENDLY ANSWER TO THE
late printed Booke called

*Worke for Chimny-Swee-
pers, &c.*

Si iudicas, cognosce: si Rex es, iube.



LONDON,
Printed by Richard Field for Thomas Man.
1602.

TITLE OF MARBECKE, 1602

elfe verie feldome: so that, euen in that respect also, I may be held, as a most indifferēt iudge for the matter. [A₄^a]

But yet, for that this *Tabacco*, is a poore gentleman, and a stranger; and, as it should feeme, of some good account in his countrey, with the high Priests, and Rulers of the Sinagogues there, and can speake no word of our language to defend himselfe, being so mightily accused as he is: and now standeth vpon his triall, at the Barre, I could wish, that for the honor of our countrie he might be both honor-

ably, and fauorably dealt withall, and to be permitted to entertaine some one man or other to pleade his cause, and to speake for him . . . and for that I am naturally enclined to pitie, and to fauour poore straungers, I pray you giue me leaue to fay something in his behalfe . . . [A₄^b-B₁^a]

He agrees in essence with the substance of the first argument, but shows that Philaretēs admitted tobacco was an aid in dropsical and other humors. This he considers great praise from an enemy. What would one more, that it be good for *all* things?

He gives careful consideration to the second reason, touching the heat of tobacco and man's constitution.

None are so mad as to take tobacco daily as medicine, as Philaretēs seems to urge, but if the author of the *Work* means its daily use in fume through a pipe—why, that is a wholesome thing. And there be many spices constantly taken which are drier and hotter by far than is poor maligned tobacco.

Although the discourse on smells is pretty and true, it serves nothing to the purpose of proving tobacco a stench.

. . . men of great learning and iudgement, men of right good bringing vp, men of fine, and deinty diet, men of good worth, and worship, yea men, of right honorable estate, and calling; do like of the smell of *Tabacco* well enough. Why then should it be so mightily condemned by you, for such an horrible stinker? [C₄^b]

For I can tell you, that this is held for an infallible rule, and to be one of the most perfectest signes of good *Tabacco*; that it be sweete, and yeeld a kind of pleasing, fragrant, aromaticall smell. [D₁^a]

But, say it had a rank, unpleasant savour. Should it for that reason be banished out of the realm of physic? The odor of tobacco is compared to some really rank smells, to show by comparison how divine it is, how much more like the rose!

He turns the story of D. T. [Dr. Thorius?]² against its author by proving that Philaretēs himself confessed tobacco mended his weak and ailing stomach. And if D. T. be the man he thinks is meant, then he knows him very well—a sweet and civil gentleman—who would never bear such a stench about him as is charged to tobacco. [D₂^a]

In his reply to the fourth reason he points out that the inhabitants of this island of England, "the most famous Island in Christendome, as all the world knoweth," are much subject to moisture and to a climate inducing rheumatism. Add to that that the English are great eaters, delighting in various and many rich meats and other dishes, and to that add that they have become excessive drinkers of beer and ale and wines, and to cap it all note that they are often idle and live loosely, and one will see how surfeited they must be with watery humors. What better for them, then, than tobacco?

If it be true, as Philaretēs confidently asserts, that tobacco cures the disease of gonorrhea³ (which Marbecke implies he doubts), this statement is the greatest possible praise from its enemy. And it proves, too, that it must be helpful to the propagative organs. [E₃^a]

By the time he comes to the sixth reason he is seriously annoyed. No man of sense would write of poisons and purgatives as does Philaretēs, coupling them together in

² *V.* n. 61, at n. 4.

³ *V.* n. 61, last excerpt.

so hateful and odious a manner as he does. He himself will certainly not meddle with any solemn or curious discourse of poisons, nor unfold their hateful operations. He goes on to explain just what Galen meant in the passage quoted by his opponent, and says, *inter alia*, "I know not fir: whether you be married, or no: but if you be, and haue a shrew to your wife: (as if you haue not, I would you had, for now indeed, I am angry with you) . . ." [F₃^b] Indeed can the traducer of tobacco tell of even one who was poisoned by its use, or can he think of even a few who were affected with violent vomits, great gnawings, torments of the guts, and other things charged by him against tobacco?

As for the contention that tobacco came from the devil and is not to be used by Christians, "me thinke it were a more charitable motion, to thinke that it came from God, who is the author of all good gifts, then from the diuell." [H₁^a] And did not that same "Monardus" (from whom this conceit came) himself affirm that when the Indian priests used this selfsame tobacco they were elevated and drawn away from all earthly and gross cogitations—sublimated as it were by its use? Neither religion nor policy forbids the use of tobacco.

Although he must challenge it, he likes the material in the eighth reason, saying, "In this chapter there be many things, very well, and learnedly put downe." He points out another contradiction or two; and as for the absurd notion that the use of tobacco leaves a sootish tincture in the brain, that he refutes by practical experiment:

My demonstration then at a word is this: looke me but into the throats, and nothrills, of all the great *Tabacco* takers: view them well, I fay, and prie into their noses, as much as ye please, and I will lay what wager you will, that you shall find them as faire nosed gentlemen, and as cleane mouthed, and throated, as any men aliue, I will warrant you. [H₃^a–H₄^b]

And if it were true that tobacco smoke bred melancholy humors, why then are not smiths and colliers, living in smoke, sad, unhappy men?

What? muft poore smoke, being so light a thing . . . needes haue so great a force, as to increafe such a sad soure humor as melancholie? . . . in my iudgement, this needlesse feare of yours, doth somewhat fauour of melancholie in your selfe . . . [I₁^a]

And thus hauing made, a wife foolish speech, or a foolish wife speech in the behalfe of this poore *Tabacco* . . . [I₃^a]

he says something about himself. He is not ashamed to have concerned himself so long with a subject of such apparent insignificance as tobacco. There have been those who have written of baldness, of the commendation of folly, yea, and of baser matters such as flies and fleas. While it is true that he was in some measure urged to indite this treatise, he did it, too, because he thought that he discerned in the *Work*, an oblique criticism on the credit of physic under the pretence of inveighing against tobacco. So he had willingly undertaken the task of thus replying to Philaretus.

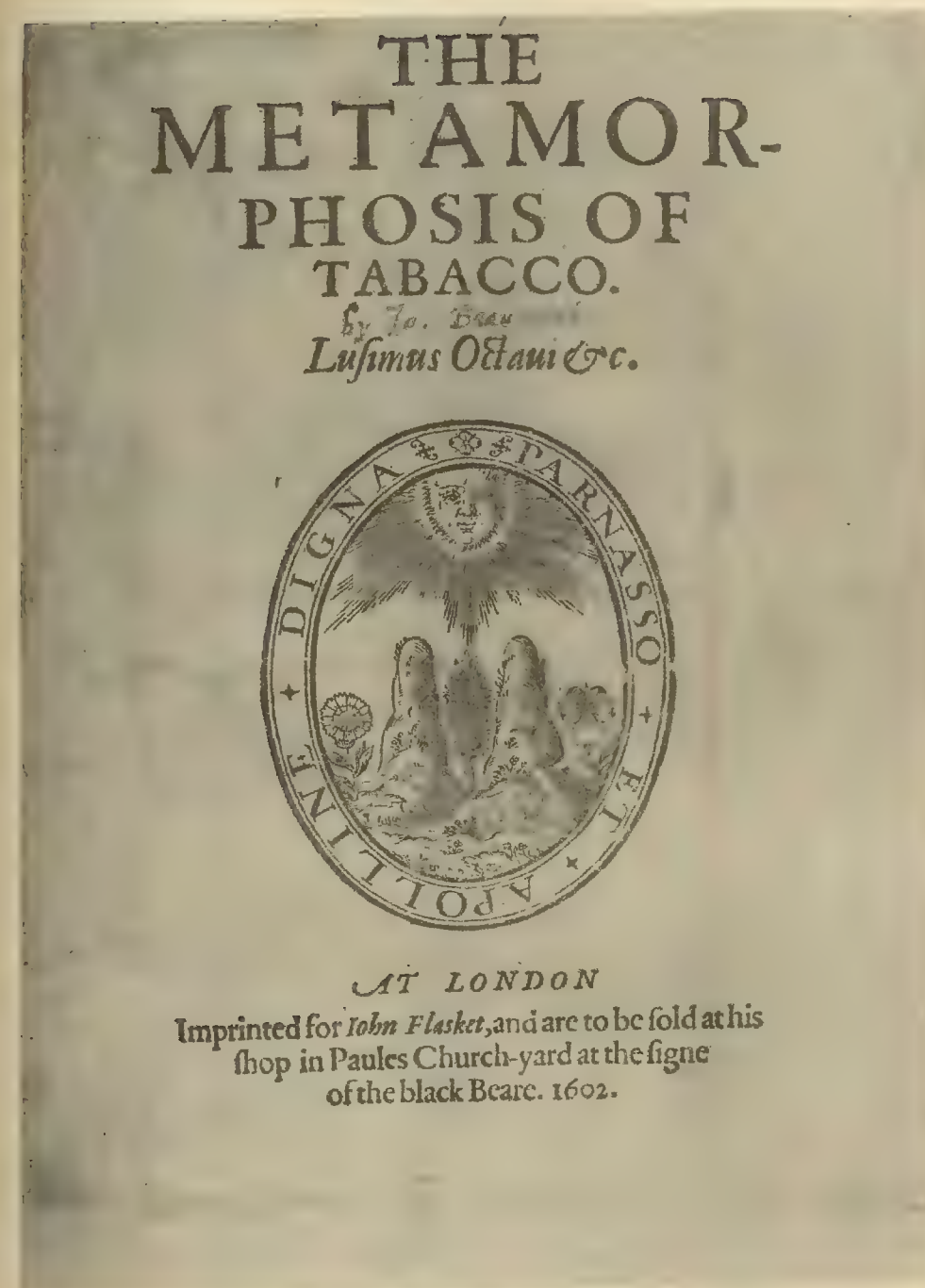
FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A–I⁴ [last, blank]).

MOROCCO. Size of leaf: 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 6468. *Br.*, n. 10. *Haz.*, *H.*, 608. *Hu.*, iv, 1472. *Mac.*, 38 ff.

Marbecke has been accepted by most students as the author of this tract. His name appears in the acrostic in the dedication to "Sir Henrie Cocke," and "Master Richard Browne Esquire, Clarke of the Greene cloth." Browne was among those who advocated a correct use of tobacco for remedial purposes only. He was the supposed author of an unpublished work entitled "A true Report concerning the worthy accompt of Tobacco . . ." (*V. Mac.*, pp. 38, and 45–46, for a notice of it.)

In regard to the probable date of this tract, see the concluding notes to n. 61.



TITLE OF BEAUMONT, 1602

THE METAMORPHOSIS OF TABACCO. London, 1602.

BY THE time the seventeenth century had been ushered in, the cult of tobacco in England was firmly established. But its celebrants were for the most part prosy botanists, physicians and historians. It remained for an enthusiastic young poet to sing the virtues of the plant in heroic verse. Beaumont (the elder brother of Francis, the dramatist) was not yet twenty when his first book, *The Metamorphosis of Tabacco*, was published—an ambitious and sometimes charming poem, and the earliest in the English language entirely devoted to tobacco.

The author dedicated his poem to Michael Drayton and introduced it with the usual commendatory verses by a number of friends who, it seems, were equally devoted to the weed. One praises him for having *suckt such hony from an Indian flower*; another advises “the white Reader”:

*Take vp these lines Tabacco-like vnto thy braine,
And that diuinely toucht, puffe out the smoke againe.*

Beaumont begins with an appropriate flourish:

I Sing the loues of the superiour powers,
With the faire mother of all fragrant flowers:
From which first loue a glorious Simple springs,
Belou'd of heau'nly Gods, and earthly Kings.
Let others in their wanton verses chaunt
A beautious face that doth their senses daunt,
And on their Muses wings lift to the skie
The radiant beames of an inchaunting eye.
Me let the sound of great *Tabaccoes* praise
A pitch about those loue-sicke Poets raise:
Let me adore with my thrice-happie pen
The sweete and sole delight of mortall men,
The *Cornu-copia* of all earthly pleasure,
Where bank-rupt Nature hath confum'd her treasure,
A worthie plant springing from *Floraes* hand,
The blessed offspring of an vncouth land.
Breath-giuing herbe, none other I inuoke
To helpe me paint the praise of fugged smoke:
Not that corrupted artificiall drug,
Which euery Gull as his owne foule doth hug,
And in the sweete composure of a docke
Drinke to his Ladies dog, and Mistresse smocke . . .
Auant base Hypocrite, I call not thee,
But thou great God of Indian melodye,
Which at the *Caribes* banquet gouern'ft all,
And gently rul'ft the sturdiest *Caniball* . . .
Which lead'ft the Circle of a fauage round
With iarring songs, and homely musicks found:

Caribes be fauage
people of America.

Which to fond mirth their cruell minds doft frame,
And after with a pleasing sleepe doft tame:
By whom the *Indian* Priests inspired be,
When they preface in barbrous Poetrie:
Infume my braine, make my foules powers subtile,
Giue nimble cadence to my harsher stile . . .

The poet, with a dignity appropriate to this important subject, conceives a royal assemblage of the elements called suddenly to America to hear the complaint of Prometheus. His work for man, he insists, is not yet perfected and cannot be without their combined help. The Earth, protesting over Jove's harshness to her and to Prometheus, agrees to compensate her “darling.”

A plant shall from my wrinkled forehead spring,
And eu'ry Ladie shall that herbe endow
With the best gemmes that deck her glorious brow,
Which once inflam'd with the stolne heau'nly fire,
Shall breath into this liuelesse corse inspire.

And the elements each bring their choicest qualities to endow the “herbe composed in despite of fate,”

And had not *Tellus* temper'd too much mud,
Too much terrene corruption in the bud,
The man that tasted it should neuer die,
But stand in records of eternitie . . .

Jove, vexed at this new Promethean insolence, conceals the plant in a land unknown to white men. But the Graces, tempted to America by its new and strange delights, are entertained with this celestial fume in the palace of the great Montezuma,

Where they forgetting all their wonted pleasure,
Imbrac't with ioy this truest *Indian* treasure,

and there remained. It is obvious, therefore, that only by partaking of this same divine herb may one come to know the Graces. [B.^a-C.^a]

Thereafter follows another imaginative version of the origin of tobacco, the subject of the title, and the longest portion of the poem.

The author here conceives a “beautious Nymph,” resident in Wingandekoe (Virginia), who awakens in Jove a violent passion. Jealous Juno metamorphoses the unfortunate creature into an herb. Thereupon the unhappy god (who seems ever to have been unable to restore Juno's victims to their original shapes despite his usual omnipotence) endows the infant herb with heavenly powers. At last Æsculapius

Descri'd this herbe to our new golden age,
And did deuise a pipe, which should assuage
The wounds, which sorrow in our hearts did fixe . . .

Others affirme the Gods were ignorant
Of the confection of so sweet a plant:
For had they knowne this smokes delicious smack,
The vault of heau'n ere this time had been black . . .

Gods would haue reuel'd at their feasts of mirth
 With the pure distillation of the earth,
 The marrow of the world, starre of the West,
 The pearle, whereby this lower Orbe is blest,
 The ioy of mortals, vmpire of all strife,
 Delight of nature, *Mithridate* of life;
 The daintiest dish of a delicious feast,
 By taking which man differs from a beast.
 Thrice happie Isles, which steale the worlds delight,
 And doe produce so rich a Margarite . . .

Nicot is praised for his introduction of this rare plant into France.

All goods, all pleasures it in one doth linke,
 Tis Phifick, clothing, Mufick, meate and drinke . . .

It is natural that this gem of plants should be in a land beset and protected by beasts and savages. It doth far excel gold in its excellence—it is a panacea, the divinest herb of ancient or modern days. With it one need fear no ill and one may safely ignore the ponderous herbalists and the whims of physicians. The author concludes his extravaganza with a mock-heroic flourish, undoubtedly aimed at those too careless in their use or praise of tobacco:

Here could I tell you, how vpon the seas
 Some men haue fasted with it fortie daies:
 How those, to whom *Plinie* no mouths did giue,
 Doe only on diuine *Tabacco* liue . . .
 How a dull *Cynick* by the force of it
 Hath got a pleasing gesture, and good wit . . .
 How many Cowards bafe and recreant,
 By one pipes draught were turned valiant,
 And after in an artificiall mift
 Haue ouerthrowne their foes before they wist:
 How one that dreamt of a *Tabacco* roll,
 Though sick before, was straight made perfect whole.
 Peace prating Muse, offend fage eares no more,
 Die in the seas which canst not get the shore,
 And finke, as ouerwhelm'd with too much matter,
 Least telling all the world should thinke thee flatter:
 . . . klok'd with vapours of a duskie hue,
 Bid both the world and thy sweet herbe Adue.

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A–E⁴; F² [last, prob. blank, lacking]). Printed by F. Kingston, with his device on the title.¹

MOROCCO, by F. Bedford. Size of leaf: 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{3}{16}$ inches. Sheet A, with lower margins extended, is from another copy.

B₁^a contains the notation “2^d” in Luttrell’s hand. The condition of this page indicates that the volume long lacked the preceding sheet.

¹ See the note on this device, *infra*.

From the collections of Narcissus Luttrell [1657–1732], Rev. Edward Wynne (not indicated in his sale-catalogue, 1786), and the “property of a Lady” (Sotheby’s, 18 June 1903, n. 780).

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 1695 [records four copies, but not this]. *Haz.*, *H.*, 608. *Arb.*, 94. *The Poetical Decameron*, J. P. Collier (1820), i, 188–192. *F.*, 63 ff. Steinmetz, 2*NQ.*, n. 71, p. 364.

McKerrow remarks (No. 328) that unless the device which appears on the title should be found earlier than 1600 it may be assumed to have special reference to Bodenham’s *Bel-vedère*, 1600, a collection of quotations from contemporary poets. Collier (*op. cit. sup.*) found in this device an illustration of “the tobacco-plant growing in the cleft of ‘the bi-forked hill’”—a quaint idea echoed by Fairholt.

ACOSTA, José de (1539–1600)

AMERICÆ NONA & POSTREMA PARS. Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1602.

[*Translation of title*] The ninth and last part of America, which treats abundantly of its origins, of the nature of the New World, of the superstitious cults of its inhabitants and of the form of its government. A list of all the Mexican kings is added, from the first down to the last, Montezuma II. To which is joined the ceremony of their coronation and burial, with an enumeration of the wars which the Indians have carried on with each other. With these [accounts] is a description of that voyage which five Dutch ships attempted in the year 1598 through the Straits of Magellan to the Molucca Islands. Showing how, a tempest having arisen and Captain Sebald de Weert having been separated from the other ships (after he had been with infinite hardships miserably driven about in the Strait for several months), he finally returned home, after two years, in the year 1600, without having accomplished the feat. Thirdly, is added the recent voyage, which Olivier van Noort, in command of four ships, has lately undertaken, who, after the fleet had passed through the Straits of Magellan, for a period of three years traversed the whole earth in an extraordinary kind of voyage. Those things which were noted as singular and memorable on the journey are added. All translated into Latin from the German and besides adorned by the most elegant copper-plate illustrations and published [by] Theodore de Bry [through] his widow and two sons. At Frankfort at the shop of Matthias Becker. 1602.

On Aa₁^b and Ii₃^a–Ii₄^a occur, respectively, the passages recorded in n. 35, the first referring to tobacco and to Monardes, the second containing the account of the *Petum* unction. The explanatory word *Nicotiana* has been added.

FIRST EDITION. (Latin America, Part IX of De Bry’s *Grands Voyages*.) Folio ()⁴; A–Z⁴; Aa–Xx⁴; Yy⁶ [last, blank]; aa–ee⁴; ff⁶; AA–GG⁴; AAA–LLL⁴; MMM⁶; aaa–ddd⁴ [last, blank, lacking]).

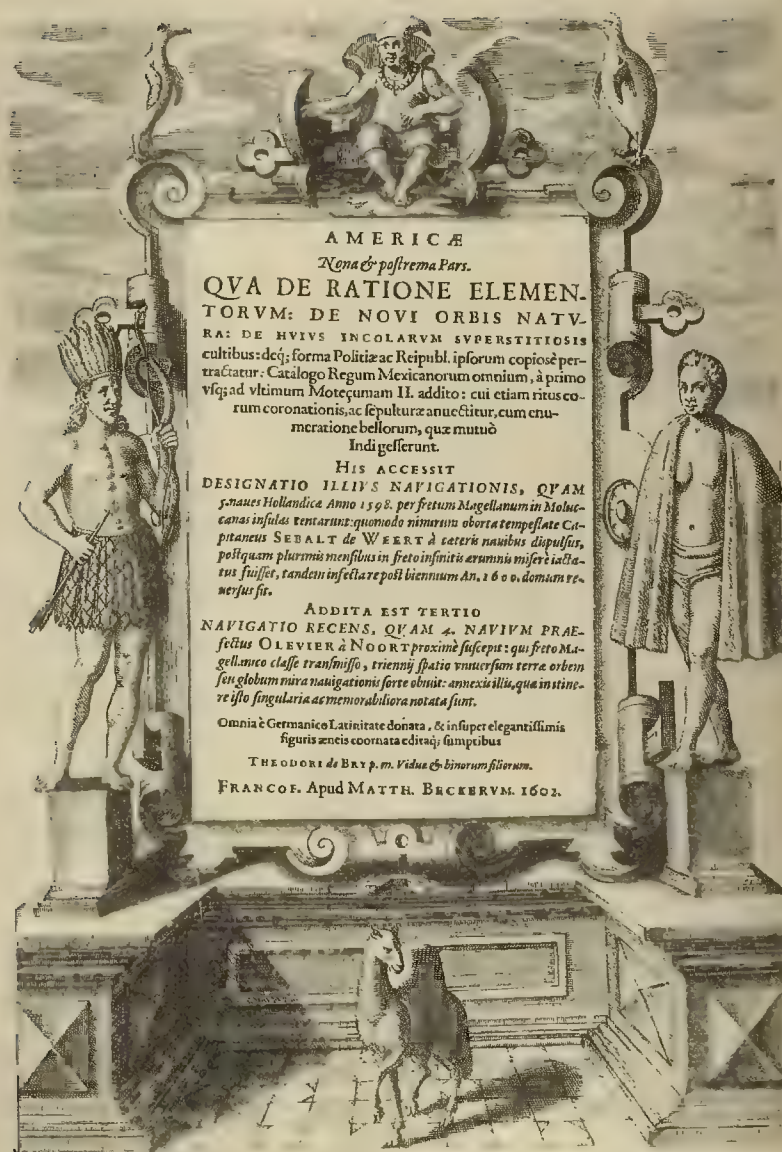
ENGRAVED TITLE, coat of arms of Christian, Duke of Saxony (printed directly on the page), small engraving on two sectional titles, map of Straits of Magellan, and thirty-nine half-page plates. There are no pasted plates in this copy. Two plates, on aa₄ and aaa₄, have been transposed.

MOROCCO, by Riviere. Size of leaf: 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

The first section of twenty-five plates has been incorrectly bound after the second title to the plates, while the second group of fourteen plates follows the title to the “Additamentum.”

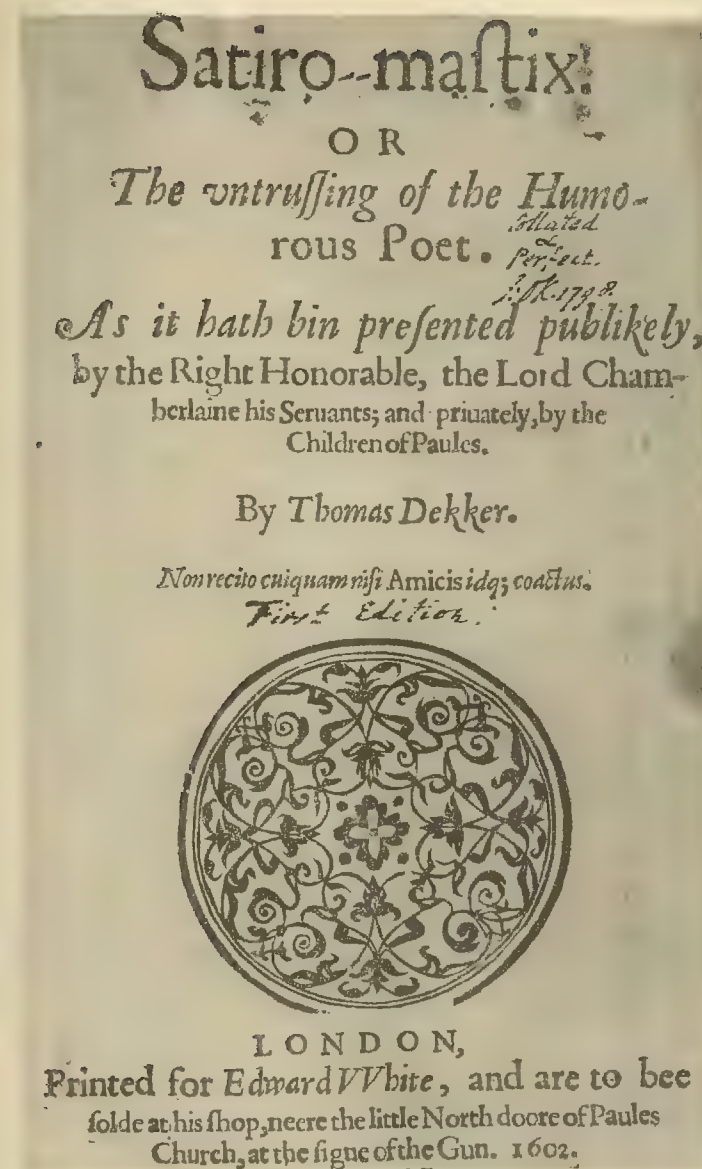
REFERENCES: Crawford, 145. C., n. 168. J., i (ii), 406–407.

In addition to the seven books of Acosta (*v. notes* to n. 35) this volume contains the relation of Sebald de Weert’s voyage to the Moluccas, 1598, written by Zacharias Heyns, and an account of Olivier de Noort’s expedition, 1598–1601. The translation of Acosta’s text employed by De Bry seems to have been especially made for this part.



TITLE OF DE BRY, LATIN AMERICA, PART IX, 1602

Brunet remarks that the words *postrema Pars* on the first title "seem to indicate that the heirs of Theodore De Bry intended to end their collection there; and, in fact, it was not till seventeen years later, in 1619, that Johann Theodor De Bry continued it by issuing the Tenth Part. He had published the German text of the same Part the preceding year." (i, p. 1331.)



TITLE OF DEKKER, 1602

IN AN age when many dramatists displayed a genial disregard for historical accuracy, tobacco was occasionally associated with periods in which the "divine herb" was certainly unknown. Dekker's incorporation of the characters and manners of contemporaries in this chronicle play, set in the time of William II of England, provides the earliest instance of a nicotian anachronism in English drama.¹

Asinius Bubo, the familiar of Horace, calls upon that "Humorous Poet" (a character satirizing Ben Jonson). Horace is in the midst of composing an epithalamium to

¹ Cf. nos. 91, 168, 232, 289.

which "my braines haue giuen affault . . . but this morning." He wishes his friend to listen to it, "for they are the best lynes that euer I drew." Heavy-witted Asinius lights his pipe, remarking, "Heer's the best leafe in England, but on, on, Ile but tune this Pipe."

As the scene proceeds it becomes obvious that Asinius cares not so much for poetry as for his soothing pipe. Horace ends a line:

. . . Bright as *Eoan* fire.

Afini. O pure, rich, ther's heate in this, on, on.

Hor. Bright as *Eoan* fire,

O me thy Priest inpire!

For I to thee and thine immortall name---*marke this.*

In flowing numbers fild with spryte and flame.

Afini. I mary, ther's spryte and flame in this.

Hor. A pox, a this Tobacco.

Afin. Wod this cafe were my laft, if I did not marke [pay attention], nay all's one,² I haue alwayes a confort of Pypes about me, myne Ingle [male paramour] is all fire and water; I markt, by this Candle (which is none of Gods Angels) I remember, you started back at sprite and flame.

Asinius acts the better listener after that. When Horace asks if he has seen his acrostic, he says, "Ile put vp my pypes and then Ile see any thing." The poet has other early visitors, Crispinus and Demetrius.³ The salutations over, Asinius shows he is a generous "tobacconist."

Afin. . . . Demetrius Fannius, wil you take a whiffe this morning? I haue tickling geare now, heer's that will play with your nose, and a pype of mine owne scowring too.

Dem. I, and a Hodghead too of your owne, but that will neuer be scowred cleane I feare.

Afin. I burnt my pype yesternight, and twas neuer vfde fince, if you will tis at your seruice gallants, and Tobacco too, tis right pudding I can tell you; a Lady or two, tooke a pype full or two at my hands, and praizde it for the Heauens, shall I fill Flannius?

Dem. I thanke you good Afinius for your loue,

I fildome take that Phificke, tis enough

Hauing fo much foole to take him in snuffe.⁴

Horace urges Asinius to read some book; the latter engages unwillingly in that exercise, taking tobacco the meantime. Later, when the turbulent and boastful Captain Tucca invades the poet's room, Asinius invites him to a whiff, but is gruffly rejected. [B₄^b-C₃^a, C₄^b]

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A-M⁴ [last, probably blank, lacking]).

MOROCCO, by Macdonald. Size of leaf: 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 3 $\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Each leaf inlaid, by J. P. Kemble (1757-1823).

² He seems here to have broken his clay in emphasizing his protest.

³ *I.e.* Dekker.

⁴ The sense of the phrase "to take . . . in snuffe"

here is undoubtedly the one then popular: to take offense, or to have disdain for something. Cf. the use of "snuffe" in nos. 33 and 53.

On the last leaf is written the name and date of an early owner, "Ja: Crowe [?]-1649," who appears to have been the reader who scored through all references to the Deity or to Jesus in the text. On the title is a customary notation in Kemble's hand.

From the collections of James Crowe [?], John Philip Kemble, the Duke of Devonshire [1790-1858], Henry E. Huntington, and John L. Clawson (1926, n. 224), with the label of the last.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 6521. Ch., iii, 293 and 365-366. *SAB.*, ii, 106-107. Penniman, Chap. IX, De Ricci, n. 224. *Thomas Dekker*, Mary L. Hunt (1911), 64-75. *The Satire of John Marston*, Morse S. Allen (1920), 45-51.

In 1601, during the "war of the theatres" (*v.* concluding notes to n. 59), Jonson composed his *Poetaster* (published in 1602). In that work he anticipated an expected attack by satirising Dekker as Demetrius. It was the first appearance of Dekker in the anti-Jonsonian camp. *Satiro-mastix*, "the playwrights' joint and official reply to Jonson," was acted probably in 1601, according to Dr. Chambers. Dekker, it seems, had been at work upon a species of chronicle play dealing with the story of Sir Walter Tirel (or Tyrrell), the reputed slayer of King William II. When he received the professional order to reply to Jonson, he "very inartificially grafted on this story the group of Jonson's characters [in *Poetaster*], and banded Jonson's own satire back upon him." See also Schelling (i, pp. 486 ff.), where a further account of this satire is available.

DURANTE, Castore (c. 1529-1590)

HERBARIO NOVO. Venice, 1602.

[*Translation of title*] New Herbarium of Castore Durante, doctor and citizen of Rome. With drawings which represent the live plants growing in all Europe and in the East and West Indies. With Latin verses, which comprehend the faculties of the medical simples. With discourses, which show the names, the species, the appearance, the place, the time, the quality and the wonderful virtues of the plants, together with the amount and method of using them, displaying rare secrets and singular remedies to cure the most difficult infirmities of the human body. With two very full tables, one of the plants, and the other of the diseases, and of everything which is contained in the work. With the license and privilege. [Sessa's device] At Venice, from the press of Sessa, 1602.

THE first work published in Italy (excluding the translation of Monardes, 1575, n. 20) which gave a fairly full account of the medicinal value credited to tobacco was the *Herbario Nuovo* of 1585.¹ Its author, Durante, was an Italian herbalist and physician of some distinction. He was the earliest, too, it seems, who recorded in print (1585) the fact that Cardinal Prospero di Santa Croce had brought tobacco into Italy from Portugal.²

The Cardinal's importation was undoubtedly the seeds of *N. rustica*, then readily available in Portugal. Durante illustrates only a variety of *N. Tabacum*, however, and applied a familiar name for tobacco, *Herba Santa Croce* (originally attached to the species introduced from Portugal), to the tobacco plant generally.³

¹ Among the works of interest in the history of tobacco which preceded Durante's in Italy were Mattioli's (*v.* n. 11) and that of Andrea Cesalpino. In the latter's *De Plantis*, 1583, is included a notice

of *erba tornabuona* (*i.e.*, *N. Tabacum*—*v. supra*, p. 229), largely derived from Monardes (n. 15).

² *V.* the introduction to n. 11.

³ *V.* Comes, p. 84.

HERBARIO NOVO

DI CASTORE DURANTE
MEDICO, ET CITTADINO ROMANO.

Con Figure, che rappresentano le viue Piante, che nascono in tutta Europa, & nell'Indie Orientali, & Occidentali.

Con Versi Latini, che comprendono le facultà de i semplici medicamenti.

Con Discorsi, che dimostrano i Nomi, le Specie, la Forma, il Loco, il Tempo, le Qualità, & le virtù mirabili dell'Herbe, insieme col peso, & ordine da usarle, scoprendosi rari Secreti, & singolari Rimedij da sanar le più difficili Infirmità del corpo humano.

Con due Tauole copiosissime, l'vna delle Herbe, & l'altra delle Infirmità, & di tutto quello che nell'opera si contiene.

CON LICENTIA, ET PRIVILEGIIS



IN VENETIA
Appresso li Sessa. MDCII.

TITLE OF DURANTE, 1602

Faithful to his custom of providing entertainment as well as information, Durante introduces his subject with a Latin poem, long to remain popular. This describes the manifold virtues of the admirable plant called *Herba Santa Croce* and lauds its Italian godfather. It is beneficial to the eyes, heals wounds, cures the king's evil, the tooth-

ache, and pains of the belly or the head. It is of great value to the gums, induces sleep, and covers the bare bones with flesh. It is better for diseases of the thorax and lungs than any other herb. Prosper Santa Croce brought this herb back from Portugal for the benefit of the Roman people, as his ancestors formerly brought back the wood of the holy cross, which is now so great a comfort to all Christendom . . .

In the systematic botanical account in Italian which follows the poem, the author notes that there are two species of the plant, the "masculine," with pointed leaves, and the "feminine," with rounded leaves.⁴ Tobacco grows to a good size, sometimes higher than the lemon tree. The flower is bell-shaped, of a purplish color, with the inner part flesh-colored (etc., etc.) A few of the names by which tobacco is known in other lands, an account of its species, habitats, etc., are included. A long portion—derived from the works of Liébault (n. 12), Monardes (n. 15), and others—is devoted to the medicinal properties and uses in the forms of juice, oil, water, in leaves, etc. [T^{a-b}]



HERBA SANTA CROCE

This was intended to portray *N. Tabacum*⁵

SECOND EDITION. Folio (†⁶; A-Z⁶; Aa-Rr⁶; Index and Table, Ss-Tt⁸; woodcut illustrations, Vu⁶; Xx⁴. Colophon and smaller device of printer on v^o of last.).

WOODCUT PORTRAITS (including that of the author) on the verso of title; numerous cuts of plants in text; ten leaves at end containing woodcuts.

OLD VELLUM. Size of leaf: 12 1/2 x 8 13/16 inches.

Undecipherable library stamp on title, together with the names of early owners; marginal annotations in a contemporary hand.

REFERENCES: *SG.*, 2d Ser., IV. *BM.* La. *Europe*, 56. *Arber*, 85-86. *Santa Croce* [by F. P. Rice?] (ed. 1887), 56-62 (where occurs a prose translation of the Latin poem). *Pritzel*, n. 2552. *Comes*, 83, 84.

The notice of tobacco and the cut occupy the same leaves in the first edition of 1585.

The *Herbario Nuovo* is the best known of Durante's works. His manner of treating subjects of natural history and botany, "bedizened with Latin verse," has been described by Agnes Arber as "charmingly unscientific," but that is the educated opinion of a later age. During Durante's own time his works were widely read and seriously accepted. The *Herbario Nuovo* alone went through a considerable number of editions.

* * *

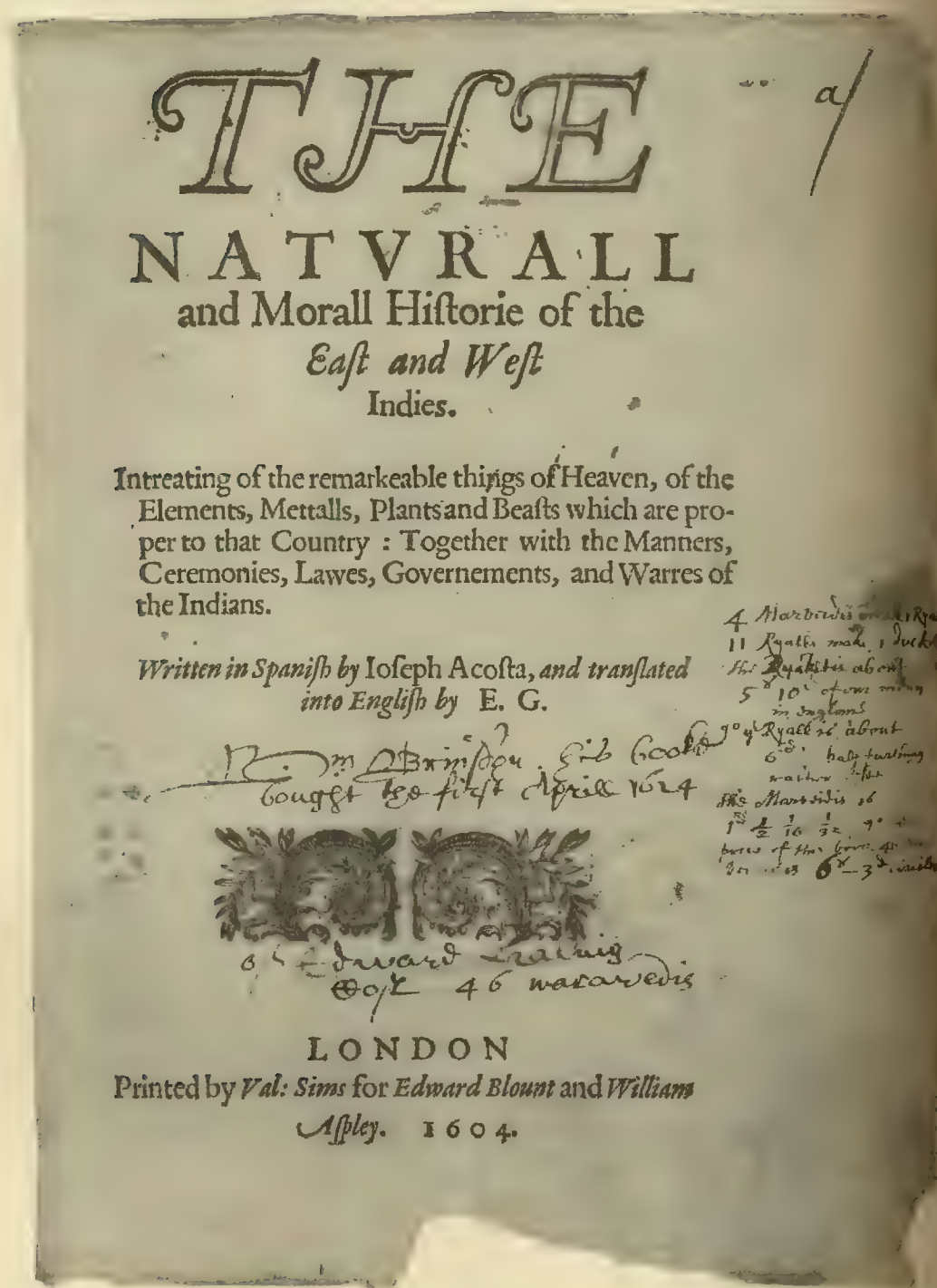
No. 66-a The fifth edition, Venice, 1667, is also in this collection. The cut of the plant and identical text occur on S₅^b-S₆^a.

⁴ *N. Tabacum* and *N. rustica*, respectively. The description thereafter applies only to the former.

⁵ Prof. Setchell considers that it represents one of

the numerous crosses between *N. Tab.* var. *brasiliense* and *N. Tab.* var. *havanense*. The tendency, on the whole, is towards the *havanense* type of *N. Tabacum*.

ACOSTA, José de (1539–1600), translated by E. GRIMSTONE? (c. 1542–c. 1639)
THE NATVRALL . . . HISTORIE OF THE . . . INDIES. London, 1604.



TITLE OF ACOSTA, 1604

On V₂^a is the passage on tobacco; on Dd₃^b–Dd₄^a is that relating to the *petum* unction.
From these have been derived the excerpts given in n. 35, the original edition.

FIRST ENGLISH EDITION. Small quarto (A⁴ [first, blank except for "A," lacking]; a–b⁴ [last, blank]; B–Z⁸; Aa–Pp⁸).

MOROCCO. Size of leaf: 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

The title is inscribed: "Wm. Brinsdon his booke bought the first of Aprill 1624," etc. In the same hand is written thereon a table of comparative money values of Spanish and English coins, and there is also a two-page addition (of chapters) to the table of contents.

REFERENCES: STC., 94. C., n. 328. S., i, n. 131. Palau, i, 11.

The ascription of this translation to Grimstone rests upon slender evidence; he is usually referred to as the "supposed translator." Only indefinite biographical data relating to him exist. The date of his marriage, 1612, is given in *The Visitation of Suffolk*, ed. W. C. Metcalfe (1882). Whoever was responsible for the English version, however, produced a work which is, on the whole, creditable and trustworthy, except for occasional blunders in the use of proper names and native words. The English edition was reprinted by the Hakluyt Society (1880), edited by Clements R. Markham.

JAMES I (1566–1625)

A COVNTERBLASTE TO TOBACCO. London, 1604.

THE English propaganda against the social use of tobacco, so inauspiciously begun by Philaretus (n. 61), received a powerful impetus from the support of James I. Among western monarchs he was the first to condemn the popular habit and the only ruler to take up his pen to express his disapproval.¹ The detestation in which he held tobacco became something of an obsession which lasted his lifetime. He had, no doubt, a natural aversion to the herb, but this seems to have been intensified by a well-nurtured malice against Raleigh, generally credited with the introduction of tobacco into England.

Certainly by the time James I ascended the English throne, the new fashion of smoking had developed some unpleasant features in the social life of London. The righteous spirit of the king rose before the awful spectacle; he girded himself for battle—and charged into a smoke-screen. But the royal effort proved a puff, not a blast, and the habit against which it was directed began to develop even broader characteristics.

In his preface to the reader James writes in the patriarchal vein of one deeply concerned for the welfare of his children, his subjects, saying in part:

... Peace and wealth [in England] hath brought forth a generall sluggishnesse, which makes vs wallow in all forts of idle delights, and soft delicacies . . . and generally all forts of people [are become] more carefull for their priuat ends, then for their mother the Common-wealth.

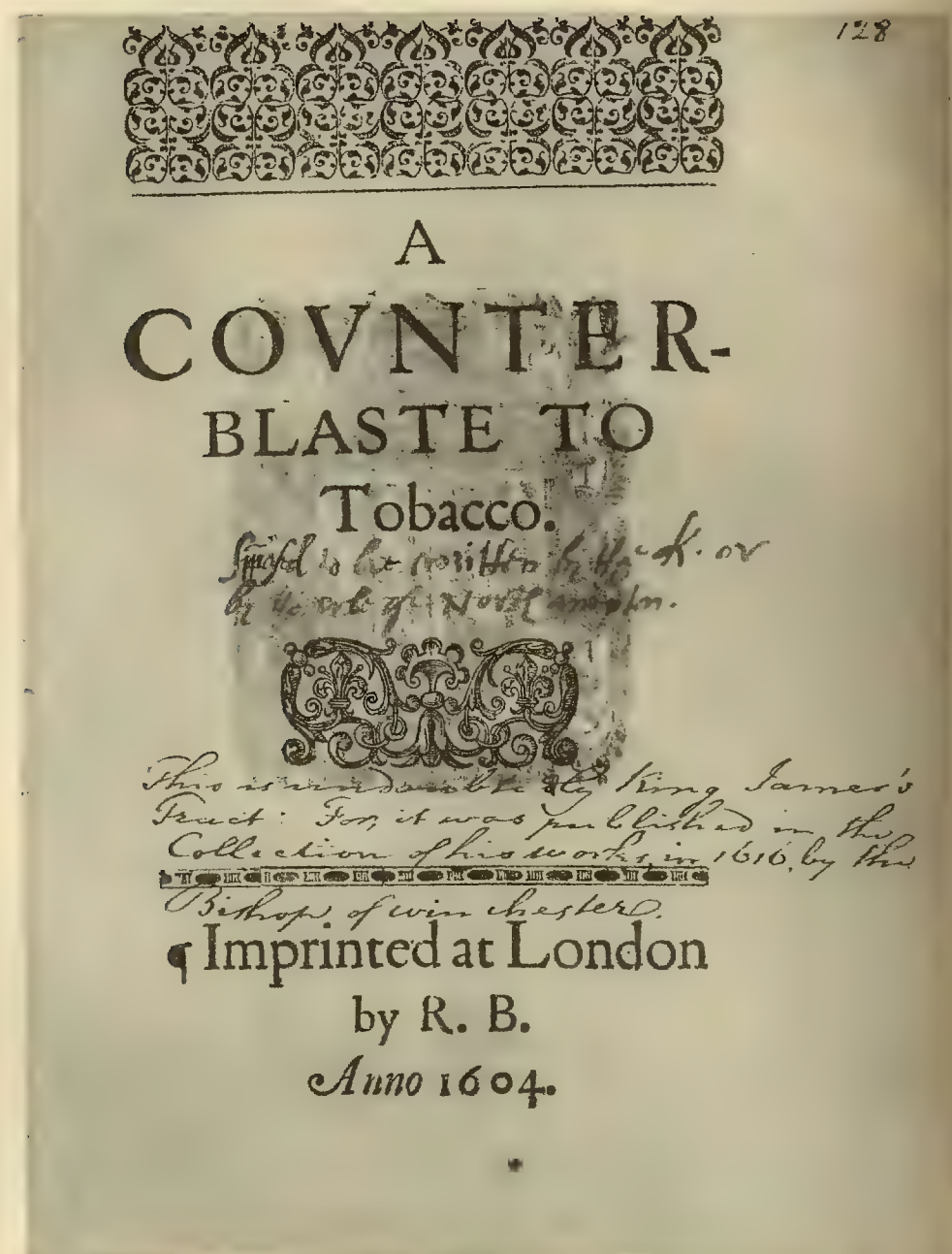
For remedie whereof, it is the Kings part (as the proper Phifician of his Politicke-body) to purge it of all those difeases, by Medicines meete for the fame . . .

And surely in my opinion, there cannot be a more base, and yet hurtfull, corrup-

¹The composition of the *Counterblaste* was probably undertaken shortly after James' accession to the throne in 1603. Although he refrained from acknowledging it publicly before 1616 (v. n. 124),

his authorship was an open secret. The preface alone, or the king's arms which decorated the verso of the title, indicate that there was no serious intention to conceal the royal origin of the piece.

tion in a Countrey, then is the vile vse (or rather abuse) of taking Tobacco in this Kingdome, which hath mooued me, shortly to discouer the abuses thereof in this following little Pamphlet.



TITLE OF JAMES I, 1604

If any thinke it a light Argument, so is it but a toy that is bestowed vpon it. And since the Subiect is but of Smoke, I thinke the fume of an idle braine, may serue for a sufficient battery against so fumous and feeble an enemy. [A₃^b-A₄^b]

. . . And now good Countrey men, let vs (I pray you) confider, what honour

or policie can mooue vs to imitate the barbarous and beastly maners of the wilde, godlesse, and flauish *Indians*, especially in so vile and stinking a custome? Shall wee that disdaine to imitate the maners of our neighbour *France* (hauing the stile of the first Christian Kingdom) and that cannot endure the spirit of the Spaniards (their King being now comparable in largenes of Dominions, to the great Emperor of *Turkie*) Shall wee, I say, that haue bene so long ciuill and wealthy in Peace, famous and inuincible in Warre, fortunate in both, we that haue bene euer able to aide any of our neighbours (but neuer deafed any of their eares with any of our supplications for assistance) shall we, I say, without blushing, abase our selues so farre, as to imitate these beastly *Indians*, slaues to the *Spaniards*, refuse to the world, and as yet aliens from the holy Couenant of God? Why doe we not as well imitate them in walking naked as they doe? in preferring glasse, feathers, and such toyes, to golde and precious stones, as they do? yea why do we not denie God and adore the Deuill, as they doe?

Now to the corrupted basenefse of the first vse of this *Tobacco*, doeth very well agree the foolish and groundlesse first entry thereof into this Kingdome. It is not so long since the first entry of this abuse amongst vs here, as this present age cannot yet very well remember, both the first Author, and the forme of the first introduction of it amongst vs. It was neither brought in by King, great Conquerour, nor learned Doctor of Phisicke.

With the report of a great discouery for a Conquest, some two or three Sauage mē, were brought in, together with this Sauage custome.^[2] But the pitie is, the poore wilde barbarous men died, but that vile barbarous custome is yet alieue, yea in fresh vigor: so as it seemes a miracle to me, how a custome springing from so vile a ground, and brought in by a father^[3] so generally hated, should be welcomed vpon so slender a warrant. For if they that first put it in practife heere, had remembered for what respect it was vsed by them from whence it came, I am sure they would haue bene loath, to haue taken so farre the imputation of that disease [i.e., syphilis] vpon them as they did, by vsing the cure thereof. [B₁^b-B₂^b]

He proceeds with an examination of the widely-advertised medical value of tobacco and its effects upon moist humors and other complaints. He finds much therein to deride. Its users are charged with slavish imitation, the foolish affectation of a foreign novelty, and it is denied that tobacco effects the great cures laid to it. Many have smoked themselves to death with this outlandish weed, but the advocates of this unholy vice then lay the cause to some other source. The author becomes satiric:

It cures all maner of distillations, either in the head or stomacke (if you beleeeue their Axiomes) although in very deede it doe both corrupt the braine, and by causing ouer quicke digestion, fill the stomacke full of crudities. It cures the Gowt in the feet, and (which is miraculous) in that very instant when the smoke

² James' oblique reference to an historic incident probably related to the return of Captains Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe, 1584. They had been sent out on Raleigh's first expedition, April 1584, and explored the coast from Florida to North Carolina. The natives were friendly and, among other amenities, presented them with the pipe of

peace. Upon their return to England, two Indians accompanied them.

It has also been thought that James may here have had in mind the return of Lane, in 1586 (v. *supra*, p. 315), who, it is said, brought three Indians home with him.

³ Raleigh is implied. V. the *Introduction*, p. 56, n. 6.

thereof, as light, flies vp into the head, the vertue thereof, as heaueie, runs downe to the little toe. It helpes all forts of Agues. It makes a man fober that was drunke. It refreshes a weary man, and yet makes a man hungry. Being taken when they goe to bed, it makes one sleepe foundly, and yet being taken when a man is sleepeie and drowfie, it will, as they say, awake his braine, and quicken his vnderstanding. As for curing of the Pockes, it ferues for that vse but among the pockie Indian slaues. Here in *England* it is refined, and will not deigne to cure heere any other then cleanly and gentlemanly diseafes. O omnipotent power of *Tobacco*! And if it could by the fmoke thereof chace out deuils, as the fmoke of *Tobias* fish did (which I am fure could smel no stronglier) it would ferue for a precious Relicke, both for the superstitious Priests, and the insolent Puritanes, to cast out deuils withall. [C₂^b-C₃^a]

Morally speaking, this vile custom is a form of sinful and shameful lust, a species of drunkenness. It disables its users physically so that in time of stress they could not serve their king and country. Some of the gentry bestow three to four hundred pounds a year upon this precious stink. What custom more vicious, what more unclean than to smoke at table, infecting the sweet air with dreadful tobacco?

Surely Smoke becomes a kitchin far better then a Dining chamber, and yet it makes a kitchin also oftentimes in the inward parts of men, foiling and infecting them, with an vnctuous and oily kinde of Soote, as hath bene found in some great *Tobacco* takers, that after their death were opened.^[4] [D₁^a]

And is it not a great vanitie, that a man cannot heartily welcome his friend now, but straight they muft bee in hand with *Tobacco*? No it is become in place of a cure, a point of good fellowship, and he that will refuse to take a pipe of *Tobacco* among his fellowes, (though by his owne election he would rather feele the fauour of a Sinke) is accounted peeuish and no good company . . . Yea the Miftresse cannot in a more manerly kinde, entertaine her feruant, then by giuing him out of her faire hand a pipe of *Tobacco*. But herein is not onely a great vanitie, but a great contempt of Gods good giftes, that the sweetnesse of mans breath, being a good gift of God, should be wilfully corrupted by this stinking fmoke . . .

He comes to his peroration with the oft-quoted lines:

A custome lothsome to the eye, hatefull to the Nose, harmefull to the braine, daungerous to the Lungs, and in the blacke stinking fume thereof, neereft resembling the horrible Stigian fmoke of the pit that is bottomelesse.

Partly because of the manner in which this tract was received, the king took more practical steps than mere censure of the practise of smoking, as will be seen. He was in an enviable position for a determined missionary who had a gospel to enforce. But it has not escaped the attention of historians that though he persecuted the weed he could, when commercial expediency dictated, make a profitable compromise with his prejudices.⁵

The *Counterblaste* has always held a unique position in nicotian literature. It is probably the most discussed of all tobacco books and certainly the one most generally

⁴ *V. the Introduction*, p. 57, n. 5.

⁵ *V. infra*, and nos. 105, 139 ff., and 158 "u."

known. Because it was the production of a king it became delusively magnified and acquired an importance far beyond its natural merits. Many contemporary writers sought to imitate it;⁶ some dared indirectly to challenge it.⁷

It may be remarked in passing that it is not nearly so bad as its critics maintain. While it is certainly prejudiced and occasionally pedantic or ill-informed, many of its common faults may be excused when one remembers the period in which it was produced, the obvious abuse of the habit of smoking then, the intrusive paternalism of its author (a condition of the reforming spirit), and his conscientious (and, it must be said, wholesome) doubts as to the medicinal value of tobacco.⁸

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A⁴ [first, blank]; B-C⁴; D²). Printed by Robert Barker.

VELLUM, by Riviere. With the Miller monogram on sides. Size of leaf: 6¾ x 5¼ inches.

The title is inscribed in a contemporaneous hand: "S^hposed to be written by Ye K[ing]. or by Ye erle of Northampton [Henry Howard, 1540-1616]." Below this, in a later hand: "This is undoubtedly King James's Tract: For it was published in the collection of his works, in 1616, by the Bishop of Winchester." (*V. n.* 124.)

Apparently once in a volume of tracts; marked "128" in an early hand.

From the library of S. R. Christie-Miller (March 31, 1924, n. 452; acquired 10 Sept. 1868).

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 14363 [records three copies, but not this]. Comes, 103. Mac., 38 ff., 51 ff., *et passim*. Cleland, 19 ff. La., *Europe*, 26-30. Arb.

When James came to the English throne tobacco had only a nominal duty of twopence the pound.⁹ He took immediate steps to reduce, if not actually to prevent its importation by increasing the duties to six shillings and tenpence the pound.¹⁰ If his subjects were to continue to smoke despite his fatherly advice he was determined to make the habit profitable to himself.

Fairholt, who was ever indignant with James, has a number of passages (inaccurate in several details) dealing with the king's regulation of the tobacco trade. He concludes one with "[The] use [of tobacco] increased in spite of all legislative measures, and James ended by prohibiting any person from dealing in the article, who did not hold his letters patent.^[11] By this means the trade was monopolised, the consumer oppressed, importation diminished, and the London Company of Virginian traders ultimately ruined. Those who are fond of excusing the evil acts of one of the worst of English Kings, pretend to see James's care for his subjects' health and wealth in these restrictions; totally regardless of the fact that James cared for neither when the monopoly brought large sums into his own pocket." (Pp. 84-85 and *cf.* p. 106.)

Of considerable interest as a concomitant to the *Counterblaste* is the following piece, issued shortly after the appearance of James' tract. It provided the prac-

⁶ *Cf.* nos. 117, 122.

⁷ *V. nos.* 75, 96, 109, 157, and *cf.* the *Introduction*, p. 56, n. 5.

⁸ *Cf.* n. 266 for further animadversions of the king on tobacco.

⁹ *V. infra*, p. 407; *cf.* the *Introduction*, p. 59, n. 1. H. D. Traill, *Social England* (1895, iii, p. 572), points out that soon after its introduction tobacco sold for 3s. an ounce—"at least 18s. of our money." *Cf.* the *Introduction*, p. 84.

¹⁰ This higher rate (an advance of 4000 per cent. over the former) made the duty alone equal to the equivalent of £2 the lb. today. From this excessive levy James I received at least 4d. on every pound imported. (*Cf.* the *Introduction*, p. 88, n. 7.) The increase was not maintained for more than a few years (*v. ibid.* p. 59, n. 2). The tobacco duties were subject to frequent revisions (*v. ibid.*, p. 84, n. 8, p. 89, n. 1 and n. 3, p. 92, n. 9, *et passim*).

¹¹ *V. n.* 142.



JAMES I

From the edition of 1672

tical interpretation of the king's precepts. The discrimination between the nobility and the common people, which is evident in the following decree, was carefully withheld from the text of the *Counterblaste*. This prejudice did not, however, escape the dramatists and others, and in *Monsieur D'Olive*, 1606 (n. 75), Chapman made use of it in a delicate satire. The order of the king read:

"JAMES, by the Grace of God, &c. to our right Trustie and right Welbeloved Cousen and Counsellor, *Thomas Earle of Dorset* our High Treasurer of Englande, Greetinge.

Whereas *Tabacco*, being a Drugge of late Yeres found out, and by Merchants, as well Denizens as Strangers, brought from forreign Partes in small quantitie into this Realm of England and other our Dominions, was used and taken by the better sort both

then and nowe onelye as Phisicke to preserve Healthe, and is now at this Day, through evell Custome and the Tolleration thereof, excessivelie taken by a number of ryotous and disordered Persons of meane and base Condition, whoe, contrarie to the use which Persons of good Callinge and Qualitye make thereof, doe spend most of there tyme in that idle Vanitie, to the evill example and corrupting of others, and also do consume that Wages whiche manye of them gett by their Labour, and wherewith there Families should be releived, not caring at what Price they buye that Drugge, but rather devisinge how to add to it other Mixture, thereby to make it the more delightfull to their Taste, though so much the more costly to there Purse; by which great and imoderate takinge of *Tabacco* the Health of a great number of our People is impayred, and their Bodies weakened and made unfit for Labor, the EStates of many mean Persons soe decayed and consumed as they are thereby dryven to unthrifitie Shifts onely to maynteyne their gluttonous exercise thereof, besides that also a great part of the Treasure of our Lande is spent and exhausted by this onely Drugge so licentiously abused by the meaner sorte, all which enormous Inconveniencies ensuinge thereupon We doe well perceave to proceed principally from the great quantitie of *Tabacco* daily brought into this our Realm of England and Dominions of Wales from the Partes beyond the Seas by Merchauntes and others, which Excesse We conceive might in great part be restrayned by some good Imposition to be laid upon it, whereby it is likelie that a lesse Quantitie of *Tabacco* will hereafter be broughte into this our Realm of England, Dominion of Wales and Town of Barwick then in former tymes, and yet sufficient store to serve for their necessarie use who are of the better sort, and have and will use the same with Moderation to preserve their Healthe;^[12]

We do therefore will and command you our Treasurer of Englande, and herebye also warrant and aucthorise you to geve order to all Customers Comptrollers Searchers Surveyors, and all other Officers of our Portes, that, from and after the sixe and twentieth Day of October next comynge, they shall demaunde and take to our use of all Merchauntes, as well Englishe as Strangers, and of all others whoe shall bringe in anye *Tabacco* into this Realme, within any Porte Haven or Creek belonging to any their severall Charges, the Somme of *Six Shillinges and eighte Pence* upon everye Pound Waight thereof, over and above the Custome of *Two Pence* upon the Pounce Waighte usuallie payde heretofore; &c., &c.

Wytnes our self at *Westminster* the seaventeenth Day of October. [1604]."
(Rymer, *Fœdera*, xvi, p. 601, ed. 1715.)

* * *

No. 68-a There is another copy of the first edition of the *Counterblaste* in this library, with the title in facsimile.

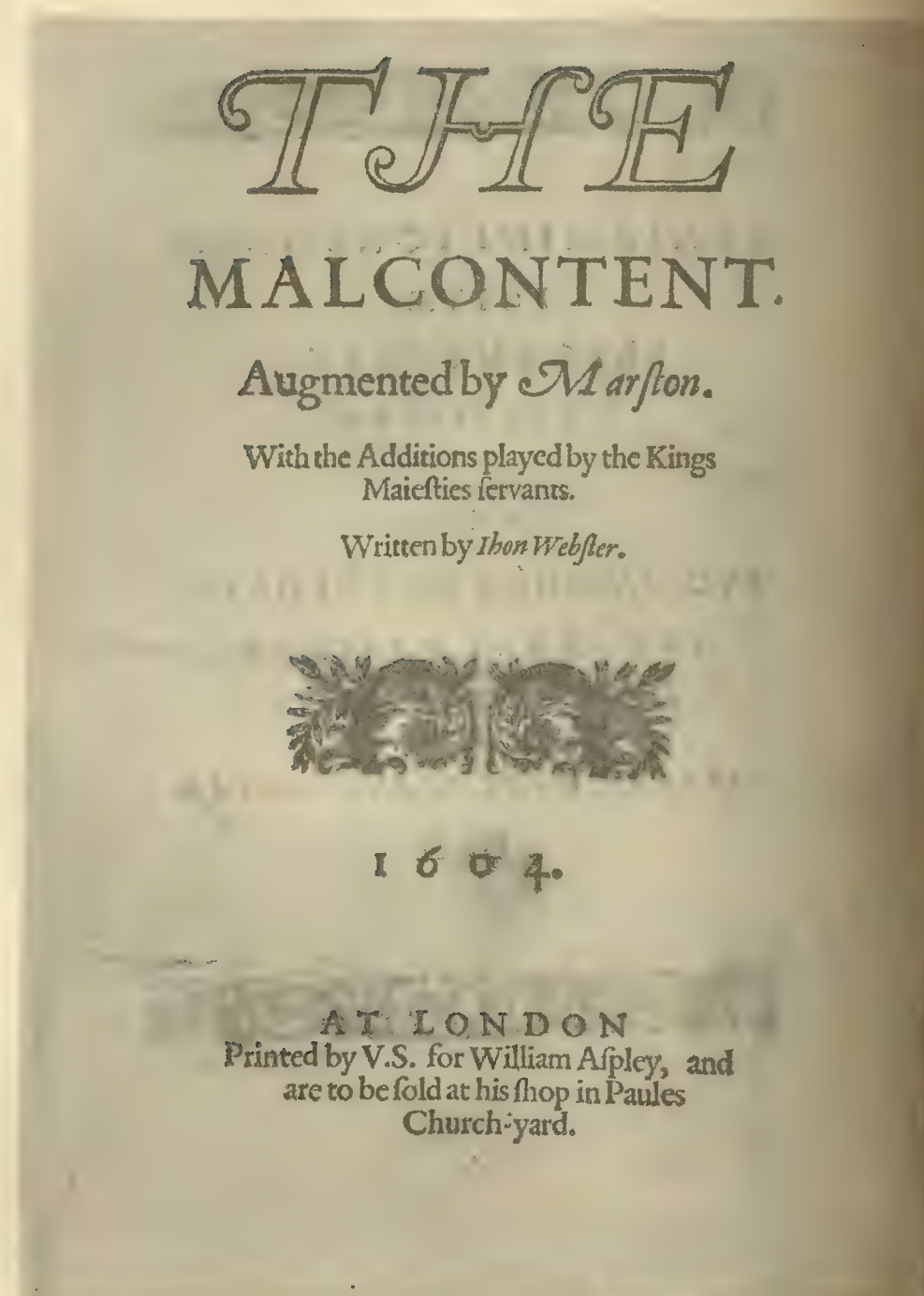
MARSTON, John (1575?-1634), edited by John WEBSTER (1580?-1625?)

THE MALCONTENT. London, 1604.

AMONG the privileges exacted by the Elizabethan dandy who would watch the performance of a play from a seat on the stage itself¹ was the right to "drink tobacco." This he would do with the flourishes becoming a gallant, thus impressing

¹² Cf. n. 75, at n. 9.

¹ Cf. n. 144, note on Epigram 28.



TITLE OF MARSTON, 1604

the groundlings with his dainty accomplishments. An interesting evidence of this custom is preserved in a line or two in Webster's "Induction" to this complex drama of intrigue.

After one, Sly, has resisted the appeals of an attendant to join the rest of the audience, he is approached by an actor representing John Lowin, who says:

Good fir will you leave the stage, Ile helpe you to a private roome [a box].

Sly: Come coofe, lets take fome Tobacco. Have you never a prologue?

Lew: Not any fir.

Sly: Let me fee, *I* will make one extempore.^[2] [A₄^b]

The saucy answer of Passarello, a jester, causes Malevole to exclaim, "Pue, thou giuest no good reafon, Thou speakeft like a foole." Whereupon the wise fool retorts and provides a thumb-nail sketch of the dandies he knew:

Faith I vtter fmall fragments as your knight courtes your Citty widow with jingling of his guilt spurres, aduauncing his bufh colored beard, and taking Tabacco. This is all the mirrour of their knightly complements. [C₄^{a-b}]

FIRST COMPLETE EDITION (Third Edition of the play). Small quarto (A-I⁴). Printed by V. Simmes.

MOROCCO, by Riviere. Size of leaf: 7 1/4 x 5 5/16 inches.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 17481. Ch., ii, 536; iii, 431. Sc., i, 543. *SAB.*, i, 129-132. Greg, *The Library*, ii (1921), 49-57, on the order of the three editions of 1604.

Three editions of this work were printed in 1604; the second, which was partly from the same setting as the first, had added to it a prologue and epilogue. This third edition was the first to contain Webster's "Induction" and Marston's additions.

No certain date of production has been ascertained; the original play was probably written in 1600-1601 and acted in 1603-1604.

MIDDLETON, Thomas (1570?-1627)

THE BLACKE BOOKE. London, 1604.

THIS vivid, satiric survey of London life owed its inception to Nash's *Pierce Penileffe his supplication to the diuell*, 1592. It was offered as the production of Pierce's satanic correspondent. In the introductory portion, "A Morall," Lucifer remarks:

The blacke Knight of the Pofte fhortly reternes
From Hell, where many a *Tabacc'nift* burnes:
With newes to fmoaky Gallants . . . [B₂^a]

Under "The laft Will and *Testament of* Lawrence Lucifer,^[2] the old Batchiler of *Limbo*. ALIAS, *Dicke Deuill-Barne*, the griping Farmer of *Kent*," occurs:

But turning my Legacie to you-ward, *Barnaby Burning-glasse*, Arch Tabacco-taker of England, in Ordinaryes, vppon Stages both common and priuate, and laftly, in the Lodging of your Drabbe and Miftrefse: I am not a little proud, I can tell you Barnaby, that you daunce after my Pipe fo long: and for all Counterblafts^[3] and Tabacco-Nafhes (which some call Raylers)^[3] you are not blowne away, nor your

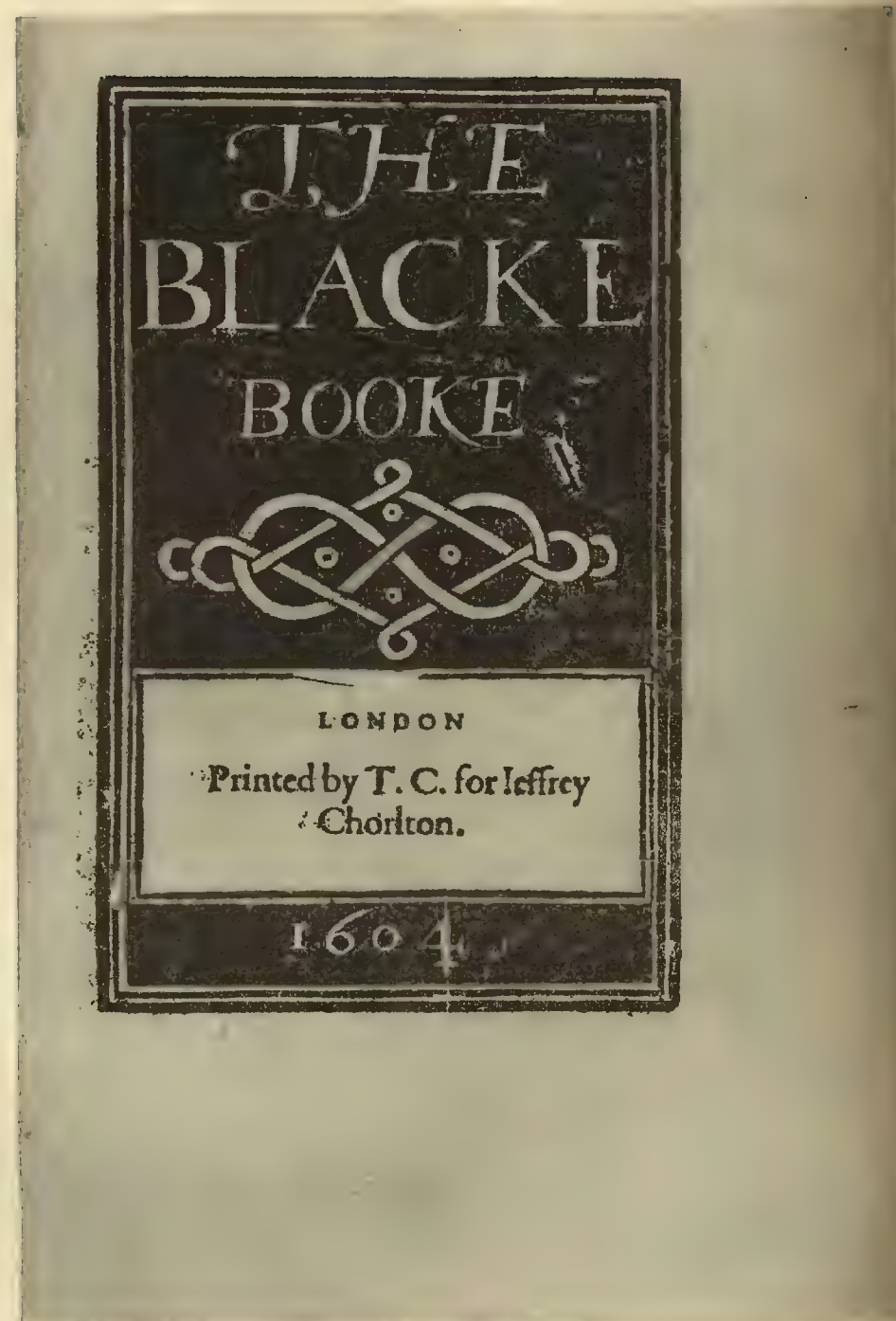
² This excerpt does not occur in the two prior editions of 1604. [N. 70:]

³ In relation to *The Blacke Booke* it should be noted that Pierce, in Nash's *Pierce Penileffe*, remarks to Laurence Lucifer, "It is fufpected that you

have beene a great Tobacco taker in your youth, which caufeth [the blackness of your face] to come fo to paffe . . ."

² V. n. 68.

³ In his *Father Hubburds tales* Middleton has the phrase, "Or if in bitternefs thou rail, like Nafh."



TITLE OF MIDDLETON, 1604

ferie thirst quencht with the small Penny-Ale of their contradictions, but still fuck that dug of damnation, with a long nipple [pipe-stem], still burning that rare Phænix of Phlegiton⁴ Tobacco, that from her ashes burnt and knockt out, may arise another pipefull: Therefore I giue and bequeath vnto thee, a breath of all

⁴ *I.e.*, the fiery, a river of Hades.

religions, faue the true one, and tastig of all countries, faue his owne: a brayne well footed, where the Mufes hang vp in the smoake like red Herrings: and looke how the narrow alley of thy pipe shoves in the inside, so shall all the pipes through thy body. Besides, I giue and bequeath to thy lungs, as smooth as Jet, and iust of the same colour, that when thou art closed in thy graue, the wormes may be consumed with them, and take them for blacke Puddings. [F₂^{a-b}]

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A-F⁴ [first and last, blank]). Printed by Thomas Creede.

MOROCCO, by W. Pratt. With the Miller arms impressed on sides. Size of leaf: 7 $\frac{5}{16}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{16}$ inches.

From the collections of Sir E. Isham (Lamport Hall), with the library label, and S. R. Christie-Miller (15 March 1923, n. 485).

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 17875 [records four copies, but not this]. *Works*, ed. A. H. Bullen (1886), viii. Jaggard, 216. Co., ix, 1 ff.

Fleay assigned all the writings signed T. M. to Thomas Moffett (Moufet or Muffet), a physician and writer on scientific subjects. In the Christie-Miller sale-catalogue this work is entered under Moffat. But Dyce and later authorities credit Middleton with its authorship, and their opinion has been generally accepted by bibliographers.

ROWLANDS, Samuel (1570?-1630?)

LOOKE TO IT: FOR, ILE STABBE YE. London, 1604.

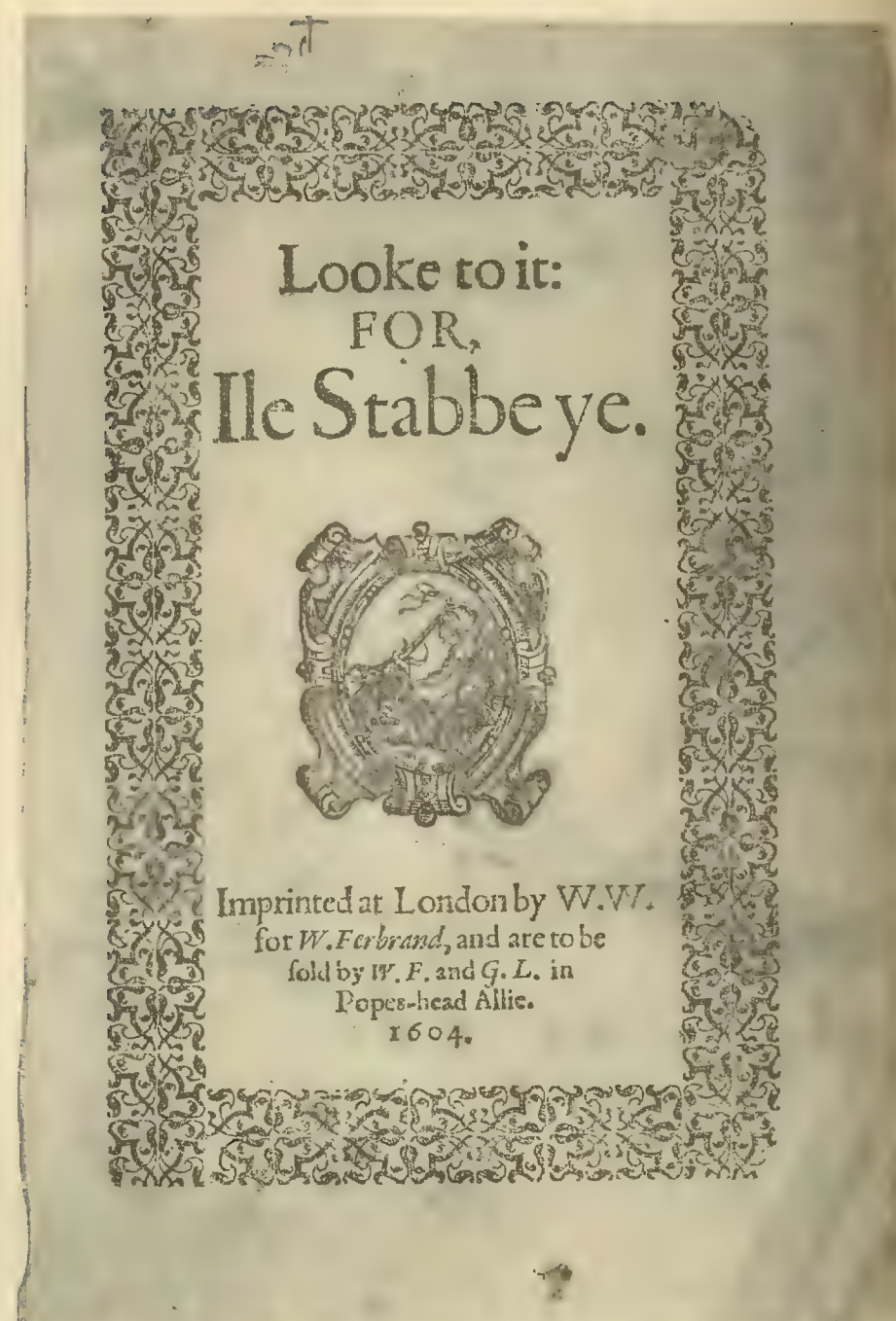
AMONG the Jacobean, two writers frequently entertained their readers and audiences with comments on tobacco—Ben Jonson and Samuel Rowlands. The latter (a prolific pamphleteer between 1598 and 1628) enlivened the popular poetry he produced with numerous references to the plant and its uses.¹

For the most part Rowlands' literary relations with tobacco were expressed in unfriendly verse. Undoubtedly he, together with most of his contemporaries, disapproved of the tobacco-extravagances of the gallants. But what is probably the best-known poem in early nicotian literature came from his pen (*v. n.* 94). With justice, therefore, he may be crowned Poet Laureate of tobacco.

The introductory piece (first following) suggests death's annoyance at the usurpation of his right to kill, by rascals who stab upon slight provocation. He himself will reserve that license and thereupon proceeds to describe the threescore or so evil types he will destroy, such as tyrant kings, greedy usurers, wealthy citizens, *et al.*

There is a Humour vfd of late.
By eue'ry Rascall fwagg'ring mate,
To giue the Stabbe: Ile Stabbe (fayes hee)
Him that dares take the wall of mee.
If you to pledge a Health denie,
Out comes his Poniard; there you lie.
If his Tobacco you disprayse,
He sweares, a Stabbe shall end your dayes. [A₂^a]

¹ *V.* nos. 83, 89, 94, 107, and 285.



TITLE OF ROWLANDS, 1604

Swaggring Ruffian.

You Swagg'rer, with your Hat without a band
 Your head beshagg'd with nittie lowfie lockes.
 You that vpon *Tabacco* vertue stand,
 Your only foueraigne medicine for the Pockes
 You that weare Bootes, and Ginglers [jinglets] at your heeles,

Yet whē you ride, your coatch hath but two wheeles . . .
 You that will coufen, cheat, robbe, kill, and steale,
 Till for your cloathes, Hangman and Broker deale.
 Ile choke yee. [D₂^a]

One other disapproving allusion occurs in the lines on "Filthy Pander":

Thou that art out-side horned like an Oxe,
 Thy in-side all *Tabacco*, and the Poxe.
 Ile Stabbe thee. [D₄^a]

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A-F⁴). Printed by William White (with his device on the title) for William Ferbrand and George Loftus.

MOROCCO, uncut, by [C. Lewis, c. 1820]. Size of leaf: 7 1/16 x 5 inches.

With notations relating to the provenance of the volume and various costs from the Farmer to the Perry sales, in Heber's hand.

From the collections of Narcissus Luttrell (his "3^d" marked on the title); Rev. Edward Wynne (1786); R. Farmer (1798, n. 7111); the Duke of Roxburghe (1812, n. 3351); James Perry (1822, III, n. 829); Richard Heber (1834, IV, n. 2426; bought by W. H. Miller); S. R. Christie-Miller (1922, n. 583), and John L. Clawson (1926, n. 683) with the bookplate of the last.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 21399 [inaccurately entered under n. 21398]. *Works* (Hunterian Club, 1880), i. Col., ii, 284 ff.

De Ricci, n. 683, catalogues this copy as the first edition. In the *STC.*, however, it is recorded as subsequent to the other edition of this year, printed "by E. Alde for W. Ferbrand; sold by G. Loftes." The Arents copy is the only one recorded.

CHAPMAN, George (1559?-1634)

1605

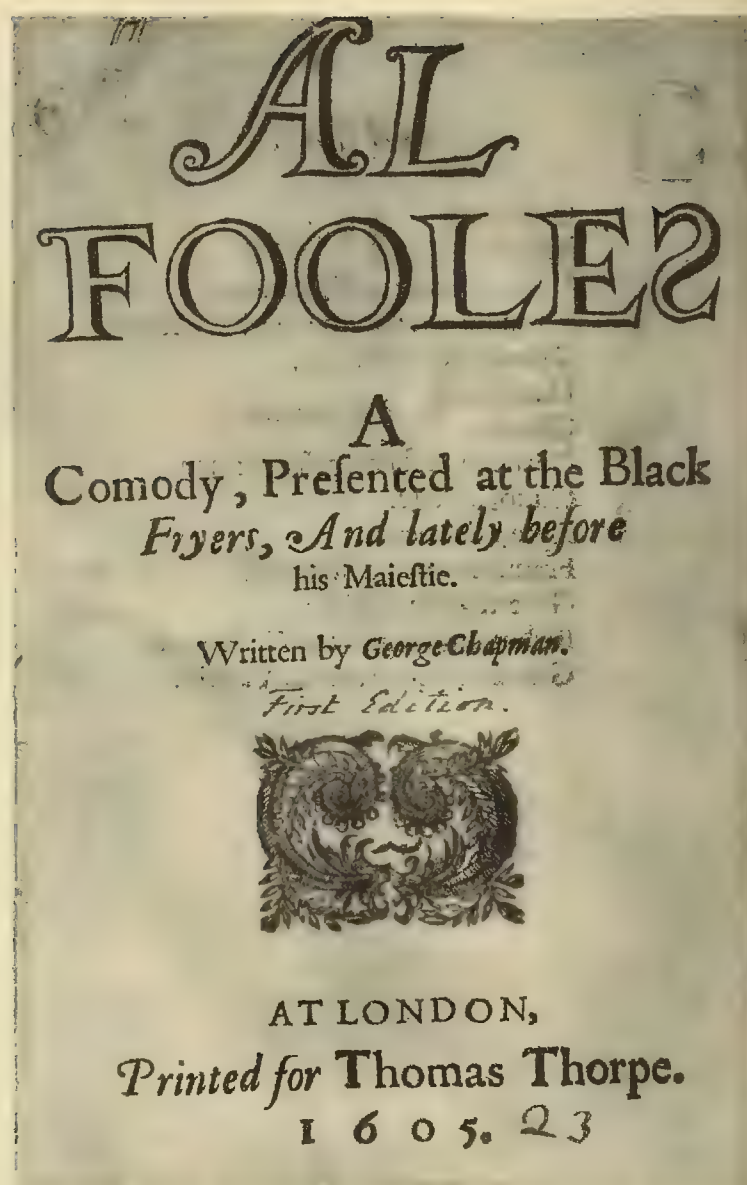
AL FOYLES. London, 1605.

GOSTANZO is admonishing his son, Valerio, for his shyness (a diffidence deliberately assumed). When he was but twenty-five, he boasts, he entertained a duchess (his father's guest) like an experienced courtier . . .

And for discourse in my faire Mistresse prefence,
 I did not as you barraine Gallants doe,
 Fill my discourses vp drinking *Tobacco* . . . [D₃^a]

In the Half Moon Tavern where the final scene and dénouement take place, Valerio, his secret wife, Gratiana, and others are gathered. They are joined by Dariotto, a courtier.

Val. Come on, let vs varie our sweete time
 With sundry exercises, Boy? *Tabacco*.
 And Drawer, you muft get vs musique too,
 Calls [call us] in a cleanly noyfe, the flaues grow lowzy.



TITLE OF CHAPMAN, 1605

Drawer. You fhall haue fuch as we can get you fir. *Exit.*

Dariot. Let's haue fome Dice: I pray thee, they are clenly.

Val. Page, Let mee fee that Leafe?

Page. It is not Leafe Sir, Tis pudding cane *Tabacco*:

Val. But I meane, your Linftock^[1] fir, what leafe is that I pray

Page. I pray you fee fir, for I cannot read.

Val. Sfoote a rancke flincking Satyre: this had been

Enough to haue poyfned euerie man of vs.

¹ A forked stick which held a gunner's match; here the piece of lighted paper torn from a book held by the tavern boy for the pipes of the guests.

Vendors of tobacco purchased quantities of un-

salable pamphlets, the leaves of which were then employed either as paper matches for pipes (v. n. 167, second excerpt), to wrap tobacco in (v. n. 205), or to dry it over a candle (cf. the illustration in n. 218).

Dari. And now you speake of that, my Boy once lighted

A pipe of Cane *Tabacco* with a peece

Of a vild Ballad, and Ile fweare I had

A finging in my head a whole weeke after.^[2]

Val. Well, th'old verfe is, *A potibus incipe io-c-um.* [H₄^b-I₁^a]

What appears to be the earliest allusion to tobacco shops in English dramatic literature occurs here in the passage where Rinaldo accuses Valerio of being "knowne in Ordinaries, and *Tabacco* fhops, Trufted in Tauernes . . ." [B₂^a] The reference suggests the existence in London (by 1600 or thereabouts) of at least a few establishments wholly devoted to the sale of tobacco, quite distinct from the common apothecary's³ or grocer's⁴ shops, which dealt in this commodity.

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto. (A⁴ [first, blank, lacking]; B-I⁴; K² [last, blank, lacking]). Printed by George Eld.

In some copies, as in this, the word "Comedy" in the title is misprinted "Comody," and there are textual variations. These variations do not provide any evidence for determining the order of printing; corrections, as usual, were made while the work was in press. Title pages with the misprint were probably the first pulled.

MOROCCO, by Macdonald. Size of leaf: 6 7/16 x 3 3/8 inches. Each leaf inlaid by John Philip Kemble [1757-1823], with his customary inscription, "Collated & Perfect. J. P. K. 1798," on the added margin.

From the collections of J. P. Kemble, the Duke of Devonshire [1790-1858], Henry E. Huntington, and G. D. Smith (1921, III, n. 45).

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 4963. Ch., iii, 252. Wise, i. 7N², X, 50, *et passim*. [*Comedies*] of George Chapman, ed. T. M. Parrott [1914].

It was the opinion of Swinburne that *Al Fooles* is one of the best comedies in the English language, a judgment furthered by Prof. Schelling (i, p. 462).

Al Fooles has been identified by some students with a play called *The World Runs on Wheels*, probably first acted in 1599. It appears to have undergone some revisions when presented by the boy's company at Blackfriars, 1603-1604.

MONARDES, Nicolás (c. 1512-1588), *translated and edited by* Charles de l'ESCLUSE (1526-1609)

EXOTICORVM LIBRI DECEM. Leyden, 1605.

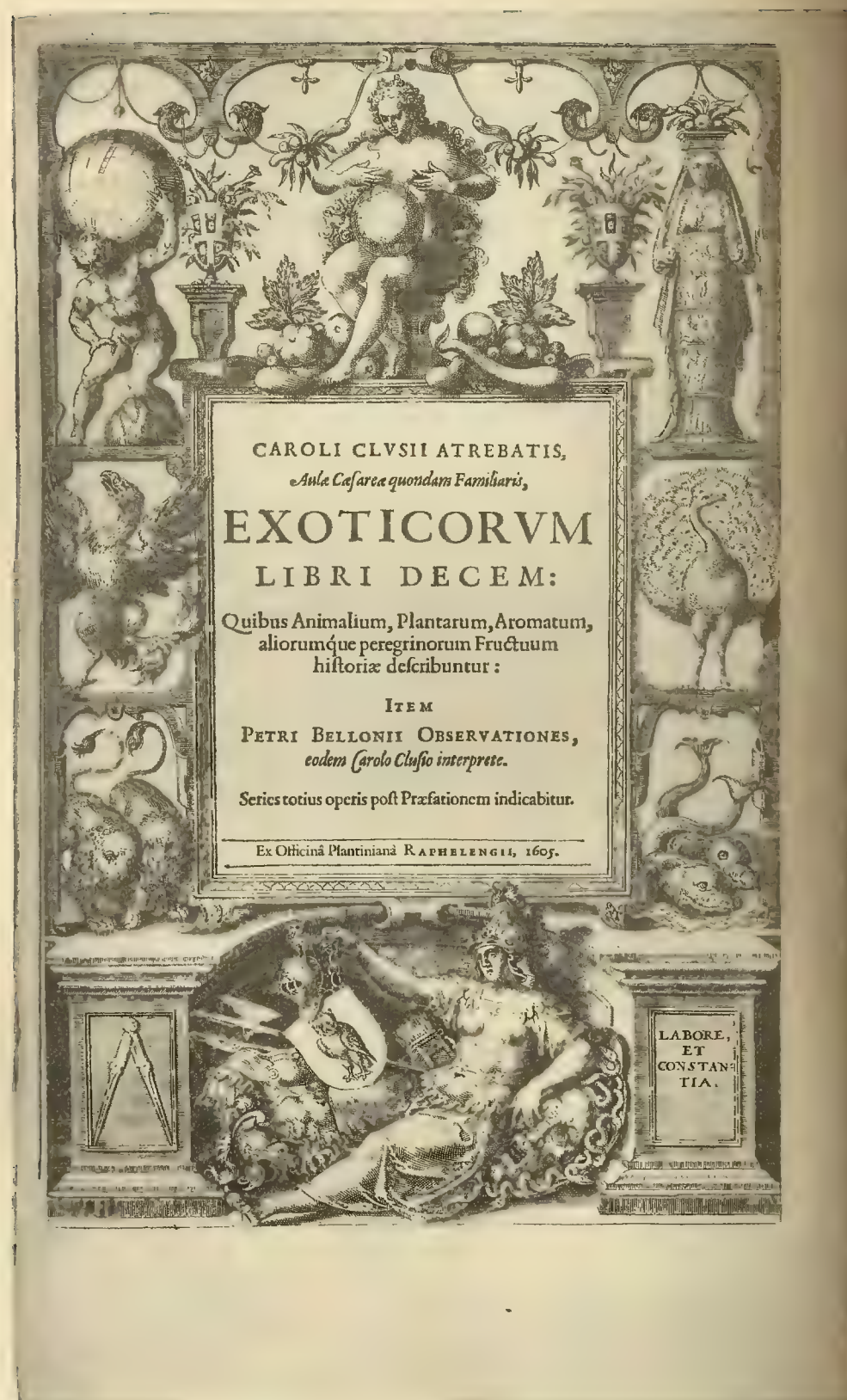
[*Translation of title*] Ten books of exotic things, by Charles de l'Escluse of Artois, once an attendant at the Imperial Court, in which the histories of animals, plants, spices, and other foreign products are written. Also, observations of Pierre Belon, the same Charles de l'Escluse being the translator. A table of the whole work will be given after the preface. [Leyden] From the Plantin printing-house of Raphelengien, 1605.

² This kind of "accident" seems to have been a popular jest with the wits and literati of the day. It occurs occasionally in contemporary works and Jonson is reported to have said that "One who fired a Tobacco pipe with a ballet [ballad] the next day having a sore-head, swoare he had a great sing-

ing in his head, and he thought it was the ballet: A Poet should detest a Ballet maker." (*Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond*, ed. R. F. Patterson, 1923, p. 41.)

³ Cf. nos. 46, 53, 57, 117.

⁴ Cf. nos. 117, 125 "d."



TITLE OF DE L'ESCLUSE, 1605

THE fourth book is the *Simplicium Medicamentorum Historia*, being the fourth appearance of De l'Escluse's abridged translation of Monardes. To this portion De l'Escluse added a chapter (not in his editions of 1574 and 1579)¹ on "Tubes Useful in Asthma," containing the first full description published of a kind of cigarette employed in Mexico² and probably in the West Indies. J. R., in his version (1659) of Everard and Neander,³ translated a portion of it:

There are brought from new *Spain*, some Trunks made of the inward part of Canes or Reeds, and smeared with some kind of gum, which I think is mingled with the juyce of Tobacco, for it trieth the head: If I am not mistaken, they annoint the Cane with that; and as it is glutinous, it sticks fast, and is of a black colour. But when it grows hard, it will hold no longer. The Trunk is lighted at that that end where it is smeared with the Gum, or Pitch; and the other end is put into the mouth, and the smoak is received, and this draws all flegme and corrupt humours out of the Breaft. This they are wont to use when they are oppressed with short breath, and are ready to be choaked. [E⁷ in n. 271]⁴

The remainder of the chapter was disregarded by J. R., although it contains some interesting information:

I have observed a certain ecclesiastic, a sufferer from asthma, to derive much good from the use of this tube, and I have seen, too, that much relief has been afforded in similar ailments by the smoke of tobacco. Experience teaches us that the use of the tubes (in which the juice of tobacco should be mixed) is perfectly safe.

I have seen, too, many disturbed by asthma, who have returned from America, chewing the green leaves of tobacco⁵ and sucking in its juice. This relieved them of phlegm and expelled the moist humor.

It is wonderful how each day discloses new and remarkable virtues of tobacco. In addition to those things described in my preceding chapter I could have adduced much more in tobacco's praise both from the observations of other writers and of my own.

To this account of tobacco De l'Escluse added a valuable footnote which J. R. included in his translation of Neander:

That in the year 1585 *Wingandecow* (which is now called *Virginy*) being discovered to the English (to their Captain *Richard Grenfield* [Grenville], and is a Province of the new world, and is thirty six degrees from the Æquator toward the North Pole) they found that the Inhabitans did frequently use some Pipes made of Clay, to draw forth the fume of Tobacco leaves set on fire; which grew amongst them in great quantity, or rather to drink [inhale] it down, to preserve their health. The English returning from thence, brought the like Pipes with them, to drink the

¹ Nos. 18 and 27.

² Cf. n. 4 [f. vii^a], n. 114, and n. 177.

³ N. 271.

⁴ De Sahagun, in his *Hist. Gen. de las Cosas de Nueva España*, described the making of highly ornamented reed-cigarettes, etc., which were also sold in the market-place (cf. Bernal Diaz, n. 177)

and which were filled with aromatic herbs. Several references to tobacco (*piciell* or *yietl*), its use in feasts, and its place in certain superstitious customs, occur in this work. V. Bustamante's edition of De Sahagun's MS. (Mexico, 1829-1830), vol. i, pp. 26, 114, 336; ii, pp. 155, 325, 347; iii, pp. 62, 69, etc.

⁵ Cf. n. 1.

fmoak of Tobacco;^{6]} and since that time, the use of drinking Tobacco hath so much prevailed all *England* over, especially amongst the Courtiers, that they have caused many such like Pipes to be made to drink Tobacco with.^{7]} [Cc^a-Cc^b in De l'Escluse; E^b-E^a in n. 271.]

FIRST COLLECTED EDITION. (Fourth edition of the Latin translation of Monardes, n. 18). Folio (†^{no}. De l'Escluse's Exoticorum, A-M⁶. García de Orta's Aromatum (and Plantarum) Historia, N-S⁶; T⁴; V⁶; X⁸. Christoval à Costa's Aromatum, Y-Z⁶; Aa-Bb³. Monardes' Simplicium Medicamentorum Historia, quarta editio, Bb⁴⁻⁶; Cc-Ff⁶; Gg⁴. Auctarium (with Index and Errata), Hh-Ii⁶; Kk⁴. Monardes' Magna Medicinæ Secretæ, Aaa-Ccc⁶; Ddd⁸. De l'Escluse's Altera Appendix ad Rariorum Plantarum Historiam, *⁶; **⁴; ***⁴. Peter Belon's Observationes, *⁶; AA-RR⁶; SS². Belon's De Neglecta Plantarum Cultura, SS³⁻⁶-TT⁶; VV⁸. With sectional titles to the individual works).

ENGRAVED TITLE, engraved portrait of De l'Escluse and numerous woodcuts in text, including the two cuts of the tobacco plant as in the edition of 1579.

The original India-ink sketch of De l'Escluse by De Ghëyn (1600) from which the portrait in the first volume, 1601, was engraved is bound in this volume as a frontispiece.

DUTCH MOROCCO, XVIIIth century. Size of leaf: 13¹¹/₁₆ x 8⁹/₁₆ inches. (Bound with *Rariorum Plantarum Historia*, 1601, and n. 98-A.)

The front end-paper is inscribed: "Payne's sale, Jan 5th 1795." There are other notes in various hands relating to the contents of the works, etc.

From the collections of Thos. Payne, the bookseller (1795 catalogue, n. 1271); Michael Wodhull (1803, n. 609); and Lord Amherst of Hackney (Sotheby's, 1908, n. 233), with his armorial book-plate.

REFERENCES: Bru., ii, III. BM. Arb., 74-78. Osler, n. 2327 and note to n. 2326. *Christophe Plantin*, Max Rooses (1896), 325-326. *Charles de L'Escluse*, F. W. T. Hunger (1927), 281-298, 378 ff. Comes, 64, 100.

The third edition of De l'Escluse's translation of Monardes was published in 1582. The first and second editions (1574 and 1579) are in this collection (nos. 18 and 27).

Nos. 709-711 in *A Hand-List of a Collection of Books and Manuscripts* . . . Rt. Hon. Lord Amherst of Hackney, by S. De Ricci, 1906.

PENA, Pierre and Matthias de l'OBEL (1538-1616)

SIMPLICIVM MEDICAMENTORVM EXPLICATIONES. London, 1605.

[*Translation of title*] Lucid explanations of medical simples, and notebooks of plants. A simple examination of and rich accession to the solid knowledge of the materia medica of earlier [writers], especially of Dioscorides and of later ones. Arranged by most accurate methods from the better known and highest divisions of classes, down to the final species. The authors, Pierre Pena and Matthias de l'Obel, doctors. To which is added another part, with illustrations, corrections, additions to the former, some rarer plants, more selected remedies, medicinal and metallic juices, together with lexicons of medicine and of opium, familiar

⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 314, at n. 10.

⁷ Cf. Arber's opinion, quoted *supra*, p. 314, and n. 68, n. 2. De l'Escluse's botanical studies had taken him from Portugal to England where, among other

distinguished Englishmen, he met Drake. The latter presented him with some new plants from the New World and supplied him, too, with some valuable information relative to American flora.

DILVCIDAE SIMPLICIVM MEDICAMENORVM EXPLICATIONES, & STIRPIVM ADVERSARIA,

Perfacilis vestigatio, luculentaque accessio ad Priscorum, præsertim *DIOSCORIDIS* & Recentiorum *Materia Medica* solidam cognitionem.

Methodo exquisitissima, a notioribus summisque classium generibus ad ultimas usque species digesta.

Authoribus PETRO PENA & MATTHIA de L'OBEL. Medicis.

Quibus

Accessit ALTERA PARS, eum prioris

ILLVSTRATIONIBVS, CASTIGATIONIBVS,

AVCTARIIS, RARIORIBVS aliquot PLANTIS.

Selectionibus REMEDIIS;

SVCCIS MEDICATIS & METALLICIS, Medicinæ Thesauris,

OPII, OPIATI antidoti, decantissimiq; Chymistarum & Germanorum LAVDANI OPIATI formulae,

Opera & studio eiusdem Matthiæ de L'Obel.

Reliqua suis locis designantur.



LONDINI. 1605. Idibus Aprilis.

Ex Typographia Thomæ Purfootii.

TITLE OF PENA AND DE L'OBEL, 1605

opiate antidotes, and chemists' and Germans' formulae of laudanum. By the labor and pains of the same Matthias de l'Obel. The rest [of the work] is noted in its own place. At London, 1605, the Ides of April. From the printing-house of Thomas Purfoot.

The account of tobacco and the cut of the plant (again laid down) here occupy the same pages as in the first edition, 1570-1571 (n. 13).

FIRST COLLECTED EDITION. Folio (Title; dedication, each 1 leaf, unsigned; Index, *⁶ [first marked *.*]; A-Z⁶; Aa-Zz⁶ [last, blank, lacking]. Colophons of Purfoot on Qq^{1b} and Vv^{6b}).

ILLUSTRATED WITH WOODCUTS as in the first edition. Separate slips, with cuts, are inserted to face pages 11, 33 and 150.

CONTEMPORARY VELLUM. Size of leaf: 11¼ x 7½ inches. (Bound with De l'Obel's *In G. Rondelletii . . . Pharmaceuticam Officinam Animadversiones*, London, 1605, printed by Thomas Purfoot.)

REFERENCES: Included in *STC.*, 16650 [records three copies, but not this]. *SG.*, 2d Ser., XII. Pulteney, i, 99 ff. Notes to n. 13.

The "other part" promised on the title of the first edition (n. 13) is included in this edition.

The work bound with this contains notices on the pharmacology of G. Rondellet, formerly royal professor and chancellor of the medical school at Montpellier. The matter deleted in former editions has here been restored and corrected by De l'Obel. This volume has a slight tobacco interest, containing, on L^{3a}, a recipe for a "*petum balsam*"—a mixture including some soothing oils, poppy seeds, etc.—"very efficacious for all wounds in any part of the body, cancerous ulcers, sores," etc. There are many such recipes recorded in other works in this library.

CHAPMAN, George (1559?-1634)

MONSIEVR D'OLIVE. London, 1606.

THE courtiers, Rhodericke and Mugeron having met, discuss the sad state of the countess, Vaumont's wife. She, having been unfairly charged with infidelity, has vowed herself to silence and darkness in a lonely cell. The two are joined by that great wit and admirer of wits, Monsieur D'Olive, who, too, gazes up at the countess' cell.

Rhod. But I wonder how she entertaines time in that solitarie Cell: does she not take *Tabacco* thinke you?

D'ol. She does, she does: others make it their Phyficke, she makes it her foode: her sifter and she take it [by] turne, first one, then the other, and *Vandome* [a friend and visitor] ministers to them both. [B₃^a]

D'Olive leaves his companions, whereupon Rhodericke exclaims:

Farewell the true mappe of a gull: by Heauen hee shall too'th Court: t'is the perfect model of an impudent vpstart: the compound of a Poet, and a Lawyer, hee shall sure too'th Court. [B₄^a]

Someone being required for an unimportant mission to the French king, Rhodericke arranges it so that D'Olive is selected. Having been entrusted with the embassy by the duke, who praises him with thinly concealed sarcasm, D'Olive modestly assures the court that he has as yet had no opportunity to display his wit. Their acquaintance with him has been too brief. Oh that they had been present at a "priuat Con-

uenticle" in which he sat with a "Squier and a Carpenter, a Lawier and a Sawier, A Marchant and a Broker, a Iustice and a peasant, [when] a stale argument though newly handled" was discussed! The duke, Philip, is eager to hear the details.

DOL: . . . Then thus it is: the question of estate
(Or the state of the question) was in briefe
whether in an Aristocratie
Or in a Democriticall estate
Tobacco might be brought to lawfull vse
But had you heard the excellent speeches there
Touching this part.

MVG: RHO: Pray thee to the point

DOL: First to the point then,
Vpstart a weauer, blowne vp b'inspiration
That had borne office in the congregation
A little fellow and yet great in spirit
I neuer shall forget him; for he was
A most hot liuer'demie to Tobacco
His face was like the ten of Diamonds
Pointed each where with pushes [pimples], and his Nose
Was like the Ase of clubs (which I must tell you
Was it that set him, and Tobacco first at such hot Enmitie) for that nose of his
(according to the Puritannick cut) hauing a narrow bridge, and this Tobacco:
being in drink^[1] durst not passe by and finding stopt his narrow passage fled backe
as it came and went away in Pett.

MVG: Iust cause of quarrell

[PHI]: But pray thee briefly say. what said the weauer

DOL: The weauer Sir much like a virginall iack^[2]

Start nimbly vp; the culler of his beard
I scarce remember; but purblind he was
With the GENEVA print,^[3] and wore one eare
Shorter then tother for a difference^[4]

PHI: A man of very open note it seemes

DOL: He was so Sir, and hotly he envaid
Against Tobacco (with a most strong breath
For he had eaten garlicke the same morning
As t'was his vse partly against ill ayres
Partly to make his speeches sauerie
Said t'was a pagan plant, a prophane weede
And a most sinful smoke, that had no warrant

¹ Probably a pun on the old phrase, "drinking tobacco." *His narrow passage* is the small nostrils of the weaver. It was the rule at that time to emit the smoke of a pipe through the nose.

² A *virginal* was a kind of harpsichord; the *jacks* were bits of wood, inside the instrument, which rose as the keys were pressed down.

³ The reference is to the Genevan, or Breeches

Bible of 1560, especially popular among the early Puritans. [It was printed in small type, not easy to read.]

⁴ The word *difference* is used here in the heraldic sense, a distinguishing mark upon a coat-of-arms. *D'Olive* insinuates that the weaver's loss of an ear at the hands of the hangman served to distinguish him from less zealous brethren.

Out of the word; inuented fure by Sathan
 In theife our latter dayes, to caft a mift
 Before mens eyes, that they might not behold
 The grofenes of olde fuperftition
 Which is as t'were deriu'd into the church
 From the fowle finke of Romifh popery
 And that it was a iudgement on our land
 That the fvbftantiall commodities.
 And mighty bleffings of this Realme of France
 Bells, Rattles, hobby horfes and fuch like
 Which had brought fo much wealth into the Land
 Should now be changd into the fmoke of vanitie
 The fmoke of fuperftition; for his owne part
 He held a Garlick cloue being fanctified¹⁵
 Did edifie more the body of a man
 Then a whole tun of this prophane Tobacco
 Being tane without thanke-giuing; in a word
 He faid it was a ragge of Popery?
 And none that were truely regenerate would
 Prophane his Nofthrils with the fmoke thereof
 And fpeaking of your grace behind your back,
 He chargd and coniur'd you to fee the vfe,
 Of vaine Tobacco banifht from the land
 Forfeare leaft for the great abuse thereof
 Or [our] candle were put out; and therewithall
 Taking his handker-chiefe to wipe his mouth
 As he had told a lie, he tun'd his noife
 To the olde ftraine as if he were preparing
 For a new exercife, But I my felfe
 [Angry to heare this generous Tabacco
 The Gentlemans Saint and the fouldiers idoll
 So ignorantly poluted] flood me vp
 Tooke fome Tabacco for a complement
 Brake fleame [cleared my throat] fome twice or thrice, then fhooke mine eares
 And lickt my lipps, as if I begg'd attention
 and fo directing me to your fweet Grace
 Thus I replied,

RHO: MvG: Rome for a fpeech there. Silence

DOL. I am amufed [puzzled], or I am in a quandarie gentlemen [for in good faith
 I remember not well whether of them was my words]

PHI: Tis no matter either of them will ferue the turne . . .

DOL. TABACCO that excellent plant, the vfe whereof [as of fift Element] the
 world cannot want, is that little fhop of Nature, wherein her whole workeman-
 fhip is abridg'd; where you may fee Earth kindled into fier, the fire breath out an
 exhalation, which entring in at the mouth walkes through the Regions of a mans

¹⁵ *Sanctified*: by having a blessing pronounced over it.

MONSIEVR D'OLIVE.

A

Comedie, as it vvas
fundrie times acted by her

*Maiesties children at the Blacke
Friers.*

By George Chapman.



LONDON

Printed by T. C. for *William Holmes*, and are to be fold at
his Shop in Saint Dunstons Church-yard in
Fleete-streete, 1606.

TITLE OF CHAPMAN, 1606

brayne driues out all ill Vapours but itfelfe, drawes downe all bad Humors by the
 the mouth, which in time might breed a Scabbe ouer the whole body if already
 they haue not; a plant of fingular vfe, for on the one fide, Nature being an Enemie
 to Vacuitie and emptines, and on the other, there beeing fo many empty braines
 in the World as there are, how fhall Natures courfe be continued? How fhall thiefe
 empty braines be filled, but with ayre Natures immediate instrument to that

purpose? If with ayre, what so proper as your fume: what fume so healthfull as your perfume? what perfume so foueraigne as Tabacco? Besides the excellent edge it giues a mans wit, [as they can best iudge that haue beene present at a feast of Tobacco where commonly all good witts are comforted] what varietie of discourse it begets? What sparkes of wit it yeelds, it is a world to heare: as likewise to the courage of a man, for if it be true, that Iehannes de fauo et fauo et^[6] writes, that hee that drinckes Veriuiue piffeth vinegere, Then it must needs follow to be as true, that hee that eates smoke, farts fire; for Garlicke I will not say because it is a plant of our owne country; but it may cure the diseases of the country, but for the diseases of the Court, they are out of the Element of Garlick to medicine; to conclude as there is no enemy to Tabacco but Garlick, so there is no friend to Garlick, but a sheeps head [a fool] and so I conclude. . . .

But Sir in conclusion

T'was orderd for my speach, that since Tobacco
Had so long bin in vse, it should thencefoorth
Be brought to lawfull vse; but limited thus
That none should dare to take it but a gentleman
Or he that had some gentlemanly humor
The Murr,^[7] the Head-ach, the Cattar, the bone ach^[8]
Or other branches of the sharpe salt Rhewme
Fitting a gentleman.

RHO: Your grace has made choife

Of a most simple Lo[rd] Ambaffador [D₂^b-D₄^b]

Thus that "vivacious fop" D'Olive maintained the cause of tobacco against the slanders of a Puritan. The scene, amusing enough in itself, becomes pointedly ironic through the use of some royal antitobacco opinions by the member of a sect James professed to despise. It is clear that in the vigorous, untutored speech of the weaver, Chapman provided a satiric echo of the recently published *Counterblaste* (n. 68). But the dramatist went further. (The king's prejudices obviously provided the literati of the day with considerable entertainment.) When the duke's pseudo-ambassador recommended that tobacco be reserved only for gentlemen or for those afflicted with "some gentlemanly humor," a deliberate satire was intended, for the proposal had royal warrant. The king had himself provided the nice discrimination in his *Commissio pro Tabacco*, 1604 (v. *supra*, pp. 405-407). In that document he advised Dorset that while his order was designed to reduce the importation of tobacco into England, there was yet to be "sufficient store to serve for their necessarie use who are of the better sort, and have and will use the same with Moderation to preserve their Healthe."⁹

FIRST EDITION, FIRST ISSUE. Small quarto (A-H⁴). Printed by Thomas Creede, with his device on the title.

⁶ *Johannes* [Savonarola]: Giovanni Michele Savonarola, grand-uncle of the famous monk. His great work, *Practica Canonica de Febris*, was no doubt known to Chapman, and an abbreviation used in one of its editions [probably that of 1552, which has the contraction *Cano Savvo* at the foot of each folio] seems to have led to the mistake in the old text.

[The notes employed here, except those bracketted, are from Parrott's edition of this play.]

⁷ Severe catarrh.

⁸ Venereal disease.

⁹ The relation between part of the terms of this official piece and D'Olive's suggestion appears to have escaped Chapman's editors.

This copy conforms with the first issue recorded in the *STC*. In the second, the title appears in seven lines. The Halsey copy in the Huntington Library has the spelling "Chapmon" on the title—an error undoubtedly corrected in the press. The sheets of these issues and the imprint are all, apparently, from the same setting of type.

MOROCCO, by Riviere. Size of leaf: 7¼ x 5½ inches.

From the collections of Sir Francis Newdigate-Newdegate (1920, n. 53) and G. D. Smith (1920, II, n. 53). With the Arbury Library label.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 4983. Wise, i. Sc., i, 398-400. Ch., iii, 252-253. [*Comedies*] of George Chapman, ed. T. M. Parrott [1914]. A portion of this work is reprinted in Capell's *School of Shakespeare* (1778).

"The title-page suggests a Revels rather than a Chapel play, and Fleay. . . Stoll, and Parrott all arrive at 1604 for the date [of composition] which is rendered probable by allusions to the Jacobean Knights . . . and perhaps to the royal dislike of tobacco." (Ch., iii, p. 252.)

This play was acted not earlier than 1605.

DANIEL, Samuel (1562-1619)

THE QVEENES ARCADIA. London, 1606.

TWO of the disturbers of the peace of the gentle shepherds and nymphs of Arcadia meet and discuss their professions. One is Alcon, a quacksalver; the other, Lincus, a pettifogger. Alcon, as one rascal to another, is explaining quite frankly some of the tricks of his trade:

. . . all the drugs I vse, must come from farre,
Beyond the Ocean, and the Sunne at least,
Or else it hath no vertue Phificall,
These home-bred simples do no good at all.
Lin. No, no, it must be forraine stuffe, God wot,
Or something else, that is not to be got.
Al. But now in faith I haue found out a trick,
That will perpetually so feed their rheumes,
And intertaine their idle weakneffes,
As nothing in the world could do the like,
For lately being at *Corinth*, 'twas my chance
T'incounter with a Sea-man, new ariu'd
Of *Alexandria*, who from *India* came,
And brought a certaine hearbe wrapt vp in rowles,
From th' Island of *Nicosia*, where it growes:
Infus'd I thinke in some pestiferous iuyce,
(Produc'd in that contagious burning clime,
Contrarious to our nature and our spirits)
Or else steep'd in the fuming sap, it selfe
Doth yeeld, t'inforce th'infecting power thereof,
And this in powder made, and fir'd, he suckes

Out of a little hollow instrument
 Of calcinated clay, the smoake thereof:
 Which either he conuayes out of his nose,
 Or downe into his stomack with a whiffe.
 And this he said a wondrous vertue had,
 To purge the head, and cure the great Catarre,
 And to drie vp all other meaner rheumes,
 Which when I saw, I streight way thought how well
 This new fantastickall deuise would please
 The foolish people here growne humerous.
 And vp I tooke all this commoditie,
 And here haue taught them how to vse the fame.

Lin. And it is easie to bring in the vse
 Of any thing, though neuer so absurd,
 When nations are prepar'd to all abuse,
 And th'humour of corruption once is stird.

Alc. 'Tis true, and now to see with what a strange
 And gluttonous desire, th'exhaust the fame
 How infinite, and how insatiably,
 They doe deuoure th'intoxicating fume,
 You would admire, as if their spirits thereby
 Were taken, and enchanted, or transformd,
 By some infused philter in the drug.

For whereas heretofore they wonted were
 At all their meetings, and their feastiuals,
 To passe the time in telling wittie tales,
 In questions, riddles, and in purposes,
 Now do they nothing else, but fit and fuck,
 And spit, and flauer, all the time they fit.
 That I go by, and laugh vnto my selfe,
 And thinke that this will one day make some worke
 For me or others, but I feare it will
 B'another age will finde the hurt of this.
 But fure the time's to come, when they looke back
 On this, will wonder with themselues to thinke
 That men of sence could euer be so mad,
 To fuck so grosse a vapour, that consumes
 Their spirits, spends nature, dries vp memorie,
 Corrupts the bloud, and in a vanitie. [E₄^b-F₁^b]

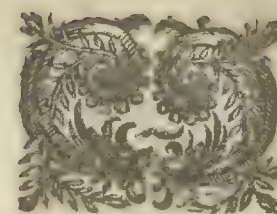
FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A²; B-K⁴; L²).

QUARTER OLD MOROCCO. Size of leaf: 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{16}$ inches.

From the collections of Francis Freeling (1836, n. 1047), Rev. Burleigh James (1869, n. 627, bought by Kershaw), John Kershaw (1877, n. 349, bought by Huth), Henry Huth (1912, n. 1979, bought by Quaritch), and William A. White. With the armorial bookplates of the first two, and the Huth book-label.

THE QUEENES ARCADIA.

A Pastorall Trage-comedie
presented to her Maiestie and
her Ladies, by the Vniuersitie of
Oxford in Christs Church,
in August last.
 1605.



AT LONDON
 Printed by G. Eld, for Simon Waterston,
 1606.

TITLE OF DANIEL, 1606

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 6262. *Sc.*, ii, 156-158. *Ch.*, iii, 276. *Complete Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart (1885), iii.

This play was first acted in 1605, before Queen Anne (consort of James I), on the occasion of the royal visit to Oxford. In his account of this "earliest English pastoral play of unmixed type," Prof. Schelling remarks that among the "wicked personages [is] Alcon . . . who has but two cures for all ills, a sweet and delicate cordial and 'one poor pill I use for greater cures.' It is this latter personage who utters the famous descant on tobacco, a passage nicely calculated for the ears of the royal author of *A Counterblast to Tobacco*" (ii, p. 157).

THE COPY OF A LETTER. London, 1606.

THE publisher's foreword to this tract implies that the author was a practising physician. Like the rest of the medical fraternity this worthy doctor felt that tobacco had no rational place outside of the realm of physic. His thesis was a familiar



THE
COPY OF A LETTER
written by E. D. Doctour of

*Physicke to a Gentleman, by whom
it was published.*

*The former part containeth rules for the preservation of
health, and preventing of all diseases vntill
extreme olde age.*

Herein is inserted the Authours opinion
of Tabacco.

*The latter is a discourse of Emperiks or vnlearned Physitians,
wherein is plainly prooued that the practise of all those
which haue not bene brought up in the Grammar
and Vniuersity, is alwayes confused,
commonly dangerous, and
often Deadly.*

ECCLES. 38. 1.

Honour the Physician with that honour that is due vnto him; for the
Lord hath created him.



LONDON
Printed by Melchisedech Bradwood.
1606.

TITLE OF E. D., 1606

one by that date, and only a few passages from it need be recorded here. Having discoursed upon the value of air to the health of man, the author is led naturally to a consideration of the "new drug of the Indies."

Here I may fitly giue you a taste of Tabacco, for it is taken not much vnlike to the drawing in of aire by breathing; and it hath great power to alter the body. This Indian simple is hot and drie almost in the third degree, as those that wrote first of it affirme, and the smell and taste do confirme. In respect of the excesse of these first qualities it can not be safe for yoong and sound bodies, though it yeilded pure nourishment: for the diet of yoong men must be moist without excesse of heat; and in cholericke complexions, somewhat cooling, as *Galen* affirmeth: but it is a strong purger (as hath beene often tried by experience) and an vtter enemy to most stomachs; for a small quantity of it infused, moueth violently vpward; and . . . downward . . . What though it be vsually taken by fume, and not in substance, or infusion? yet that way it worketh the same effect in many; and in all it draweth thin and moist humours, which all beholders perceiue distilling, or rather flowing from the mouth, nose and eyes of the takers of it. But admit that it doth not purge, which is very euident; yet it altereth the body much: and how can that be done in yoong and strong men without hurt? It consumeth the moisture, and increaseth the heat of perfect constitutions, as the fire and Sunne doe sensibly heat and drie things exposed to them. . . . Doth not Tabacco then threaten a short life to the great takers of it? The often drawing in of this hot and drie fume, maketh them somewhat like those that liue in hot regions: though this be not continuall, as that is, yet the heat and driness of this doth farre exceed that. *Plato* would not allow yoong men to drinke wine, though moderately, because it carieth them headlong to lust and anger. Doth not Tabacco this much more? Wine is hot and moist: Tabacco exceedeth it farre in heat; for from the excesse of that, it hath the strong smell and fretting taste, and it hath driness associated to it in stead of the others moisture. Beside this, Wine nourisheth; Tabacco purgeth. So it is eueryway farre more hurtfull than Wine. It is in greatest request amongst our younger and stronger sort of gentlemen; and the quicker spirits and hotter complexions are caried most violently to the often taking of it, being like to the yoong man that *Horace* describeth. . . . Choler is like to a coale burning cleere with his full heat, whose moisture as it consumeth, so the heat diminisheth, and in time it becommeth blacke, drie and cold: euen so the often drinking of this herbe, doth by his vehement heat burne the cholericke blood, and maketh it grosse, thicke and blacke. This is wrought by small degrees and insensibly . . . I see not therefore how Tabacco can be acquitted from procuring the ouerthrow of the perfect state both of body and minde: and that not onlie in Tabacconists [smokers] themselves, but in their posterity also; for the temperament and constitution of the father is ordinarily transfused into the children, and the affections of the minde also, depending vpon the other. . . . Therefore where the humours of the body haue contracted a sharpe heat and driness by drinking of Tabacco, there the father getteth a childe like to himselfe, wanting that kinde moisture that should protract his life vnto olde age, and incline him to an ingenuous, courteous and kinde carriage. But many take it, imagining that it doth inable them in some actions. I confesse that it putteth a sharpe and fretting heat into the blood, which doth *incitare*: but

they fhall the fooner faile in their courfe; for heat can not be preferued without moifture: and Tabacco confumeth that, by infufing a drie qualitie into the body, by exceffe of heat, and by drawing out of moifture. Therefore Tabacco, though neuer fo fparingly taken, can not be good for you, nor for yoong and found bodies: and the often vfe of it in fuch bodies, driueth them *lentis gradibus* into their graue long before that time that nature had affigned them. . . . *Galen* fpeaking of gentle opening medicines, affirmeth that the often vfe of them drieth vp the folid parts of the body, and maketh the blood thicke and groffe; which being burnt in the kidnies, breedeth the ftone. This may as well be verified of Tabacco; for many take it oftener than euer fuch opening medicines were taken: and it hath alfo more heat and drineffe than thofe had; and therefore greater power to hurt found bodies. There may peraduenture be a profitable vfe of it in cold & moift bodies: but it muft be taken very feldome, and with great regard of fundry other circumftances. To conclude, fith it is fo hurtfull and dangerous to youth, I wifh (in compaffion of them) that it might haue the pernicious nature expreffed in the name, and that it were as well known by the name of Youths-bane, as by the name of Tabacco. [A₄^a–B₁^a]

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A–G⁴ [last, blank]).

MOROCCO, by Riviere. Size of leaf: 7¼ x 5⅞ inches.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 6164 [records two copies, but not this].

The last leaf contains an infcription in a contemporary hand, “by Doctor Duncan of Ipswich.” The Britwell Court copy (Sotheby’s, 31 March, 1925, lot 250; now Huntington) was attributed by the cataloguer to Eleazer Dunk, a name written on the title in a XVIIth century hand. Neither ascription has been accepted by the British Museum authorities.

LIÉBAULT, Jean (1535?–1596), *translated by* Richard SURFLET

MAISON RVSTIQUE, OR THE COVNTREY FARME. London, 1606.

This edition contains the identical chapters on tobacco (on the same leaves) as in the first edition, 1600 (n. 58). Its provenance gives it an added interest, as it came from the library of that royal “counterblaster” of tobacco, James I (v. n. 68).

SECOND EDITION. Quarto (A⁸ [first, blank, marked A]; b⁸; B–Z⁸; Aa–Zz⁸; Aaa–Nnn⁸).

Title as in the first edition, except for the imprint: LONDON | Printed by ARNOLD HATFIELD for | *John Norton* and *John Bill*. | 1606.

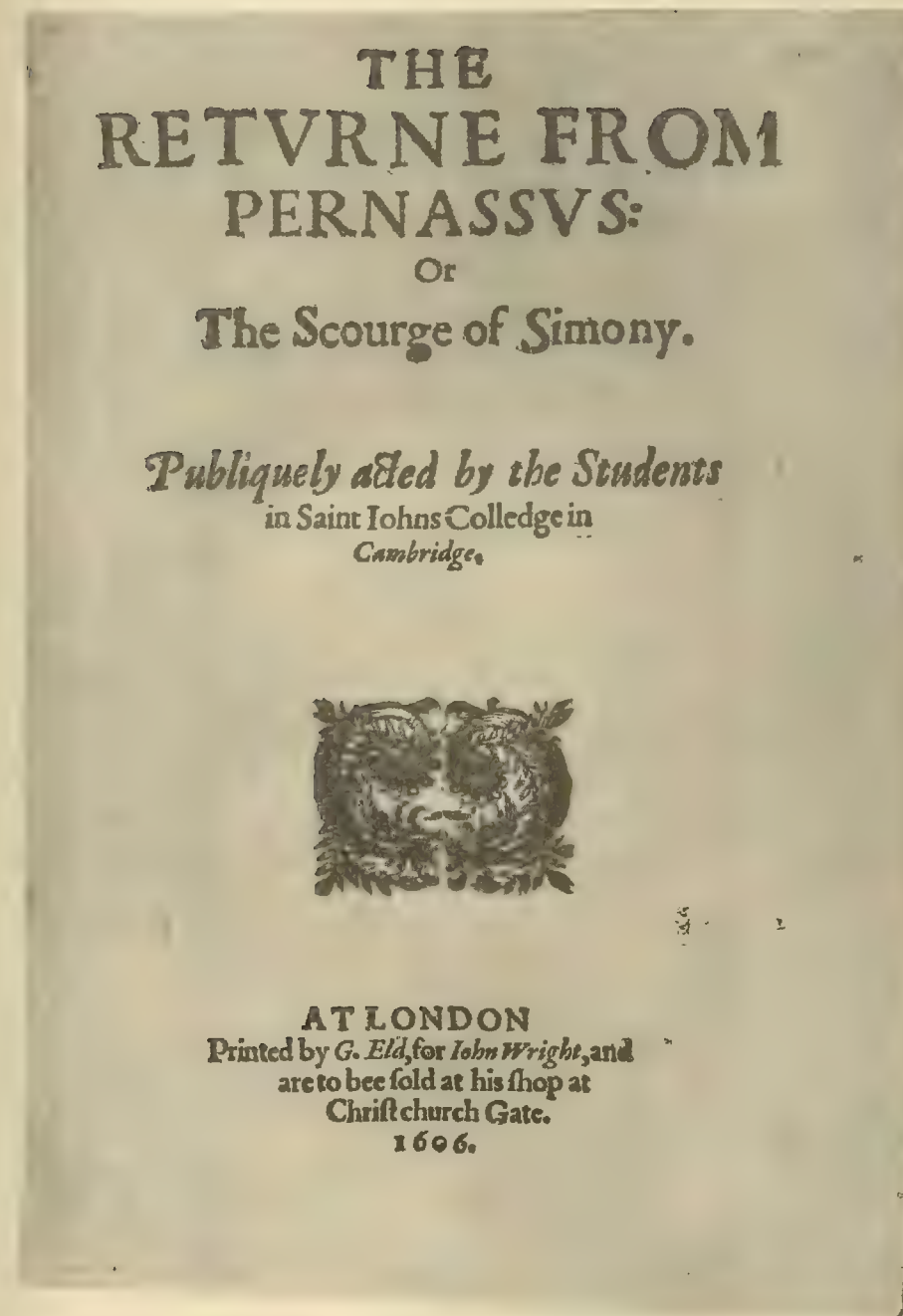
WOODCUTS AND DIAGRAMS IN TEXT, as in the first edition (n. 58).

CONTEMPORARY SHEEP. With the arms of James I of England impressed on the sides. Size of leaf: 8⅞ x 6⅞ inches.

From the libraries of James I, John Fuller, and E. M. Cox. With the armorial bookplate of Fuller, and the Cox library label.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 10548 [records four copies, but not this]. *V.* those in n. 58.

AS THIS satirical comedy¹ was probably written by one closely associated with Cambridge University, the nicotian allusions imply that smoking was a familiar part of undergraduate life there, despite occasional prohibitions against that habit.²



TITLE OF THE RETVRNE FROM PERNASSVS, 1606

¹ This (the second part of *The Returne From Pernassus*) was the final portion of a trilogy and the most popular of these plays.

There are some unabashed references to tobacco

in the first part (unpublished before 1886). Cf. those on pp. 32 and 53 in the Macray edition (*v. infra*), and that on p. 59, which deals coarsely with tobacco adulterations.

² *V. infra*, p. 453.

Act IV, Sc. i opens with Sir Radericke and others on the stage, and "Two Pages scouring of Tobacco pipes" (burning out the bowls). [F₂^a] Sir Radericke has just advised Prodigio that his land is forfeited, and the latter leaves the stage hurriedly.

[*Sir Radericke's page*]. Good faith Maister *Prodigo* is an excellent fellow, he takes the *Gulan ebullitio*^[3] so excellently.

[*Amoretto's page*]. He is a good liberall Gentleman, he hath bestowed an ounce of Tobacco vpon vs, and as long as it lasts, come cut and long-taile,^[4] wee le spend it as liberally for his sake.

S. Rad. Page. Come fill the Pipe quickly, while my maister is in his melancholie humour, it's iust the melancholy of a Colliers horfe

Amor. page. If you cough *Iacke* after your Tobacco, for a punishment you shall kiffe the Pantofle. [F₂^b]

Ingenioso, a satirical pamphleteer (here intended for Nash), speaking of the physical sources of inspiration, such as "strong hop," remarks that

when . . . fad vineger wittes fit scouring at the bottome of a barrell: plaine Meteors, bred of the exhalation of Tobacco, and the vapors of a moyft pot . . . foure [soar] vp into the open ayre, when as founder wit keepe belowe. [B₁^a]

Ingenioso also exclaims that he will

be paid deare euen for the dregges of my wit: little knowes the world what belong to the keeping of a good wit in waters, dietts, drinkes, Tobacco, &c. it is a dainty & costely creature . . . [B₃^b]

The Recorder (a disagreeable fellow by whom the unpopular deputy-recorder of Cambridge, Francis Brackyn, was satirized) makes a criticism of "your proud Vniuerfitie princex, [who] thinkes he is a man of such merit." He recites blank verse to prove his contention and notes how strange it is to see one

. . . whose thin fire dwell[s] in a fmokye roufe [house?]
Must take Tobacco and must weare a locke,
His thirsty Dad drinkes in a wooden bowle,
But his fweete felfe is feru'd in filuer plate. [E₂^{a-b}]

Sir Radericke, agreeing with him that such are pestilent fellows, remembers

one that made a couple of knauish verses on my country chimney now in the time of my fojourning here at London: and it was thus.

Sir Raderick keepes no chimney Caelere [cavalier],
That takes Tobacco aboue once a yeare. [E₂^b-E₃^a]

SECOND EDITION. Small quarto (A-H⁴). (*Shakespeare* correctly spelled on B₂^b.)

Morocco, by Riviere. Size of leaf: 6¹³/₁₆ x 4¹⁵/₁₆ inches.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 19310. Sc., ii, 64 ff. *SAB.*, i, 67-69. *The Pilgrimage To Parnassus with the Two Parts of The Return From Parnassus*, ed. from MSS. by the Rev. W. D. Macray (1886). Penniman, Chap. XI. 3*NQ.*, IX, 387, where Bolton Corney suggested that John Day (v. n. 87) was the author.

³ "Cuban Ebolition"—v. n. 7 in n. 59.

⁴ A term for all kinds of dogs; here, meaning, "come who will."

Two editions exist printed in the same year. "The evidence seems conclusive in favour of the priority of the edition collating A-H⁴, I²," says De Ricci (No. 665). In the first edition, the error *Shatefpeare* appears on B₂^b; there are, too, some minor typographical differences.

The first part of the trilogy of Parnassus plays was acted by the students of Cambridge in 1598, the first part of the *Returne*, in 1601, and the second part (this piece), in 1602.

Thomas Hawkins (*Origin of the English Drama*, 1773) and others had concluded that the play was written by "the wits and scholars of Cambridge," but later authorities have been unwilling to accept that general ascription. Sir I. Gollancz, too, thought that John Day (see the *NQ.* reference *supra*) might have been responsible for the three plays (see Ward, *History of Dramatic Literature*, ii, p. 641), but no definite evidence which fixes the authorship has yet been adduced.

Parts I and II of the *Parnassus* trilogy were lost to view until the Rev. W. D. Macray came upon manuscripts of them in the Bodleian Library. They were first printed under his editorship, in 1886.

RICH, Barnaby (1540?-1617)

FAVLTES FAULTS. London, 1606.

ONE of the most vigorous early antagonists of tobacco was the prolific pamphleteer, Barnaby Rich. The *Faults* represent satirical reflections on the foibles of the age, but in his references to tobacco here, Rich is carelessly facetious. In his later attacks upon the weed Spenser called "divine" he adopted a sterner tone.¹

I thinke *Flatterie* at this day be in as good request as *Tabacco*, two fmokie vapours, yet the one purgeth wife-men of their witte, and the other fooles of their money. [C₁^{a-b}]

But O for a Pipe of Tobacco! passion of me, how haue I forgotten my felfe; that haue vented so much idle breath without a pipe of Tobacco? I know a number of my good friends that woulde not haue spent halfe this prattle without taking of ten Pipes at the least.

O soueraigne *Tobacco*! that art a medicine for euery malady, a falue for euery fore: twill cure the *Droppsie*, the *Gowt*, the *Rhume*, the *Cold*, the *Ache of the heade*, a *Pin and Webbe in the heele*, it will make a woman that is barren to beare fixe children in one night; it is wonderfull in operation, and they say it will make a leane man fatte, and a fatte man leane. But I know it hath made many wife men to become fooles, and it hath made some fooles againe to become wife men.

It cannot be denied, but it makes men sociable, and he that can but take a *Pipe of Tobacco*, drinke *Bottle Ale*, and play a game at *Noddie*,^[2] is a companion for a knight: But let these fantasies passe amongst a number of others, I will not call them follies, but Gods blessing on his heart, who said, that Thought was free. [D₁^a]

¹ Cf. nos. 117, 127, 132.

² An old card game.

FAVLTES
FAVLTS,
And nothing else but
FAVLTES.



AT LONDON
Printed for Jeffrey Chorleton, and are to be
sold at the great North doore
of Paules Church.
1606.

TITLE OF RICH, 1606

And for good counsaile, we vse to take it as we take Tabacco, if we drawe in at the mouth, we strait blow it out at the nose. [E₃^a]

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A-R⁴ [first and last, blank, lacking]).

MOROCCO, partly uncut, by Lortic. Size of leaf: 6¹⁵/₁₆ x 4¹⁵/₁₆ inches.

From the library of S. R. Christie-Miller (2 Apr. 1925, n. 620).

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 20983. *Haz.*, 1, p. 357. *Jaggard*, 261. *Col.*, ii, 256.

No. 78

[434]

RICH

A
CONTI-
NVANCE OF
ALBIONS ENG-
LAND:

By the first Author. W. W.



LONDON,
Imprinted by Felix Kynaston for George Potter, and are to be
sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard, at the figure
of the Bible. 1606.

TITLE OF WARNER, 1606

WARNER, William (1558?-1609)

A CONTINVANCE OF ALBIONS ENGLAND. London, 1606.

A CRITICAL imp, sitting in council, as it were, with some elves in a shepherd's field, makes some observations on the changes which have come over merrie

No. 79

[435]

WARNER

England since Queen Mary's day. He has been a malcontent abroad since the death of that sovereign; now that he has come over from the Continent he wishes to return there. Among other things he has noticed that

... though in the Mannor-Place
Scarce fmoakt a Chimney: yet did Smoke perplex me in strāge cace.
I faw the Chimneys cleerd of fire, where neretheleffe it smokt
So bitterly, as one not vfed to like, it might haue chokt.
But when I saw it did proceed from Nostrels, and from Throtes
Of Ladies, Lords, and fillie Groomes, not burning skins nor Cotes,
Great *Belfabub*, thought I, can all spit fier as well as Thine?
Or where am I? it cannot be vnder the torred Line.
My fellow *Incubus* (who heere still Residence did keepe,
Witnes so many dadleffe Babes begot on Girles asleepe)
Did put me by that feare, and said it was an *Indian* weede,
That feum'd away more wealth than would a many thoufands feed. [E₄^b-F₁^a]

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A⁴ [first, blank, except for sig. mark]; b²; B-L⁴). With the printer's device¹ on the title.

OLD BOARDS, CALF BACK. Size of leaf: 7½ x 5¾ inches. (Bound with *Albions England*, London, 1602, sixth edition.) Part of *Albions England* is bound in error after the *Continuance*.

With the armorial bookplate of St. Richard Newdigate of Arbury, dated 1709, and the Arbury Library label.

From the collections of Sir Francis Newdigate-Newdegate (1920, n. 351), and G. D. Smith (1920 (II, n. 353).

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 25085 [records four copies, but not this]. *SAB.*, i, 158-159. *G. (L)*, n. 255. Col., ii, 485-486.

The first appearance of *Albions England*, in 1586, was revised and extended over a period of years, until, in the sixth edition, 1602, were contained thirteen Books and a prose epitome. The *Continuance* contains Books XIV to XVI. The two parts contained in the copy here catalogued, therefore, constitute the complete text. There appears to be no reference to tobacco in the first part of *Albions England*.

DEKKER, Thomas (1570?-1641?) and John WEBSTER (1580?-1625?)

VVEST-VVARD HOE. London, 1607.

THE fastidious aversion to smoking expressed by some of the ladies of Jacobean days is evidenced by occasional passages in the literature of the period. While it is true that a few of the more sophisticated defied the restrictions imposed upon their sex to indulge in a "medicinal pipe,"¹ for the most part women were leagued against the new habit.

The co-authors of this vivacious and realistic comedy of manners present a scene here which may be regarded as a typical example of the feminine protest against the social use of tobacco.

¹ *V.* the note on this device, p. 393, *supra*.

² *Cf.* nos. 36, 49, 65, 79.

VVEST-VVARD HOE.

*As it hath beene diuers times Acted
by the Children of Paules.*

Written by Tho: Decker, and
Iohn Webster.



Printed at London, and to be sold by Iohn Hodgets
dwelling in Paules Churchyard.

1607

TITLE OF DEKKER AND WEBSTER, 1607

The characters are Monopoly, Whirlepoole, Lynstock, and the wives, Judyth, Mabell and Clare (Moll).² The scene is laid in an inn.

mono. ... I must take a pipe of Tobacco.

3. *Women.* Not here, not here, not here.

mab. Ile rather loue a man that takes a purse, then him that takes Tobacco.

² Mistress Tenterhooke is called Moll in the first part of this play, but becomes Clare in Act V.

Cla. By my little finger Ile breake al your pipes, and burne the Cafe, and the box too, and you drawe out your stinking smoake afore me. *mono.* Prethee good mistris *Tenterhooke*, Ile ha done in a trice. *mono.* [*Clare*] Do you long to haue me fwoune? *mono.* Ile vse but halfe a pipe introth.

Cla. Do you long to see me lie at your feet!

mono. Smell toot [to it]: tis perfum'd.

Cla. Oh God? Oh God? you anger me: you stir my blood: you moue me: you make me spoile a good face with frowning at you: this was euer your fashion, so to smoake my Husband when you come home, that I could not abide him in mine eye: hee was a moate in it me thought a month after: pray spawle [spit] in another roome: fie, fie, fie.

Mo. Well, well, come, weelee for once feed hir humor.

Iud. Get two roomes off at least if you loue vs.

Mab. Three, three, maister *Lynstocke* three.

Lin. Sfoote weelee dance to Norwich, and take it there, if youle stay till we retorne agen? Heeres a stir, youle ill abide a fiery face, that cannot endure a smoaky nose.

Mo. Come lets satisfie our appetite.

Whi. And that wil be hard for vs, but weelee do our best. *Exeunt.*

They enjoy themselves so noisily that later Judyth remarks that she can "heare them spitting after their Tobacco." [G₃^a-G₄^a]

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A-H⁴; I²). Printed by [William Jaggard?].³

LEVANT MOROCCO, by Sangorski & Sutcliffe. Size of leaf: 7³/₁₆ x 5⁷/₁₆ inches. Inscription and early owner's name on last leaf.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 6540. Ch., iii, 141-142, 295. *The Collaboration of Webster and Dekker*, F. E. Pierce (*Yale Studies in English*, XXXVII, 1909), chap. 3. *Thomas Dekker*, Mary L. Hunt (1911), 101-108, *et passim.* *SAB.*, i, 182.

Stoll, F. E. Pierce, and others assign the larger part of this play to Dekker, an opinion which has been challenged by other students. The play was first acted, it seems, late in 1604 or early in 1605.

"Westward Hoe," or "Eastward Hoe," were familiar expressions to Londoners, being the cries of the Thames wherry-men who rowed westward to Westminster, or eastward to the city.

MARSTON, John (1575?-1634)

VVHAT YOV VVILL. London, 1607.

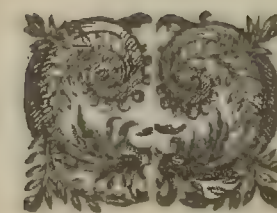
AN EVIDENCE of the expensive tobacco boxes which were part of the equipment of the more flourishing Jacobean dandies is provided by the remark of Simplicius in this play. Out of the wealth he expects, he assures himself that, among other luxuries, he shall have an "Iuory boxe of Tobacco." [G₃^b] These containers (forerunners of the utilitarian pouch) were handsomely made of various metals including, occasionally, gold or silver, and also of rare, expensive woods. They were highly decorated and, while sufficiently compact to be carried in a large pocket, were

³ The device on the title may have been William Jaggard's at this period. Cf. McKerrow, n. 112 (β).

VVHAT YOV VVILL.

By

John Marston.



Imprinted at London by G. E. L. D. for
Thomas Thorppe.
1607.

TITLE OF MARSTON, 1607

provided with such useful paraphernalia as a pipe, ember-tongs, flint and steel, and a priming-iron. Sometimes a mirror adorned the cover of the box.¹ The more practical kind would hold a pound of tobacco.

¹ Dr. Laufer (*Europe*, p. 38) comments on these early English tobacco boxes: "Tobacco-boxes were given and exchanged as tokens of friendship. In those days, when tobacco was eight or ten shillings a pound, smokers were economic and burned their tobacco to the very bottom of the bowl, pressing the

ashes down by means of a stopper. The stoppers were made of wood, bone, ivory, mother-of-pearl, brass, silver, or gold, of various shapes and adorned with figures of national heroes or heads of animals. Some smokers wore rings provided with a stud for ramming down the contents of the pipe."

Marston appears to have been the earliest to refer to this part of a smoker's equipment. The boxes were probably introduced into England not before the last years of Elizabeth's reign. See, too, the catalogue provided by Dekker (n. 90) and the inventory of a gallant's pocket (n. 91).

One of the characters in this play, Quadratus, asks for "pudding *Tobacco*." [B₄^a]

Two citizens await the coming of Lorenzo, "the loose *Venice Duke*," in the street, wishing to present him with a petition.

Enter the Duke copped with a Lady, two coopes more with them, the men hauing tobacco pipes in their hands, the woemen fitt, they daunce a round. The Petition is deliuered vp . . . the Duke lightes his tobacco pipe with it and goes out dauncing. [B₃^a]

There are frequent allusions to tobacco in Marston's plays (v. nos. 69, 126 and 188), but his only favorable reference to it occurs in a song, in this comedy:

*Mufick, Tobacco, Sack and Sleepe,
The Tide of Sorrow backward keepe.* [C₃^a]

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A-H⁴ [last, blank, lacking]).

MOROCCO, by F. Bedford. Size of leaf: 6¹³/₁₆ x 4¹⁵/₁₆ inches.

From the library of Henry Huth (1916, n. 4747), with the Huth library label.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 17487. Sc., i, 488, 544. Ch., iii, 430. *SAB.*, i, 176. F., 67 (and cf. 226-227). Penniman, Chap. X. *The Satire of John Marston*, Morse S. Allen (1920), 45-51.

This comedy was part of the "war of the theatres" (v. notes to Jonson, n. 59). It was first acted in 1601.

MIDDLETON, Thomas (1570?-1627)

THE PHOENIX. London, 1607.

The vicious old justice, Falso, is in a tavern when his brother's man, Furtive, comes to him with a message:

Falf. . . . how fares my Knightly Brother?

Furt. Troth he nere farde worfe in his life fir: he nere had leffe stomack to his meate since I knew him.

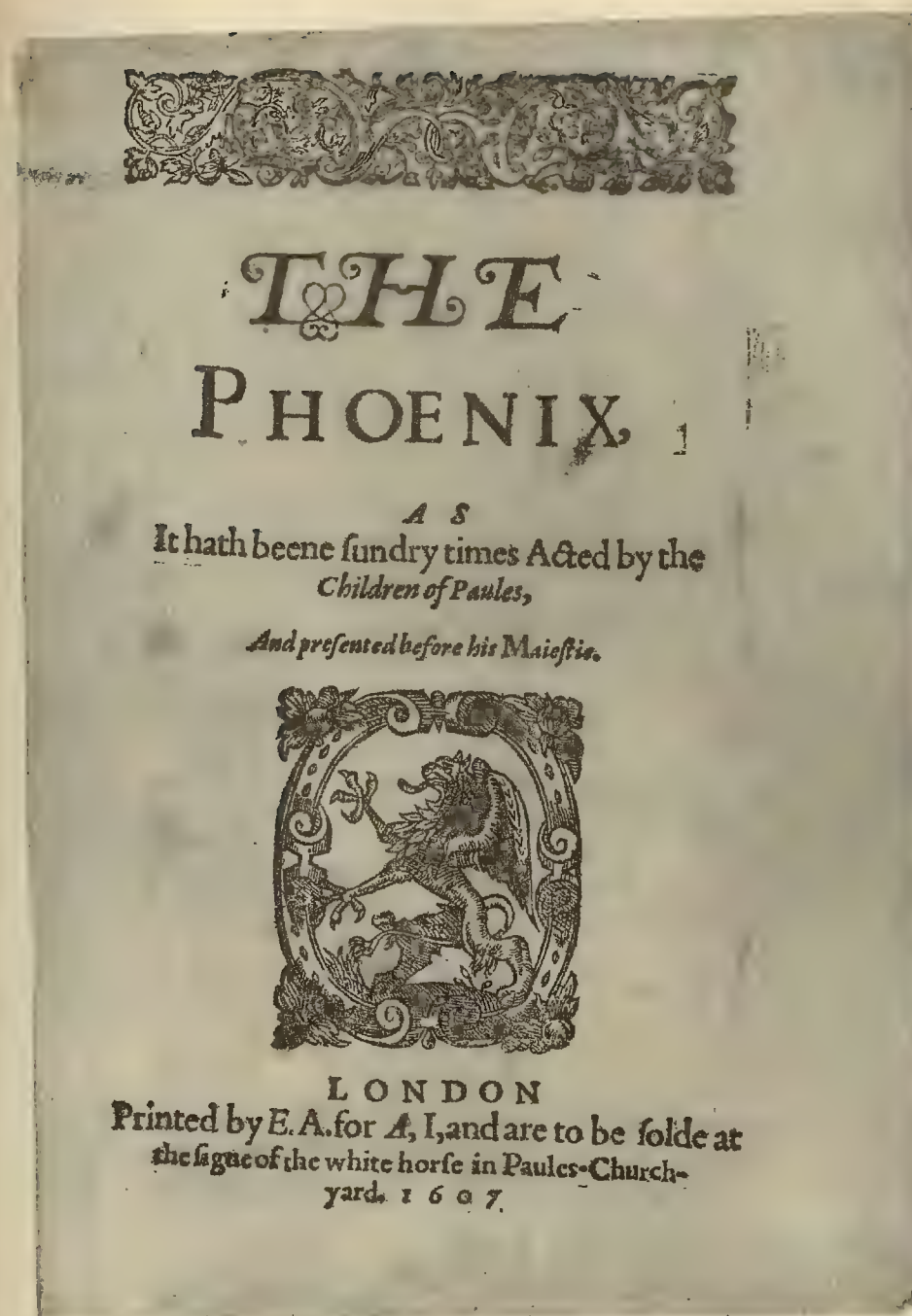
Fal. Why fir?

Furt. Indeede hee's dead fir.

Fal. How fir?

Furt. Newly deceafd I can assure your Worship: the Tabacco pipe new dropt out of his mouth before I tooke horfe, a shrewd signe: I knew then there was no way but one with him, the poore pipe was the last man he took leaue off in this world, who fel in three peeces before him, & seem'd to mourne inwardly, for it lookt as blacke [in] th' mouth as my maister. [C₄^b]

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A-I⁴; K²). Printed by E. Allde (with his device on the title), for A. Johnson.



TITLE OF MIDDLETON, 1607

MOROCCO. Size of leaf: 6¹⁵/₁₆ x 5³/₁₆ inches.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 17892. Sc., i, 523. Ch., iii, 439. *Works*, ed. A. H. Bullen (1885), i.

In the Huntington Library (Huth) copy of this play is an added leaf, with a prologue and epilogue inserted, apparently not present in any other known example.

The date of the first performance of this play is uncertain, but it was probably between 1603 and 1604. Dr. Chambers points out that the only available performance before James I (cf. title) was on 20 February, 1604.

AN Houre Glasse of In- dian Newes.

O R

A true and tragicall discourse, shewing the
most lamentable miseries, and distressed Calami-
ties indured by 67 Englishmen, which were sent
for a supply to the planting in Guiana in
the yeare. 1605.

*Who not finding the saide place, were for want of vic-
tuall, left a shore in Saint Lucia, an Island of Caniballs,
or Men eaters in the West-Indyes, vnder the Con-
dukt of Captain Sen-Iohns, of all which said
number, onely a 11. are supposed to be
still liuing, whereof 4. are lately
returnd into Eng-
land.*

*Written by Iohn Nicholl, one of theaforesaid
Company.*

Homo es? humani nil a te alienum puta.



L O N D O N
Printed for Nathaniell Buttr, and are to bee
solde at his Shop neere Saint Anstons Gate.
1607.

TITLE OF NICHOLL, 1607

TOBACCO as a preventive of hunger had often been recommended by early writers who praised the plant,¹ and their assertions received confirmation from the experience of Nicholl and his companions.

¹ Cf. the satiric passage on this claim in Bobadill's speech, n. 125 "a."

Having left the island of Saint Lucia (W. I.)² after the Indian attack, Nicholl and his group were shipwrecked on a desolate isle. There

wee indured the greatest misery that euer men did and liue: for wee continued fifteene dayes, hauing no kinde of meat but Periwinkles or Whelkes, Tobacco, & Salt-water, which did nothing at all nourish vs: yet it tooke away the desire of hunger, and faued vs from eating one another.

In that fifteene dayes five of our companie pined to death for hunger . . . Tobacco was the chiefe food I found to do me good, and did preferue my lyfe, and those which could take it downe, did keepe strongest, but those which could not take it at all, died first. [E,¹]

The *Carebyes* who flocked to the English ship when it reached Saint Lucia had "great store of Tobacco" with them. [B,³]^a The abundance of this natural product of the island is remarked upon again, on B,⁴^a, C,²^b, etc.

A reference to the fact that Europeans were commercially engaged in cultivating tobacco on an American plantation³ occurs in the passage [E,³]^a in which Nicholl reports the murder of a Spanish tobacco planter by an Indian.

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A-E⁴ [A,¹, the half-title, with woodcut of a ship]; F⁴ [last two, blank]). Printed by E. Alde, with his usual ornament on the title.

Variations, indicating corrections in press, occur in the preliminary leaves of several copies examined. In this example the address of the dedication [A,³]^a reads, "To the right Worshipfull Sir | *Thomas Smith Knight, Gouverneur* | of the worshipfull companie of Mar-|chants of London, trading the East | Indies." The Latin verses on A,⁴^b are here signed "Iohn Cooke"; in the Church copy (where the arrangement of the dedication address differs from the foregoing) only the initials "I. C." occur. In another copy, the dedication heading is set up as above, but the verses are signed "I.C." It seems reasonable to assume, from the neater typographical arrangement and Cooke's full signature, that our copy represents a later (corrected) state than the others examined.

OLD CALF, some foremargins uncut. Size of leaf: 6 7/8 x 5 3/16 inches. Nearly every page of text has marginal notes in a contemporary hand.

From the library of the Marquess of Lothian (1932, n. 111), with the Newcastle Abbey library label and the armorial bookplate of William Marquifs of Lothian.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 18532 [records four copies, but not this]. *C.*, n. 332. *J.*, ii (i), 47.

ROWLANDS, Samuel (1570?-1630?)

HVMORS ORDINARIE. London, 1607.

ROWLANDS' dislike of some prevalent abuses in contemporary society was given expression in the epigrams and satires which comprised *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, 1600.¹ The exaggerations and extravagances

² Cf. the text of the title of this tract.

³ This appears to be the earliest published reference to the subject.

¹ Rowlands had the boldness to direct his contempt

against living persons under feigned names and in a manner so trenchant that the authorities intervened. The pamphlet was ordered to be burnt, and later twenty-nine booksellers were each penalized with a slight fine. Rowlands apparently thought

HVMORS

ORDINARIE.

Where a man' may bee verie
merrie, and exceeding
well vsed for his
six-pence.



AT LONDON,
Printed by Edward Allde, for William Firebrand
and are to bee sold at his Shoppe in the
Popes head Alley, right ouer a-
gainst the Taner-
doore. 1607.

TITLE OF ROWLANDS, 1607

associated with the use of tobacco were among his aversions, and several of his verses in this work deal with the subject.

These were the earliest published of his nicotian allusions,² and he reprinted all but one of his comments on the theme in this edition of 1607.

these satirical reflections much too valuable to be withheld from a world sadly in need of reproof, and therefore, within three years he reissued his pamphlet under the title, *Humors Ordinarie* (undated;

before 1603; reprinted, 1607). It has been asserted that all, or part of this work was a plagiarism, but the charge has not been proved. (*V. infra*, p. 446.)
² *V. nos.* 71, 89, 94, 107, and 285.

EPIG. 4.

When *Thrafo* meets his friend, he fwears by God,
Vnto his chamber he shall welcome be:
Not that hee'le cloy him there with roft or fod,
Such vulgar diet with Cookes shops agree:
But hee'le prefent moft kinde, exceeding franke,
The beft *Tabacco* that he euer dranke.
Such as himfelfe did make a voyage for,
And with his owne hands gather'd from the groūd:
All that which other fetch, he doth abhor,
His grew vpon an Iland neuer found.
Oh rare compound, a dying Horfe to choke,
Of *Engliſh* fier, and of *India* fmoke.

[B₁^a in this edition; A₅^a in the first edition, 1600.]

EPIG. 19.

A wofull exclamation late I heard,
Wherewith *Tabacco* takers may be feard:
One at the point with pipe and leafe to part,
Did vow, *Tabacco* worfe then deaths blacke dart;
And prou'd it thus: You know (quoth he) my friends
Death onely ftabbes the heart, and fo life ends:
But this fame poyfon-steeped *India* weede,
In head, hart, lungs, doth foot and copwebs breede,
With that he gasp'd, and breath'd out fuch a fmoke,
That all the ftanders by were like to choke.

[C₁^a; B₄^b in first ed.]³

In Epigram 23, Cornutus, mistaking his drunkenness for a last and fatal illness, calls his friends to his bedside and announces:

I here bequeath, if I doe chance to die,
To you kinde friends, and *bon* companions all,
A pound of good *Tabacco*, fweet, and drie,
To drinke amongst you, at my Funerall:
Befides, a barrell of the beft ftrong Beere,
And Pickle-herrings, for to domineere.

[C₂^a; B₇^a in first ed.]

EPIG. 40. [A Gallant in a Tavern]

Croffe not my humour, with an ill plac'd worde,
For if thou doſt, behold my fatall forde . . .
You Rogue what haſt to fupper for my diet?
Tell'ſt me of Butchers meate? knaue I defie it.
Ile haue a banquet to inuite an Earle,

³ This epigram was probably suggested by one in Thomas Bastard's *Chrestoleros*, 1598 [M₁^b]:

When *Carus* dy'de theſe were the laſt he ſpake,
O friend's take heed, Tobacco was my death.

A *Phoenix* boyld in broth diftil'd in Pearle.
Hold drie this leafe, a Candle quickly bring,
Ile take one pipe to bed, none other thing.
Thus with *Tobacco* he will fup to night:
Flesh-meate is heauie and his purfe is light.

[D₃^a; not included in the first edition.]

Epigram 3 is devoted to a swaggering roisterer who in his cups will swear that he thinks no more of "killing nine or ten . . . in brauado, Then for to drinke a pipe of *Trinidado*." [A₄^b in both editions.]

Of another of that class it is observed, in Epigram 32,

How Dutch-man-like he swallows down his drinke
How fweete he takes *Tabacco* till he ftinke . . . [C₄^b; C₃^b in first ed.]

The original edition of 1600 contained a "Satyre" (number 6), not reprinted in the issue of 1607, in which occur the following lines:

We gaue the Brewers Diet-drinke a wipe.
Braue *Malt-Tobacco* in a Quart-pot-pipe;
It netled mee, and did my braines inspire,
I haue forfworne your drinking fmoke and fire:
Out vpon Cane and Leafe *Tobacco* fmell;
Diuels take home your drinke, keepeit in Hell.
Carowfe in Cannon *Trinidado* fmoake,
Drinke healths to one another till you choake,
And let the *Indians* pledge you till they fweat:
Giue mee the element that drowneth heat;
Strong foddren Water is a vertuous thing,
It makes one fweare and fwagger like a King,
And hath more hidden vertue then you thinke:
For Ile maintaine, good liquor's meate & drinke. [E₆^b-E₇^a]

THIRD EDITION. Small quarto (A-G⁴). The device on the title was probably Alde's (cf. McKerrow, n. 343).

MOROCCO, by [C. Lewis, c. 1820]. Size of leaf: 7 x 5 1/8 inches.

From the collections of Sir Mark M. Sykes (1824, III, n. 1133), B. H. Bright (1845, n. 4843), Rev. Thomas Corser (1870, V, n. 648, bought by Henry Huth), Henry Huth (1918, VII, n. 6444), and John L. Clawson (1926, n. 684), with the ex libris of the two latter owners.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 21395 [which confuses this with the copy formerly in the Britwell Court Library]. De Ricci, n. 684. *Works* (Hunterian Club, 1880), i. Col., ii, 284.

The only other copy known is in the British Museum.

Of the original edition of 1600 only two copies are known: those in the British Museum and Bodleian libraries.

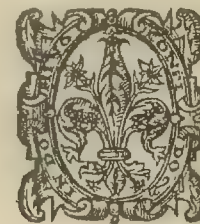
Middleton, in his *The Ant and Nightingale*, 1604, charged Rowlands with having borrowed his work from Nash's papers after the latter's death. It has been suggested elsewhere that *The Letting of Humours Blood* [&c.], 1600, originated from a satirical dialogue of William Goddard, *The batynge of Dyogenes*, which first appeared probably in 1591.



THE
FLEIRE.

As it hath beene often played in the
Blacke-Fryers by the Children of
the Reuells.

Written by Edward Sharpham of the
Middle Temple, Gentle-
man.



AT LONDON,
Printed and are to be folde by F.B. in Paules-Church-
yard, at the signe of the Flower de Luce and the
Crown. 1607.

TITLE OF SHARPHAM, 1607

MISTRESSE SUSAN, in love with Ruffell, and her sister, Nan, in love with Spark, in their first appearance upon the scene, are confessing their lovers' names to each other, when the two gallants enter. With them are a knight, Piso, the Florentine usurper, and tobacco's missionary, the copper-colored Signior Petoune.

Spar. Faith Ladyes, youth and beauty alwaies bee your handmaidens.
Ruff. Best fortunes your attendants.
Pifo. Good clothes your companions.
Ruff. Wee all of vs your seruants.
Pet. And let Tobacco be your perfumes.
Nan. Lord Gentlemen how your wits Caper . . .
Sp. Ladies we are come to make a Gentleman of your acquaintance heere.
Nan. His name good Maister *Spark*? hee's very welcome.
Spar. His name is *Sig. Petoune*¹ a Traueller and a great Tobaconist.
Pet. Faith Ladyes I take it now and then fasting for the purification of my wit.
Suf. Purification? why has your wit layne in child-bed fir?
Ruff. Yes indeede Lady, brought to bed of a Moone-calfe.
Pet. Faith Ladies if you vfe but mornings when ye rise, the diuine smoke of this Celestiall herbe, it will more purifie, clense and mundifie your complexions by ten partes then your dissolued Mercury, your iuice of Lemmons, your distilled snailles, your gourd waters, your oyle of tartar, or a thousand such toys.
Spa. Sure Ladies I must needs say th' instinct of this herb hath wrought in this Gentleman such a diuine influence of good words, excellēt discourse, admirable inuention, incōparable wit: why I tel yee, when he talkes, wisdom stands a mile off and dares not come neere him, for feare a [he] should shame her: but before a did vfe this Tobacco, a was the arrantst Woodcock that euer I saw.
Pet. Indeed I was a very filly fellow.
Ruff. Nay you were an arrant affe.
Pet. Sure I was a foole.
Kni. Nay, you were a most monstrous puppie.
Pet. Indeed I was an Idiot, a verie Idiot.
Pifo. By this light thou wert a most egregious coxcombe.
Pet. Indeed I was, indeed I was.
Sp. But since, it hath imbellisht his good parts, perfected his ill partes, and made his secrete actions correspondent to his outward wisdom, as you may well perceiue.
Pe[t]. Faith Ladie these Gentlewomen haue not long vfed my companie, yet you see how Tobacco hath already refined their spirits.
Pifo. *Petoune* I wonder Tobacco hath not purified the complexion of thy nose?
Pet. Why, what ayles my nose?
Pifo. Nay, be not angrie, I do not touch thy nose, to th' end a [it] should take any thing in snuffe.²
Pet. Why do y' play so about my nose?
Kni. T'is a good turne hees no Flie signeur: if a were, a would burne his wings.
Nan. O signeur, these Gentlewomen haue not long vfed your companie, yet you see how Tobacco hath already refined their spirits.
Pet. Fayth Ladie, would you bestowe but one fauour of me.
Nan. Truly signeur if you should haue as much fauour as you haue complexion, you would bee highly fauoured.
Pet. Deare Ladie, now by this day I loue you.
Nan. Cheape signeur, nowe by the light of this day, I cannot loue you.

¹ Derived from *Petun*, or *Petum*.

² *I.e.*, in anger; but here a play on the word.

Sp. Now Ladie, what drugs of wit has this Apothecarie of Tobacco sold you?
Nan. Faith a folde me none fir, onely a gaue me a taste of his good meaning. . . .
Pet. Prethe peace: deare Ladie, please you take a pipe of Tobacco?
Ruf. I, come: Ile beginne to her (*tab*) why, what a rogue art thou to offer a faire Ladie an emptie pipe?
Suf. Why signeur? do you make a foole of me?
Pifo. Had you no body signeur to haue bob'd [mocked] with an emptie Pipe but her?
Nan. Why howe now signeur, could you finde neuer a fitter block to whet your wit on, but my sister?
Sp. By the diuine smoke of Tobacco signeur, you haue sham'd vs all.
Pet. Swear not good fir, sweare not, prophane not the Indian plant.

But the belabored *Petoune* cannot pacify Susan and her teasing companions until he has sworn a great oath upon his own pipe:

Suf. First you shall neuer while you liue offer Ladie or Gentlewoman an emptie pipe. *Pet.* Neuer.
Su. Secondly, you shall neuer make Tobacco your Idoll, taking it in a morning before you say your prayers. *Pet.* Neuer.
Su. Thirdly, you shall neuer in the praise of Tobacco disclose or dispraise by the way of making comparifons, the secrets of Ladies, or Gentlewomen, as repeating their distil'd waters, their censing [perfuming] oyles, or their smoothing vngvents.
Sp. To this you sweare.
Pet. Most willingly.
Su. Fourthly, you shall neuer come with your squibs & smoke-squirts amongst Ladies and Gentlewomen, flinging out fume at your Nostrels, as a whale doth falt-water, vnlesse you be intreated by them. *Pet.* Neuer.
Su. Fifthly, you shall presently conuey your selfe out of our company, neuer to come more neere vs, vnlesse you be sent for.
Pet. Neuer?
Su. No neuer: so, let him kisse the pipe.

The offended *Petoune* exits, swearing that "some shall smoke for this." [B₄^b-C₂^b]

Thereafter occur a number of scenes in which *Petoune* takes a part, and which contain some sprightly remarks about tobacco. Among these may be especially noted the *Fleire's* reply to an invitation extended by the insistent missionary of the pipe: "No, Not I; ile not make my nose a red Herring, ile not hang him ith' smoke." [C₄^b]

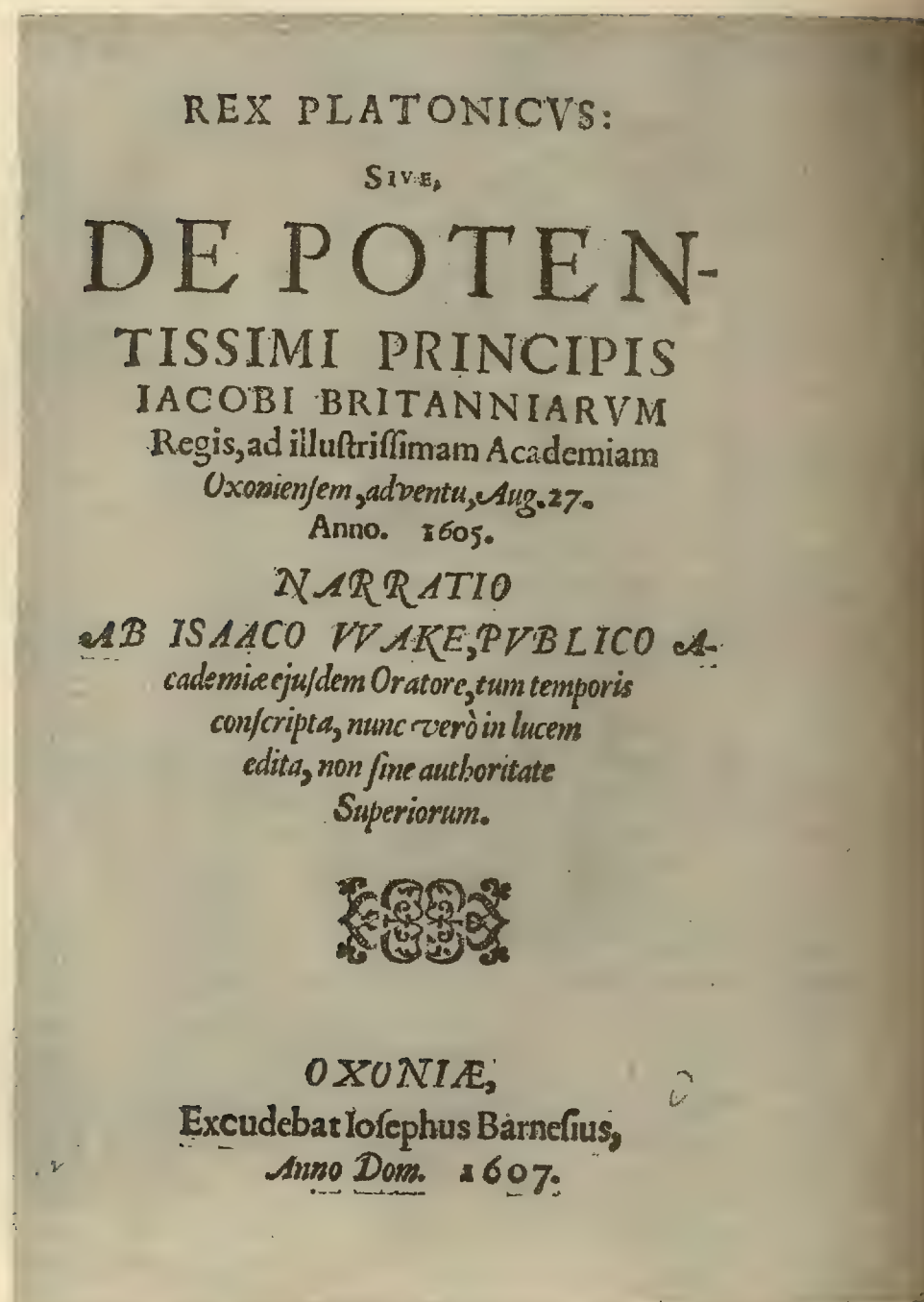
FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A⁴ [first and last, probably blank, lacking—as in all known copies]; B-H⁴). Printed by E. Alde (with his device on the title), for Francis Burton.

OLD HALF ROAN, by R. Riviere. Size of leaf: 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 5 $\frac{3}{16}$ inches.

From the collections of William Holgate (1846, n. 857; bought by W. H. Miller), S. R. Christie-Miller (1921, n. 267), and John L. Clawson (1925, n. 747), with the ex libris of the first and last.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 22384 [records three other copies]. (To these should be added the copy in the Huntington sale, 1918, VII, n. 752.) *Ch.*, iii, 490-491. *SAB.*, i, 173, 174. *10NQ.*, X, 21 ff.

"In *The Fleir*, [acted] 1605 or 1606, a combination of Italian and English characters in London is foully if wittily effective." (*Sc.*, i, 518.)



TITLE OF WAKE, 1607

[*Translation of title*] The Platonic King, or, concerning the visit, 27 August, 1605, of the very powerful ruler James, King of Britain, to the most illustrious University of Oxford. Narrated by Isaac Wake, public orator of the same university, written at the time, and now published, with the authority of the Superiors. At Oxford. Published by Joseph Barnes, 1607.

IN AUGUST, 1605, James I ("to gratify his pedantry," Warton says) visited Oxford University. He was publicly welcomed by Wake with an oration which his majesty thought elegant and polished, though soporific.

There, formal entertainments were provided for the distinguished and learned visitor by the usual sermons in Greek and Latin, classical plays, scholastic argumentations, and syllogisms in jurisprudence and theology.

On the third day (August 29th) was held the "Physic Act," during which was debated "Whether the frequent smoking of exotic tobacco is salutary for those in health."¹ The moderator was Bartholomew Warner and the respondent, Sir William Paddy (1554–1634), physician to the king, 1603.² But the latter was no enemy to tobacco; indeed, he was so celebrated an addict of the sovereign weed that Thorius (n. 157) invoked his protection for his *Hymnus Tabaci*.

Attached to the question for discussion was the explanatory tetrastich, written in the punning fashion of the day, part of which may be translated as "What wealth . . . have we smoked from the weed which India sends, but whence comes little good? . . . He is well who loves not this sick man's food."

In the two preceding days the royal family had listened to so many speeches that they would have been wearied were not their zeal for learning so great. But James, like the sun which hardly sets during the summer night in Britain, shone forth betimes on the third morning, to grace the discussion of medicine, which, with jurisprudence and theology, formed his greatest interests.

A certain affectation has invaded our British people (always more addicted than is wise to exotic frivolities) of an Indian medicament. So many weigh down their breaths so heavily with tobacco fumes—or shall we say filth? . . . that their brains become light, leaving them with a feeble wit. These men are lighter than the very smoke they swallow, but many of them, in bitter penitence, have learned about their drug [that] "the medicine is worse than the disease."

The prudent king decreed that this medicine, its strength and its poison, should undergo the examination of the Æsculapian assemblage, so that under the ban of both king and physicians it might, if possible, be cast into eternal exile. And this disquisition he wished open to the public, while another was to be held for him in private, since those things are especially attractive to the public which appeal in private to their princes.

. . . In a splendid, long and learned speech, Master William Paddy bore bravely the attacks of his adversaries, albeit at other times he was of a spirit not hostile to tobacco. [His opponents, the leading lights of various Oxford colleges] were the most learned of all the sons of Æsculapius. Each of their doubts and opposition he in turn overthrew, and then tore off his mask and praised the shrewdness of mind of their most intelligent king, so that thereby all were bathed in the deepest pleasure when they perceived the king so rejoiced. For, indeed, in his true feelings,

¹ The debate was, so far as is known, the first academic discussion held in England on the subject of tobacco. The theme was to become a favorite topic for scholastic argumentations and for doctoral

theses.

² Among the opponents were Anthony Aileworth, Regius Professor of Physic, Dr. John Cheynell, Dr. Matthew Guinne, *et al.*

the king greatly abhorred smoking, and after he had heard and considered impartially the reasons of each and all [he said:]

"This smoking of tobacco, or rather this stench (for so he preferred to call it), should have no place either in the lives of sober men, or in the schools of wise doctors."

He went on to say that there were certain principles passed down from the time of the ancients, from Hippocrates to Galen. Nothing should be rashly admitted into common use as medicine which could not conform with their precepts. They all taught that smokes, especially stinking smokes, are harmful for the head and the eyes. And smoke will provoke humors rather than expel them. If anything were needed to purge the brain some remedy other than tobacco would surely have been prescribed by the ancients. And does not the continual use of tobacco ignore other rules of these wise old physicians that certain medicines are fit for certain diseases, must be employed at certain times, and that no one medicine should be employed by all?

To which royal opinions against smoking there succeeded an adverse speech, yet very eloquent and producing polite merriment. Master Cheynell . . . second to none of the doctors in merit, voiced the wonderful virtues of the tobacco pipe (which he held forth in his hand) and lauded the value of this new medicine, above all others. The witty speech of this learned, most prudent and moderate speaker delighted the minds of the king and the rest, particularly as it showed very clearly that he himself was at heart an enemy of tobacco. [He concluded by proposing] that our doctors ought to learn the right use of smoking tobacco from the medicine-men of the Indies. They, even though enjoying perfect health, were wont never to approach the sick unless they were first intoxicated with smoke—a custom ordained by Indian law under penalty of severe punishment, as wholesome for the sick and honorable to the doctor.

At the mention of this insane custom, proved also by the testimony of Benzon³, the king rejoined,

that the use of tobacco betrays its barbarous origin. The Indians have as much skill in medicine as in their civilization. "Tobacconists" are compared again with the Indian progenitors of the vile habit of smoking; their bodies have degenerated to the nature of barbarians. He suggested that such doctors among them as were lovers of tobacco should, in all fairness, be relegated to the Indies, where they belong,

where, too far away to contaminate and disgust our countrymen, they could freely become intoxicated [with tobacco], mixing with those inebriate physicians [Indians], and there henceforth practise their art.

Why delay longer, or tell of the thunders of praise that saluted the end of this noble contest? Why should I [Wake] add my droplet of ink to the ocean of applause? I desire only to show off more brightly that Sun which shone upon us, and to preserve its light to eternity.

The discussion had worn the entire morning away, very pleasantly. It was con-

³ V. n. 10.

cluded by a most polished speech from the excellent . . . Master Warner. He hoped that after the themes which they had heard expounded, each one would stay persuaded of the right, even though before, some had been great devotees of tobacco. He was especially happy to decry tobacco, even though the pipe was now so fashionable among our nobles.

He drew upon classical precept to urge all to break their evil, reeking tobacco pipes.

But why cite the example of Alcibiades and Pallas, when we have at home James, more wise, powerful and learned than that general, and his spouse, more prudent than that goddess, who not only disapprove but openly hate this wicked, filthy, deforming habit of smoking. Why should not the world follow the example of the king?

Loud applause. Warner thanked the king for his attention, and they adjourned for a collation at New College. [K₄^b-L₄^b]

The use of tobacco by the students during the royal visit described by Wake was undoubtedly prohibited. Nichols (*op. cit. infra*—iii, p. 44), for instance, records the fact that part of the regulations issued by the Cambridge University authorities for undergraduate guidance during a visit of the king read:

"10. That noe Graduate, Scholler, or Student of this Universitie presume to resort to any Inn, Taverne, Alehowse, or *Tobacco-shop* at any tyme dureing the aboade of his Majestie here; nor doe presume to *take tobacco in St. Marie's Church* or in Trinity Colledge Hall, uppon payne of finall expellinge the Universitie."⁴

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (¶⁴ [first, blank]; A-S⁴ [last, prob. blank, lacking]).

MOROCCO, by Riviere. Size of leaf: 7½ x 5¾ inches. The original blank, ¶₁, contains the contemporary signature of Jo. Newdigate.

From the library of Sir Francis Newdigate-Newdegate (1920, n. 350).

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 24939. F., 80. *The Progresses . . . of King James the First*, J. Nichols (1828), i, 530 *et seq.* Cf. William Bates' brief notice of the debate in *3NQ.*, VI, 301-302.

ANOMOEUS, Johann Joachim, *Resp.*; Gregor HORST (1578-1638), *Præs.*

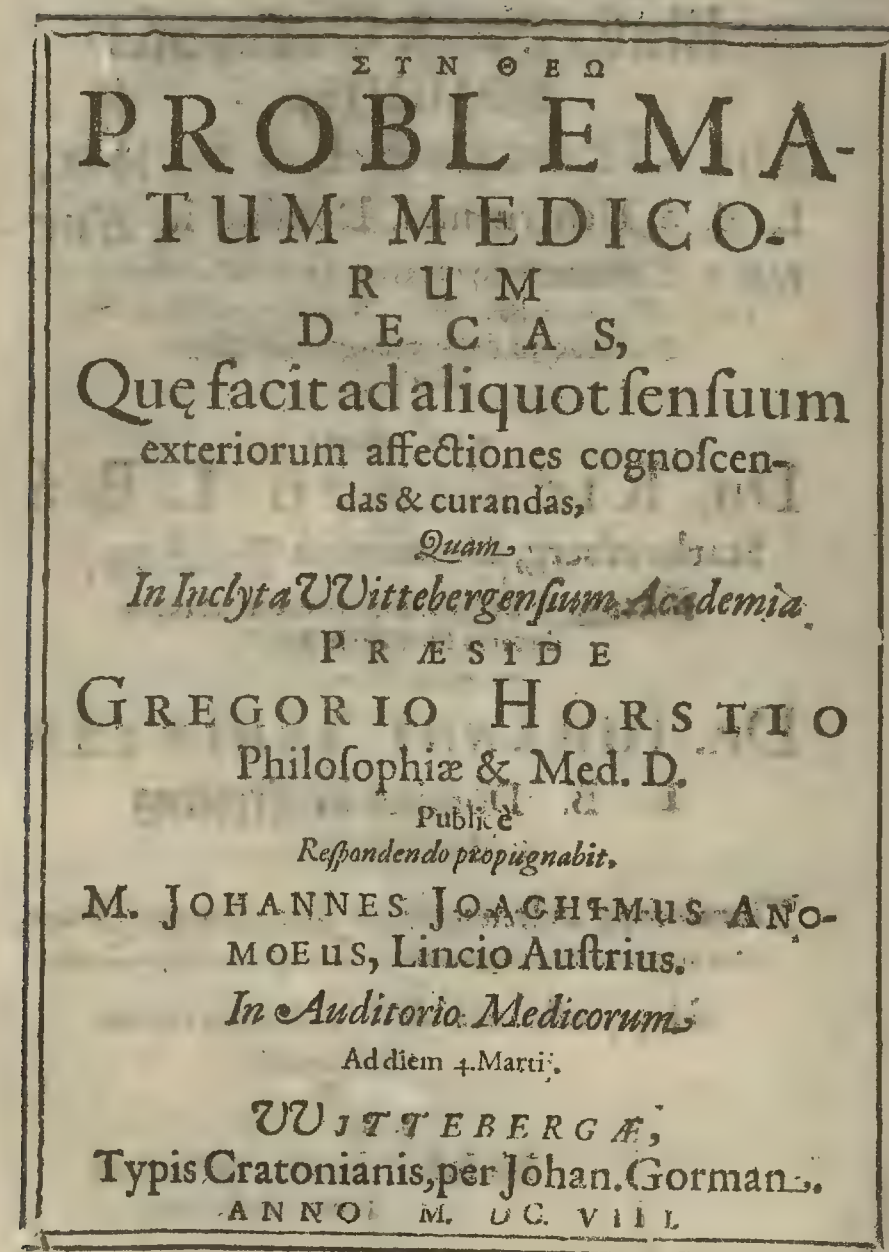
1608

PROBLEMATUM MEDICORUM DECAS. Wittenberg, 1608.

[*Translation of title*] With God. A decade of medical cases, for the purpose of diagnosing and curing some affections of the exterior senses. To be publicly maintained by Master Johann Joachim Anomoeus of Linz in Austria, respondent, in the auditorium of the medical school of the famous University of Wittenberg, on the fourth of March, Gregor Horst, Ph.D. and M.D., being in the chair. Wittenberg, with the types of Crato, by Johann Gorman, in the year 1608.

⁴A similar order was issued prior to the reception of Charles I and Queen Mary, who visited the

university during Lent, in 1630 (Nichols, *ibid.*, p. 45, n.).



TITLE OF ANOMOEUS, 1608

THE various uses of tobacco having induced popular controversies relating to their effects upon health and morals, these matters shortly invaded the rostrums of universities and were seriously discussed by teachers and pupils.¹ This is the earliest

¹ Wake (n. 85) recorded the earliest public debate in England on the subject.

work to report an academic discussion, of which a part related to the medicinal value of tobacco, in a German institution of learning.

The seventh problem offered for consideration was "Whether true Nicotiana helps in cases of catarrh and coryza, and if so, in what manner." It was the respondent's opinion that as tobacco had exsiccative qualities it was effective in clearing up ailments of the head. Nicotiana had further value, too, as it satisfied hunger and thirst, produced sleep, etc. In confirmation of these things, Monardes, Dodoens, De l'Escluse, and Everard² were cited as authorities. [B₃^b-B₄^b]

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A-C⁴).

MOROCCO. Size of leaf: 7½ x 6⅛ inches.

REFERENCES: SG., 1st Ser., VI. Ferguson, i, 417-418.

This work was the third of five dissertations on medical subjects given by candidates for the degree of Doctor of Medicine at the University of Wittenberg, under the supervision of Dr. Gregor Horst. Each was issued with a separate title and individual signatures. The collection appeared under the general title: "Gregor Horst I D. Philos. & Med. Problematum Medicorum θεραπευτικῶν Decades priores quinque; In illustri Witebergâ cum consensu Superiorum, in gratiam Candidatorum Medicinæ conscriptæ, & publico privatoq; examini subjectæ, Wittebergæ . . . per J. Gorman, M. DC. VIII."

DAY, John (1574-1640?)

LAW-TRICKES. London, 1608.

POLYMETES, son of the duke of Genoa, is a book-lover who has been urged from that dangerous habit by his father's courtiers. He enters, reading, with Julio, "a noble youthful Gallant [who is] taking Tobacco."

Poly. O moste Diuine!

Iul. Tobacco? the best in Europe, 't cost mee ten Crownes an ounce by this vapor.

Pol. Art not asham'd?

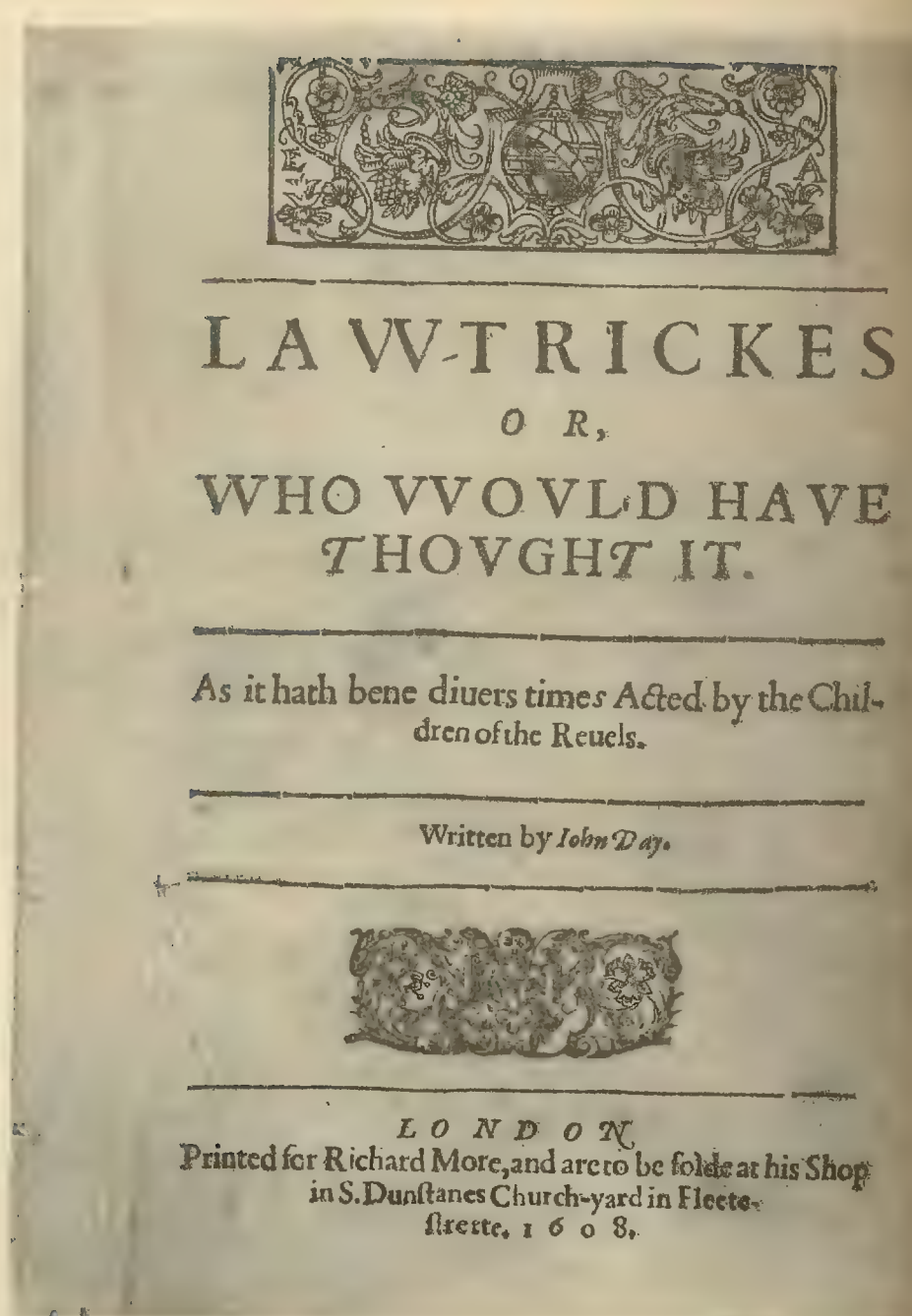
Iul. Of your foppish humor? yes by this Element [his tobacco] villanously asham'd, pox on 't, (leave your reading.) [B₃^b]

But Polymetes makes a Faustus-like transformation and gives himself up to the pleasures of the world, for later, having gone the pace, and planning new tricks suggested by his disguised sister, Emilia, he exclaims:

. . . ile fee which of my cheuerill [pliable] braind immitators dares follow my fashion: sblood I cannot drinke Tobacco two daies, but the third the Churchwardens & fidemen are at it in the Alehouse in fermon time . . . [F₃^{a-b}]

Lurdo, an old count, is informed by Adam, servant to Polymetes, that his master has renounced his books and is living a life of riotous pleasure.

² Nos. 15, 17-A, 18, etc., and 32.



TITLE OF DAY, 1608

... there's not a tricke vſde in the towne that deferues damnation, but hee defires to deale in 't, tis pittie [he] was not made a tradesman, he loves to follow his occupation a life, & that which makes him doubt most, he is in loue with the Indian punck Tobacco.

Lur. Puncke! how the foole that doth not know it flaunders a leafe, nick-names a stranger herb.

Adam. No herb a grace I hope fir.

Lur. Nor good thrift neither,

Yet there's one dunce, a kinde of plodding Poet,
Sweare's twas not in the first creation,
Because he findes no ballad argument,
To proue old *Adam* a Tobacconiste,

Adam. I thinke none a the name loue's it. I haue heard olde *Adam* was an honest man, and a good Gardiner lou'd Lettice well, Sallets [salads] and Cabbage reasonable well, yet no Tobacco: Again, *Adam Bell* a substantial out-law, & passing a good Archer, yet no Tobacconist. Further, *Diogenes*, whose propper name might bee *Adam* for ought I know, lou'd Carretts well, Leeke porredge passing well, yet no Tobacco: to conclude, my great Grandfathers Grandfathers father, and my selfe all Gardners, yet could not abide this Chimney-fweeper Tobacco. [C₁^b-C₂^a]

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A-I⁴). Printed by E. Alde?¹

STITCHED, WRAPPERS. Size of leaf: 6¹⁵/₁₆ x 5 inches.

Part of "The Property of a Gentleman" (Sotheby's, 1 July 1925, n. 666), then bound with other plays.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 6416. *Sc.*, i, 397, 545. *Ch.*, iii, 285. *Haz.*, *H.*, 146.

It is the opinion of Dr. Chambers that this play was acted first in 1604, although the name given to the company (*cf.* title) suggests 1605-1606.

DODOENS, Rembert (1517-1585); Charles de l'ESCLUSE (1526-1609)

CRVYDT-BOECK. Leyden, 1608.

[*Translation of title*] Book of Herbs, by Rembert Dodoens, according to his most recent corrections. With supplementary matter after each chapter by several herbalists [*i.e.*, De l'Escluse, De l'Obel, *et al.*]. Also, in the last [part] a description of Indian plants, derived, for the greater part, from the writings of Charles de l'Escluse. At Leyden, from the Plantin printing-house of François Raphelengien, 1608.

THIS edition of Dodoens' herbal¹ repeats the accounts of "yellow henbane" and of "henbane of Peru" already provided in his work, 1574 (n. 17-A), with some new material. The opinion of Thevet (nos. 8, 21) and the advice of Monardes (n. 15) relating to the medicinal uses of tobacco—Dodoens is referring to the latter species, *H. Peruvianus*, here—are given.

Because of its similarity to the *Geel Bilsencruyt* [yellow henbane],² as well as for its remedial powers, the plant was known as the "healing herb." But it has certain evil effects, among the most common of which is the power of its smoke to intoxicate the brain and to produce insanity.³

¹ *Cf.* the ornament above imprint with the center one of n. 89, and the head ornament with lower part of the border of n. 93, both printed by Alde.

[N. 88:]

² The chapters of tobacco interest in Dodoens' *Purgantium*, 1574 (n. 17-A), reappeared in extended form in the first edition of Dodoens' herbal in Latin, *Stirpium Historiae Pemptades sex sive libri xxx* . . .

1583, the source of this Dutch translation, 1608.

³ Used medicinally from the days of Dioscorides and Pliny. *V.*, too, Comes, p. 75.

⁴ The smoke of tobacco was, however, credited, at a later period, with restoring an insane soldier to his senses (Cleland, p. 62) and the same remedy was recommended in the treatment of mania by a modern authority (*ibid.*).



TITLE OF DODOENS, 1608

In the editor's appendix *N. Tabacum* (in two varieties), as described by De l'Escluse (nos. 18, 27), and *N. rustica* (in two varieties) are recorded, with references to De

l'Obel and others. In the latter division occurs *Sana sancta minima*, *Tabacum minimum*, a "dwarf" variety of *N. rustica*. The other, the "fourth variety," called by De l'Escluse the "yellow henbane of Dodoens,"⁴ was *N. rustica* var. *texana*. The latter, it is stated, was employed for wounds before the "tall tobacco" (i.e., *N. Tabacum*) was seen or known in France—which confirms De Léry's contention (n. 26) that only *N. rustica* was then readily obtainable in French physic gardens.

In the account of the use of tobacco, it is remarked that wounds must first be washed with white wine or urine and then dried before the tobacco is applied.

The American leaf is best, but the Dutch produce tobacco on their farms which is nearly as strong.⁵

Little that is new is contained in this division. The advice is given that smoking should be done only by virile men. [XX^b–YY^b]

FIRST COMPLETE EDITION IN DUTCH. Folio (†⁴ [including engraved title]; A–Z⁶; a–z⁶; 2A–2Z⁶; 2a–2z⁶; 3A–3Z⁶; 3a–3z⁶; 3r⁴; ¶⁴; 2¶⁴; 3¶⁴; *⁴; 2*⁴; 3*⁴; 4*⁴; 5*⁴; 6*⁴; 7*⁴).

ENGRAVED TITLE, by W. Swan; numerous woodcuts of plants in text, including three of tobacco. (Of these, two were published by Dodoens in 1574—v. n. 17-A. The other is the same as the cut reproduced in n. 27.)

LEATHER BACK, OLD CLOTH SIDES. Size of leaf: 13 7/8 x 9 1/8 inches.

REFERENCES: BM. BN. Pritzel, n. 2345 ff. Cf. the others (including Meerbeeck) given in nos. 5-A and 17-A.

* * *

No. 88-a Another edition of this work, Antwerp, 1644 (the third according to Meerbeeck) with the corrections of J. van Ravelingen, is also in this library. The title is the same except for orthographic changes. The chapter on tobacco occurs on Qqq^a–Qqq^b, with identical cuts of the plants. (There was an edition, which Meerbeeck calls the second, published in 1618.)

ROWLANDS, Samuel (1570?–1630?)

HVMORS LOOKING GLASSE. London, 1608.

SOMETIME late in the reign of Elizabeth (but perhaps not earlier than the initial years of that of James I) some practical joker conceived the notion of extinguishing a smoker with a can of beer. Whether or not he actually put the scheme into operation, the idea of it spread and it became a stock jest of the period. It was recorded in various forms in contemporary works.¹

It was natural that the fable should become attached to the most glamorous figure in nicotian annals, Sir Walter Raleigh. Much has been forgotten about Raleigh, but the popular mind still clings affectionately to the story that his frightened servant

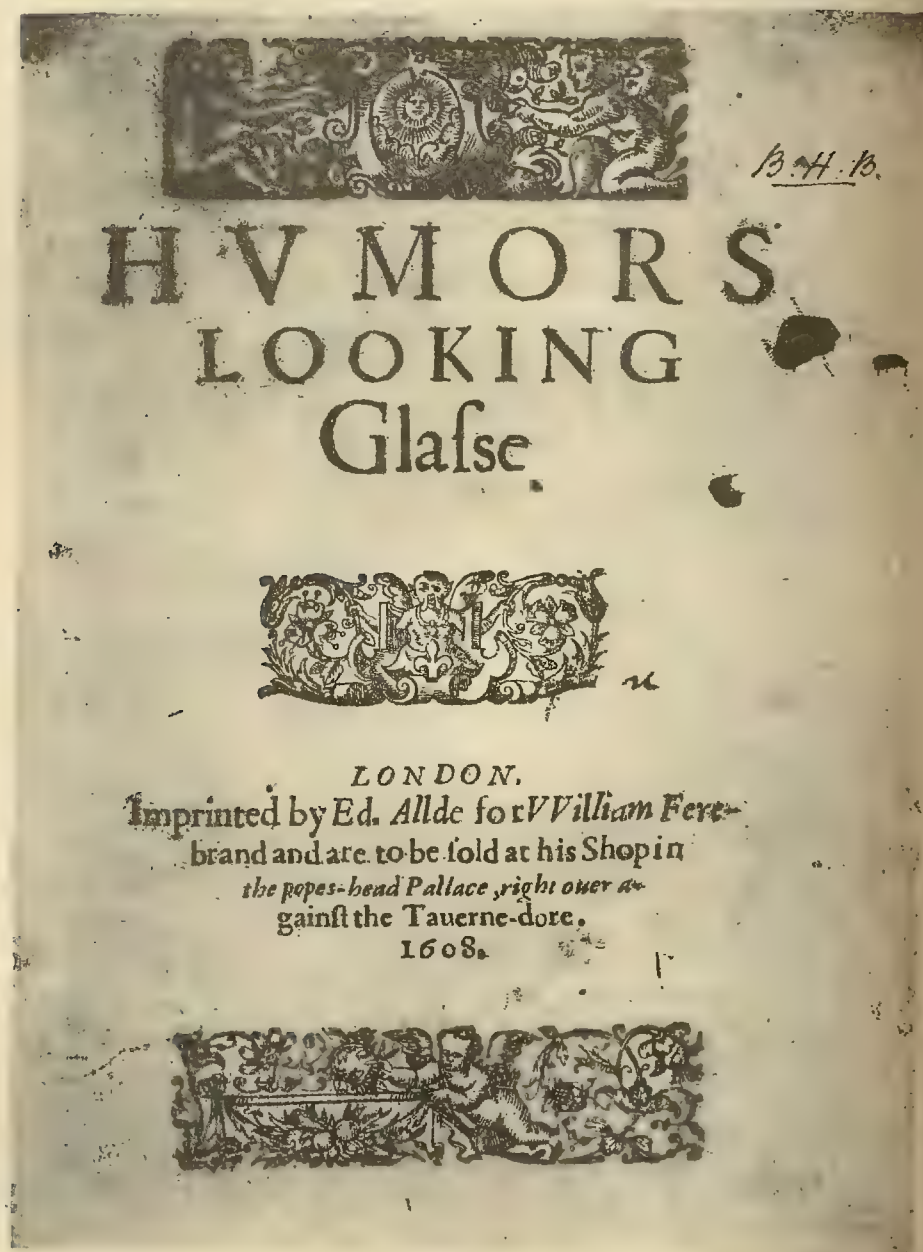
⁴ Cf. nos. 17-A, and 18, last excerpt.

⁵ This appears to be the earliest published reference to the commercial cultivation of tobacco in the

Netherlands. V. the Introduction, p. 97, n. 9.

¹ Cf. *infra* pp. 461–462, and n. 132 [G₃^a], etc.

doused him with a can of beer while he sat smoking, and the myth is retold in some juvenile texts as an historical fact. The idea of Raleigh as the central figure of the episode does not, however, seem to have been of coeval origin. None of the early



TITLE OF ROWLANDS, 1608
From the copy in the Huntington Library

printed versions mentions him. He first appears as an actor in the incident in the columns of a dilettante journal, *The British Apollo*, in 1708 (n. 473), a hundred years after the first known appearance of the fable in print, as presented by Rowlands:²

² Cf. the account of Tarlton's *Jests*, *infra*.

Epigram.

One of the damned crew that liues by drinke,
And by Tobacco's stillified stink,
Met with a Country man that dwelt at Hull:
Thought he this pefant's fit to be my Gull.
His first salute like to the French-mans wipe,
Wordes of encounter, please you take a pipe?
The Countrie man amazed at this rabble,
Knewe not his minde yet would be conformable.
Well, in a petty Ale-houfe they enfconce
His Gull must learne to drinke Tobacco once.
Indeede his purpose was to make a iest,
How with Tobacco he the peasant drest.
Hee takes a whiffe, with arte into his head,
The other standeth still astonished.
Till all his fences he doth backe reuoake,
Sees it ascend much like Saint Katherins smoake.
But this indeede made him the more admire,
He saw the smoke: thought he his head's a fier,
And to increafe his feare he thought poore soule,
His scarlet nose had been a firie cole.
Which circled round with smoak, seemed to him
Like to some rotten brand that burneth dim.
But to shew wifdome in a desperat case,
He threw a Can of beere into his face,
And like a man some furie did inspire,
Ran out of doores for helpe to quench the fire.
The Ruffin throwes away his Trinidado,
Out comes huge oathes and then his short poynado,
But then the Beere so troubled his eyes,
The councieman was gone ere he could rise,
A fier to drie him he doth now require,
Rather then water for to quench his fire. [B₄^b-C₁^a]

On A₃^b-A₄^a occurs Epigram 40, which has been recorded in n. 83.

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A-D⁴).

PHOTOSTAT OF THE COPY IN THE HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 21386 [records three copies]. *Works* (Hunterian Club, 1880), i. Col., ii, 287-288.

The incident versified by Rowlands was associated with Richard Tarlton, the Elizabethan comedian and poetaster. The first part of *Tarlton's Jests* is mentioned in Nash's *Strange Newes*, 1592,³ in a phrase which suggests that it was already in existence. The *Jests* was composed in three parts, the first of which was probably committed to the press shortly after Tarlton's death late in 1588.⁴ If the tobacco episode under consideration was then already

³ According to W. Carew Hazlitt (*v. infra*) et al.

⁴ The second, it seems, was licensed in 1600 to

Thomas Pavier. It was again entered in Feb. 1608/1609.

a popular pleasantry, it would have been typical of Tarlton to identify himself with it, though, of course, some casual editor may have interpolated it in the *Jests*. Whether or not the story appeared in the original or early editions of that anthology cannot now be determined, as the earliest extant edition is that of 1638,⁵ thirty years after Rowlands' presentation of it to the reading public.

The *Jests* was reprinted by the Shakespeare Society in 1844, with some polite omissions, and again (ed. by W. Carew Hazlitt), in *Shakespeare Jest-Books* (1864). In this appears Tarlton's version of the contemporary anecdote,

How Tarlton tooke tobacco at the first comming up of it.

Tarlton, as other gentlemen used, at the first comming up of tobacco, did take it more for fashion's sake than otherwise; and being in a roome, set between two men overcome with wine, and they never seeing the like, wondred at it, and seeing the vapour come out of Tarlton's nose, cryed out: fire, fire! and threw a cup of wine in Tarlton's face. Make no more stirre, quoth Tarlton, the fire is quenched; if the sheriffes come, it will turne to a fine, as the custome is. And drinking that againe: fie, sayes the other, what a stinke it makes; I am almost poysoned. If it offend, saies Tarlton, let's every one take a little of the smell, and so the savour will quickly goe: but tobacco whiffes made them leave him to pay all. (Vol. II, p. 221.)

DEKKER, Thomas (1570?-1641)

THE GVLS HORNE-BOOKE. London, 1609.

IN THE satiric rôle of mentor to the dandies, Dekker was able to report fully upon those affectations which enlivened the Jacobean scene in London. Prominent among the mannerisms of contemporary fops were the styles adopted by them in "drinking tobacco," and the author's ironic comments on these provide some entertaining and valuable additions to the observations already published by Jonson (n. 59) and others.

In his "Præmium," having called upon the fantastic gods of inspiration to aid him so that he "may aptly furnish this feast of Fooles," he turns to a newer deity of the gallants:

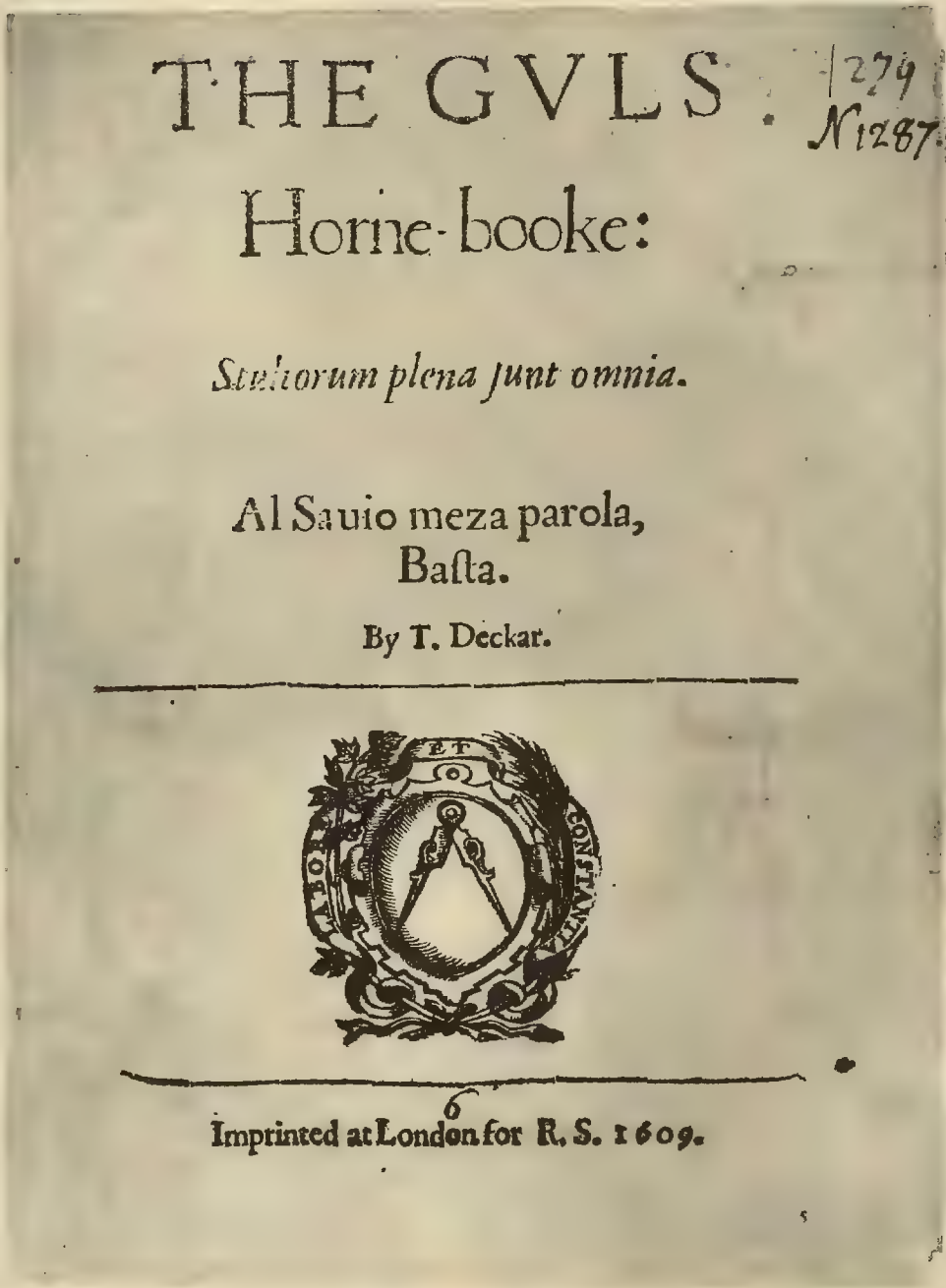
If there be any strength in thee, thou beggerly monarke of Indians, and fetter-vp of rotten-lungd chimney-fweepers (Tobacco) I beg it at thy smoaky hands: make me thine adopted heire, that inheriting the vertues of thy whiffes, I may distribute them amongst all nations, and make the phantastick Englishmen (aboue the rest) more cunning in the distinction of thy Rowle Trinidado, Leafe and Pudding,^[2] then the whitest toothd Blackamoore in all Asia. After thy pipe, shal ten thousands be taught to daunce, if thou wilt but discouer to me the sweetnesse of thy snuffes, with the manner of spawling, flauering, fpetting and driueling in all places, and before all persons. Oh what songs will I charme out in praise of those valiantly-strong-stinking breaths, which are easly purchaft at thy hands, if I can but get thee

⁵ *STC.*, 23684. Only two perfect examples are recorded. Hazlitt and others write of a 1611 edition as "the earliest now known," but all copies of that

edition seem to have mysteriously disappeared.

² *V. the Glossary* for these terms.

to trauell through my nose. All the foh's in the fairest Ladies mouth that euer kist Lord, shall not fright me from thy browne prefence: for thou art humble, and from the Courts of Princes haft vouchsafed to be acquainted with penny galleries,



TITLE OF DEKKER, 1609
From the copy in the British Museum

and (like a good-fellow) to be drunke for company, with Watermen, Carmen and Colliers, whereas before, and so still, Knights and wife Gentlemen were, & are thy companions. [B₂^b-B₃^a]

In the chapter "How a yong Gallant should behaue himselfe in an Ordinary," the author provides a brief catalogue of the usual equipment of a "tobacconist," in a passage often quoted:

Before the meate come fmoaking to the board, our Gallant must draw out his Tobacco-box, the ladell^[2] for the cold snuffe into the nostrill, the tongs and prining Iron:^[3] All which artillery may be of gold or filuer (if he can reach to the price of it) it will bee a reasonable vfeull pawne at all times, when the current of his money falles out to run low. And heere you must obserue to know in what state Tobacco is in towne, better then the Merchants, and to discourse of the Potecaries [apothecaries] where it is to be sold, and to be able to speake of their wiues [wives?] as readily as the Potteccary himselfe reading the barbarous hand of a Doctor: then let him shew his seuerall tricks in taking it. As the Whiffe, the Ring, &c.^[4] For these are complements that gaine Gentlemen no meane respect, and for which indeede they are more worthily noted, I enfore you, then for any skill that they haue in learning. [D₄^b-E₁^a]

There are several other references to tobacco and its uses, in this work. Among the more entertaining are the following: The author suggests to his critics, "(you good dry brained Polipragmonists [busybodies])" that they dry tobacco with his leaves.⁵ [A₁^b] In his advice to a gallant appearing in Paul's walk⁶ he urges that the dandies do not permit themselves to be seen

aboue foure turnes, but in the fift make your selfe away, either in some of the Sempsters shops, the new Tobacco-office^[7] or amongst the Booke-sellers, where, if you cannot reade, exercise your fmoake, and inquire who has writ against this diuine weede . . . [D₁^b-D₂^a]

The final chapter, "How a gallant is to behaue himselfe passing through the Cittie at all houres of the night," etc., concludes with the suggestion that when the beau has arisen, about noon, he should proceed to his "Stationers shop" where he may indulge in criticism of new and old books . . .

From thence you should blow your selfe into the Tobacco-Ordinary, where you are likewise to spend your iudgement (like a Quackfaluer) vpon that mysticall wonder, to be able to discourse whether your Cane or your Pudding be sweeteft, and which pipe has the best boare, and which burnes black, which breakes in the burning, &c. [F₃^b]

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A-F⁴ [first, prob. blank, lacking]). Printed for Richard Serger.⁸

² The word "ladell" has by some students been thought to mean a tobacco pipe. But, in relation to its context, it seems that it can have no other significance than "snuff-spoon." As it was, at the period, a term used in gunnery—an instrument for charging with loose powder—it fits in nicely with Dekker's other military terms in this passage. Although the use of snuff was not, at this date, a habit common with English gallants, a few of the more advanced of that class probably dallied prettily with the fashion. Cf. notes to n. 33.

³ "Prining Iron" appears to be a misprint for "priming-iron." Its use here obviously means "to-

bacco stopper," although attempts have been made to relate it to "tobacco pick," based on "prine," an obsolete form of "preen," a pin, etc.

⁴ Cf. n. 59, n. 7 and n. 12.

⁵ Cf. n. 72, n. 1.

⁶ Cf. n. 59, n. 4.

⁷ This may possibly be a satiric reference to Humphrey King's "fmoakie Societie" (cf. nos. 46, 57, and 106), but more probably alludes to a similar club more recently organized.

⁸ The printer may have been Nicholas Okes, to whom the device on the title passed, c. 1607. Cf. McKerrow, No. 334.

REFERENCES: STC., 6500 [records three copies]. Haz., *H.*, 150. Col., i, 206. *The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, ed. A. B. Grosart (1885), ii. *The Gull's Horn-Book*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (1904). Co., v, 162 ff.

The literary source of this work was Dedekind's *Gobrianus* (versified by R. F. in 1605 as *The Schoole of slovenrie*), and Dekker himself admits that it "hath a relish of Gobrianisme." He abandoned his original intention to turn a part of Dedekind's work into English verse, and instead he "altered the shape, and of a Dutchman fashioned a mere Englishman." For a plagiarized edition of Dekker's tract, see n. 329.

EVERIE WOMAN IN HER HVMOR. London, 1609.

THE scene is Rome and the period early, for Caesar appears near the conclusion of the play. One would hardly have expected to discover tobacco among these noble Romans, but the anonymous author of this comic piece did, and thus acquires the distinction of first associating the plant with the ancients.¹

The Citty wife enters at the moment when the Hostess is complaining of her hard lot, and joins her in criticism of the male part of mankind. She urges the Hostess to ignore the demands of her husband that she come to him; besides there is some gossip she would impart. The Hostess has heard nothing—what is it?

Citty wife. No, I warrant ye, you neuer come abroad, this is to be troubled with a fatte man [*i.e.*, her husband, the Host], he neuer comes abroad himselfe, nor suffers his wife out of his sight: yee shal euer haue a fatte Host, either on his bēch at the dore, or in his chair in the chimney, & there he spits & spauls a roome like twentie Tobacco takers, oh fye on them beafts. [C₁^b]

Several of the gallants agree to meet at a tavern, with Philautus, a simple playboy.

Phy[lautus] Weele haue a catch then, if with fol, fol, la: Gentlemen, haue you any good herbe? you haue match boy,

Boy. Your pipe shall want no fire fir. [D₄^a]

Graccus, a practical joker among the gallants, informs the Citty wife and the Hostess that Philautus, their erstwhile acquaintance, has died—a statement which the victim of the joke is later to disprove.

Cittie wife. . . . dyed he not able to purchase a Winding sheete?

Grac. Twere finne to wrong the dead, you shal heare the inuentorie of his pocket.

Inprimis, A brush and a Combe o o v.d.

Item, a looking Glasse o o i.d.ob.^[2]

Item, A case of Tobacco Pipes o o iij.d.

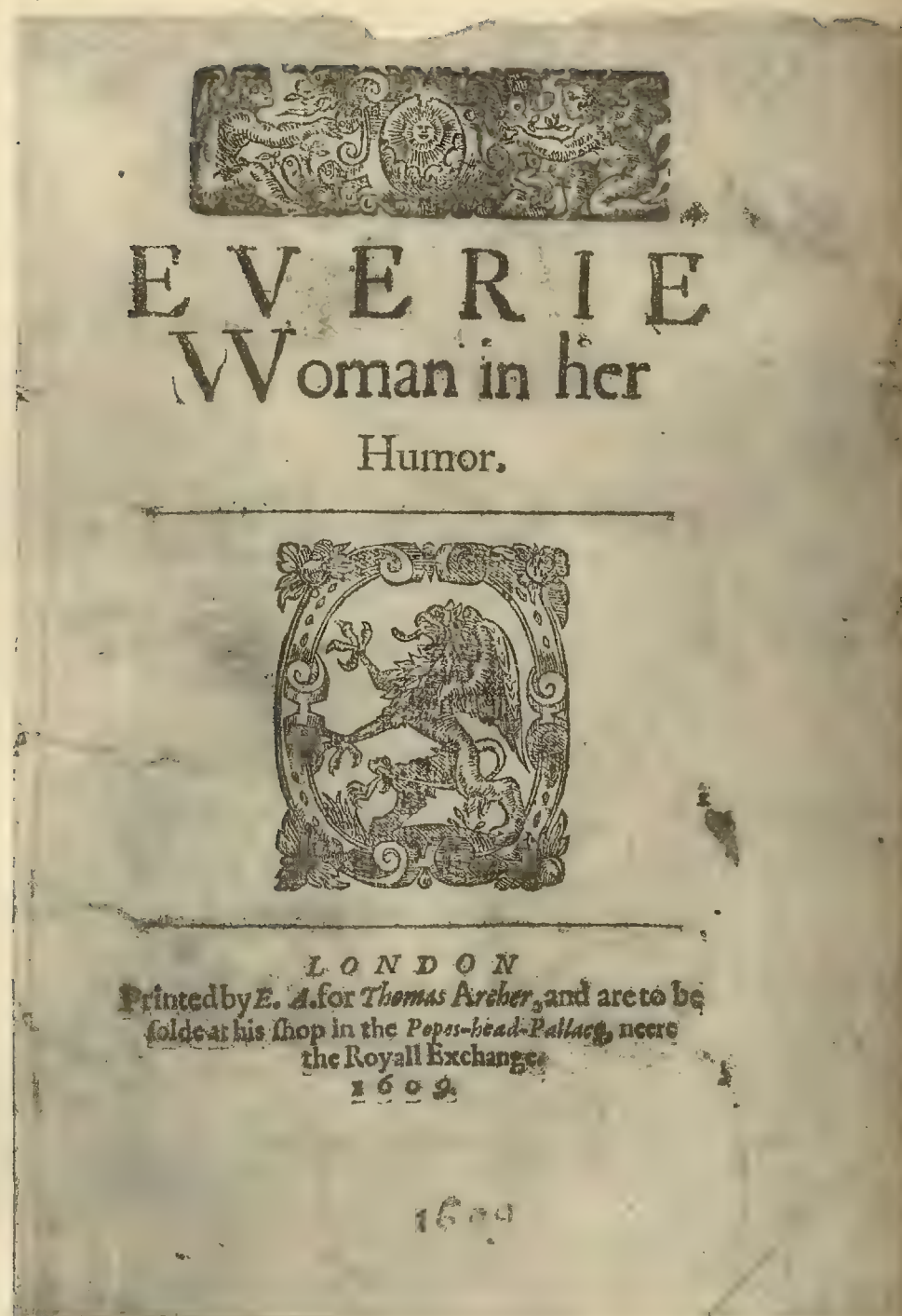
Item, Tobacco halfe an ounz o o vj.d.

Item, in money and golde o o iij.d.

Summa totalis. xixd. halfe penny. [F₄^a]

¹ For an earlier anachronism, v. n. 65.

² *Obiter*; *i. e.*, approximately.



TITLE OF EVERIE WOMAN IN HER HUMOR, 1609

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A-H⁴). Printed by E. Alde, with his device on the title.

HALF MOROCCO, by R. Riviere. Size of leaf: 7 $\frac{1}{16}$ x 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

From the collections of William Holgate (1846, n. 1051, bought by Thorpe), W. H. Miller, and S. R. Christie-Miller (Mar. 10, 1921, n. 53), with the armorial bookplate of the first.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 25948. Ch., iv, 11. Haz., H., 471.

J. Q. Adams, Jr. (*Modern Philology*, X, 1912-1913, p. 413 ff.) suggests that the author of this work was Lewis Machin, collaborator with Gervase Markham on *The Dumble Knight*, 1608.

"It is," says Prof. Schelling, "as completely Jonsonian as uninspired and devoted imitation can make it. . . . Such plot as the comedy contains is taken from Greene's pamphlet, *Tully's Love*." (i, pp. 471-472.)

The date of performance appears to be unknown; it may have been as early as 1604, or not before 1608. Prof. Schelling remarks, apparently in relation to its composition, that it dates plainly from the last years of Elizabeth, probably before 1600.

LESCARBOT, Marc (c. 1570-1630), translated by Pierre ERONDELLE (fl. 1586-1624)

NOVA FRANCIA. London, 1609.

THIS abbreviated translation¹ of Lescarbot retained some material from the original of considerable value in the history of tobacco.² Among other matters, the French author had provided an interesting description of the wild tobacco (*N. rustica*) used by the natives of Canada,³ had indicated his belief that it was an antiaphrodisiac, and had recorded the social significance of the pipe among the Indians and the almost religious esteem in which they held tobacco.

Of the highest importance was Lescarbot's republication from Champlain of an American tobacco myth.⁴ This seems to have been the first nicotian fable recorded in its entirety.⁵ The simple tale expresses clearly a primitive belief, widespread among American aborigines, in the association of the Divinity with smoking. This fact, in itself, provides almost definite evidence of the antiquity of tobacco in the Americas (cf. the *Introduction*, pp. 6 ff.).

When Champlain visited the Indians of Canada in 1603, he met a sagamore who had much to tell him. Lescarbot quotes:

"He also told me, that at another time there was a man who had store of *Tabacco* (which is an hearbe the smoke whereof they take) and that God came to this man and asked him where his pipe was: The man tooke his *Tabacco* pipe and gaue it to God, who dranke very much *Tabacco*. After he had taken well of it, God brake the said *Tabacco*-pipe into many peeces, and the man asked him, Why hast thou broken my *Tabacco*-pipe, and thou seeest well that I haue none other? And God tooke one which he had, and gaue it him, saying vnto him: Lo, heere is one which I giue to thee, carry it to thy great *Sagamo*, let him keepe it; and if he keepe it wel,

¹ *V.* the concluding references, *infra*, p. 470.

² This English version was undertaken at the suggestion of Hakluyt by Erondelle, a Huguenot schoolmaster, then a resident of London. He translated only those portions of the original account which he thought would persuade Englishmen to purchase lands in "Virginia." *V. infra*, p. 470.

³ *V.* also nos. 5 and 8.

⁴ First published in *Des Sauvages*, Paris, 1603 (on C¹-C¹³). Cf. the translation in Champlain's *Works*

(The Champlain Society, 1922), i, p. 114.

⁵ De Léry (n. 26), Harriot (n. 36) and others had already reported the ritual use of tobacco among American Indians. If *coboba*, in the primitive customs of the West Indies, were related to tobacco, then a portion of Ramon Pane's treatise (*v. supra*, p. 244) would constitute the first written reference in tobacco mythology. But Champlain was the earliest to record in print any legend dealing explicitly with the "divine herb."



NOVA FRANCIA:
Or the
DESCRIPTION
OF THAT PART OF
NEW FRANCE,
which is one continent with
VIRGINIA.

Described in the three late Voyages and Plantation made by
Monsieur de Monts, Monsieur du Pont-Gravé, and
Monsieur de Poutrincourt, into the countries
called by the French men *La Cadie*,
lying to the Southwest of
Cape Breton.

Together with an excellent severall Treatie of all the commodities
of the said countries, and manners of the naturall
inhabitants of the same.

Translated out of French into English by
P. E.



LONDINI,
Impensis GEORGII BISHOP.
1609.

TITLE OF LESCARBOT, 1609

he shal not want any thing, nor any of his companions: The said man tooke the Tabacco-pipe, which he gaue to his great *Sagamo*, who (whilest he had it) the Sauages wanted for nothing in the world: But that since the said *Sagamo* had lost this Tabacco-pipe, which is the cause of the great famine which sometimes they haue among them. I demanded of him [the sagamore], whether he did beleue

all that; he told me, yes, & that it was true." Now I beleue that that is the cause why they say that God is not very good.

But Champlain proceeded to prove to the chief that God was good, and that it was none other than the devil who had thus displayed himself. [T₃^{a-b}]

In the chapter "Of Marriage," the author attributed the chastity of the Indians partly to the want of hot spices, of wine . . . partly to the frequent vse which they haue of Tabacco, whose smoake dulleth the senses, and mounting vp to the braines hindereth the functions of *Venus*. [Cc₂^b]

Liiphalles.
Tobacco
contrary
to *Venus*

The Sauages which haue no vse of wine nor of spices, haue found out another meanes to warme the same stomake, and in some sort to breake so many crudities proceeding from the fish that they eat, which otherwise would extinguish their naturall heat: it is the hearb which the *Brafilians* doe call *Petun*, that is to say *Tabacco*, the smoake whereof they take almost euery houre as we will declare more at large when we come heereafter to speake of that hearbe.

Then as in these parts one drinketh to another . . . so the Sauages willing to feast some body and to shew him signe of amity, after they haue well taken of that smoake, they present the *Tabacco* pipe to him that they like best. . . .

Our Sauages, *Canadians*, *Souriquois* [Micmac] and others [have] nothing but the *Tabacco* spoken of by vs to warme their stomakes after the crudities of waters, and to giue some smatch [smack] to the mouth, hauing that in common with many other Nations, that they loue that which is biting, such as the said *Tabacco* is, which (euen as wine or strong beere) taken (as it is said) in smoake, maketh giddy the senses and in some sort, procureth sleep . . . [Dd₄^{a-b}]

They also plant great store of *Tabacco*, a thing most precious with them, and vniuersally amongst all those nations. It is a plante of the bignesse of *Consolida maior* [the comfrey], the smoake whereof they sucke vp with a pipe in that manner that I will declare vnto you, for the contentment of them that know not the vse of it. After that they haue gathered this hearbe, they lay it to dry in the shade, and haue certaine small bagges of leather, hanging about their neckes or at their girdles, wherein they haue alwaies some and a *Tabacco* pipe with all, which is a little pan hollowed at the one side, and within whose hole there is a long quill or pipe, out of which they sucke vp the smoake, which is within the said pan, after they put fire to it with a cole that they laie vpon it. They will sometimes suffer hunger eight daies, hauing no other sustenance then that smoake. And our Frenchmen who haue frequented them are so bewitched with this drunkenesse of *Tabacco*, that they can no more be without it, then without meat or drinke, and vpon that doe they spend good store of mony. For the good *Tabacco* which commeth out of *Brafil*⁶ doth sometimes cost a French-crowne a pound. Which I deeme foolishnesse in them, because that notwithstanding they doe not spare more in their eating and drinking then other men, neither doe they take a bit of meat nor a cup of drinke the lesse by it. But it is the more excusable in the Sauages, by reason they haue no

⁶ I.e., *N. Tabacum*.

greater delicioufneffe in their *Tabagies*, or bankets, and can make cheere to them that come to vifit them with no greater thing, as in thefe our parts one prefents his friend with fome excellent wine: In fuch fort that if one refufeth to take the Tabacco pipe, it is a figne that he is not a friend. And they, which among them haue fome obfcure knowledge of God, doe fay that he taketh Tabacco as well as they, and that it is the true neftar, defcribed by the Poets.

This fmoake of Tabacco taken by the mouth, infucking, as a child that fucketh his dugge, they make it to iffue thorow the nofe, & paffing thorow the conduits of breathing, the braines are warmed by it, and the humiditie of the fame dried vp. It doth alfo in fome fort make one giddie, and as it were drunke, it maketh the belly foluble, mitigateth the paffions of Venus, bringeth to fleepe, and the leafe of Tabacco, or the afhes that remaine in the pan healeth wounds.^[7] Yea I will fay more that this neftar is vnto them fo fweet, that the children doe fometimes fup vp the fmoake that their fathers caft out of their noftrils, to the end that nothing be loft. And becaufe that the fame hath a tart biting tafte, *Monfieur de Belleforeft*, reciting that which *James Quartier*^[8] (who knew not what it was) faith of it, will make the people beleue that it is fome kind of pepper. But whatfoeuer sweetneffe is found therein I could neuer vfe my felfe to it, neither doe I care for the vfe and cuf tome to take it in fmoake. [Mm₃^{a-b}]

FIRST ENGLISH EDITION, FIRST ISSUE. Small quarto (k^o 2 [first, blank except for k^o, lacking]; 114; 115; A-Z⁴; Aa-Pp⁴; Qq²).

Morocco, by David. Size of leaf: 7½ x 5¼ inches.

From the library of M. C. Lefferts (Sotheby's, 1902, n. 185), with his bookplate.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 15491. C., nos. 339 and 341. *Indian Bibliography*, Field, n. 916. *Nova Francia*, introd. H. P. Biggar (1928). Wi., i, 144; ii, 178.

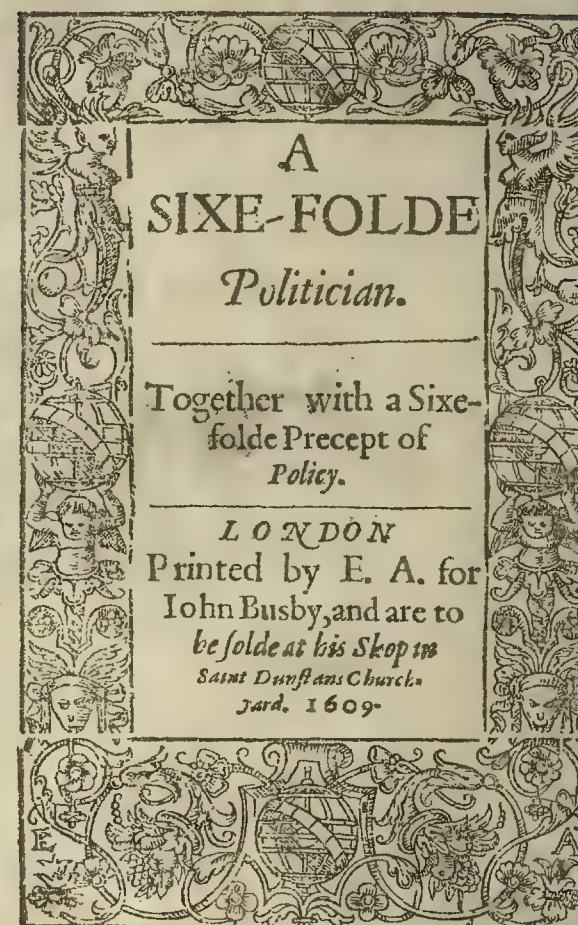
There exists an undated edition with the imprint of Andrew Hebb, differing from this only in its title and the omission of the leaf of dedication to Prince Henry. Hebb's edition is a reissue of the original stock, with a new title-page. It appears not to have been issued prior to 1625. Hebb did not take up his freedom of the Stationers' Company until June 22, 1621, and no books were entered for his copyright before May 6, 1625.

Lescarbot spent a year in the French Canadian colony of Acadia, 1606-1607. His relation was published under the title of *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, Paris [1609].

In the preface of his translation, Erondelle suggested that Englishmen might invest with profit in the lands of Virginia. Erondelle himself became a stockholder in the Virginia Company later. Field says, indignantly, that Lescarbot's *Histoire* was thus "ignominiously devoted to an advertising scheme, for selling the lands in Virginia . . ." more than seven hundred miles distant from the scene of the French experiment. In his version (in which he neglected to credit Lescarbot for the original work) Erondelle translated only Chapters XXXI-XLVIII of Book II and the whole of Book III, relating to the manners and customs of the Indians. The excluded portions contained accounts of various French explorations in America, including those of Cartier, Villegagnon, Laudonnière, Robertval, and Champlain.

⁷ But neither Cartier, Thevet nor Champlain had observed that tobacco leaves or ashes were used for antiseptic purposes. Perhaps during Lescarbot's visit some tribes did mix the plant (or some herb

which resembled it) with other simples for unguents, etc., unless, indeed, the author was but remembering here part of the nicotian gospel then so familiar in Europe. ⁸ *I.e.*, Jacques Cartier—v. n. 5.



TITLE OF MELTON, 1609

IN PART of this work the author¹ expressed some grievances against pamphleteers and others, and indicated that he agreed with the snobbish opinion of James I that tobacco should be reserved for the use of gentlemen.²

¹ Some writers have mistakenly identified him as the father of John Milton, but he was a merchant

and politician who occasionally indulged in publishing his opinions. ² *V. supra*, p. 407, at n. 12.

[Vain poets and players] shold be deterred from their scribbling profession, that they see their writings & conceits fold at a cōmon doore to euery bafe cōpanion for a penny. But most of their cōceits are too deere at that rate, and therefore may well bee had in the same request that Tobacco is now, which was wont to be taken of great gentlemen, & gallants, now made a frequent & familiar Companion of euery Tapster and Horfe-keeper. And their conceits are likest Tobacco of any thing: for as that is quickly kindled, makes a stinking fmoake, & quickly goes out, but leaues an inhering stinke in the nostrils and stomackes of the takers, not to be drawne out, but by putting in a worfe fauour, as of Onions and Garlick, (according to the prouerbe: the smel of Garlicke takes away the stink of dung hils,) so the writing of ordinarye Play-bookes, Pamphlets, & such like, may be tearmed the muhtrum cōceptions of idle braines, moste of them are begotte ouer night in Tobacco fmoake and muld-facke, and vttered and deliuered to the worlds presse by the helpe & midwifery of a caudle the next morning. [D₁^b-D₂^b]

FIRST EDITION. Large Paper. Small octavo (A⁶; B-Q⁸ [K₃ and N₁, blank]; R²). Printed by E. Alde.

CALF, by Riviere. Size of leaf: 6⁹/₁₆ x 4⁷/₁₆ inches.

No. 549 in the collection "Shakespeareana" (formed by W. C. Hazlitt for J. Pearson) and from the library of Marsden J. Perry.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 17805. Arb., 114.

The compiler of *Shakespeareana* believed that the Grenville copy in the British Museum was the only other known on Large Paper. There are now, however, two such copies in the British Museum library.

ROWLANDS, Samuel (1570?-1630?)

THE KNAVE OF CLVBES. London, 1609.

IN THE following poem, Rowlands produced one of the most famous pieces on a nicotian theme. It was highly popular for a long period—proof of which lies in its preservation in various forms since its original publication. While part of it is ironic, it is the extravagant claims of tobacco enthusiasts the poet satirizes and not the social use of the weed itself. The majority of his allusions to tobacco (as pointed out in the introduction to n. 71) are hostile, but it simply cannot be that the man who wrote the following lines was not familiar with the pipe.

The Devils health-drinker

Who dares dispraise Tobacco,
While the fmoke is in my nose?
Or say but fogh my pipe dooth smell?
I would I knew but thofe
Durst offer such indignitie,
To that which I preferre,
For all the broode of Black-a-moores

Will sweare I doe not erre,
In taking this same worthy whiffe
What valiant caueleere,
That will not make his nostrils fmoke,
At cups of wine and beere?
When as my purse cannot affoord
My stomacke flesh or fish,
I sup with smoke and feede as well,
And fat, as one can wifh.
Come into any company,
Though not a crosse¹ you haue,
Yet offer them Tobacco,
And their liquor you shall haue.
They say old hospitalitie
Kept chimnies fmoaking still,
Now what our chimnies want of that,
Our fmoaking noses will.
Much victuals serue, for gluttony,
To fatten men like swine,
But hee's a frugall man indeed,
That with a leafe can dine.
And needs no napkin for his hands,
His fingers ends to wipe,
But keepe his kitchin in a box,
And rost-meat in a pipe.
This is the way to helpe deare yeares,
A meale a day's inough,
Take out Tobacco for the rest,
By pipe or elfe in snuffe,
And you shall finde it phificall,
A corpulent fat man,
Within a yeare will shrinke so small,
That one his guts may span,
Tis full of phificke, rare effects
It worketh fundry waies,
The leafe greene, dry, steept, burnd, the dust
Haue each their speciall praise,
It makes some sober that are drunke,
Some drunke of sober fence,
And all the moisture (hurts the braine)
It fetcheth fmoaking thence:
All the foure Elements vnite,
When you Tobacco take,
For Earth and Water, Aire and Fire,

¹ In reference to the sign of the cross then usually stamped on the reverse of coins.



TITLE OF ROWLANDS, 1609
From the copy in the Harvard College Library

Doe a coniunction make,
Your pipe is Earth, the fires therin,
The Aire your breathing fmoke,
Good liquor must be prefent too,
For feare you chance to choake.
Heere Gentlemen a health t'ee all,
T'is passing good and strong,
I would speake more, but from the pipe
I cannot stay so long. [E₄^b-F₁^a]²

FIRST EDITION UNDER THIS TITLE. Small quarto (A-F⁴).

PHOTOSTAT OF THE UNIQUE COPY IN THE HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY (formerly the W. A. White copy).

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 21387. *Hu.*, iv, 1271. *Works* (Hunterian Club, 1880), ii. *Col.*, ii, 297. *The Four Knaves*, ed. E. F. Rimbault (Percy Society, 1844).

² Cf. nos. 214, 218, 278, etc.

The original appearance of *The Knave of Clubbes* had the inviting title, *A Mery Metinge, or 'tis Mery when Knaves mete*. This was licensed for publication 2 September, 1600. It was frowned upon by the authorities and burnt by the Stationers' Company. The execution was so thorough that no copy of the original work seems to have survived.

The first of Rowlands' Knave series, *The Knave of Clubbes*, was succeeded by *The Knave of harts*, 1612, *More knaves yet*, 1613 (n. 107), and a sequel to the foregoing, *A Paire of Spy-knaues* [1620?]. In this last piece is contained a satiric rhyme, "Instructions given to a Countrey Clowne, To take Tobacco, when he comes to Towne." [D₁^b-D₂^a] (Cf. also n. 285.)

VEGA, Garcilasso de la, El Inca (1540-1616)

PRIMERA PARTE DE LOS COMMENTARIOS REALES. Lisbon, 1609.

[*Translation of title*] First part of the Royal Commentaries which treat of the origin of the Incas, the former kings of Peru, of their idolatry, laws, and government, in peace and war; of their lives and conquests; and of all of that which was their empire, and its government before the Spaniards went there. Written by the Inca, Garcilasso de la Vega, native of Cuzco, and captain of His Majesty. Dedicated to the Most Serene Princess Doña Catalina of Portugal, Duchess of Bragança, &c. With the license of the Holy Inquisition . . . Lisbon, printed in the house of Pedro Crasbeeck, 1609.

AT THE time of the discovery of America tobacco seems not to have been in use along the northwestern part of South America. (See the map from Wissler, reproduced in the *Introduction*, p. 18.) The occasional designation by the older botanists of *Hyoscyamus Peruvianus* for *N. Tabacum* seems to contradict this assertion, but it was a misnomer based on confused geographical knowledge (v. n. 17-A). C. T. (n. 120) asserts that Peruvian tobacco had never been seen in Europe.¹ The custom of smoking tobacco was undoubtedly introduced into Peru² by the Spaniards after 1530, but it was not readily adopted by the natives, who long maintained their old habit of chewing the leaves of the coca bush, mixed with a little lime. No one before Vega appears to have referred to the use of tobacco there; it is unmentioned by Pizarro's secretary, De Xerez, or by Zarate, Cieza de León, Acosta (n. 35), *et al.* The Inca author makes only a slight allusion to the medicinal use of snuff, which was probably new there at the period of which he writes. This was considerably earlier than the date of publication of this work, composed fully fifty years after the author left Peru.

Writing of medicinal herbs, he says:

The herb, or plant, which the *Spaniards* call *Tobacco*, and the Indians, *Sayri*,³ is of

¹ Several species of *Nicotiana* are indigenous to Peru, but these were not smoked there nor exported. The Spaniards introduced the cultivation of *N. Tabacum* with seeds from Mexico. Cf. Comes, p. 36; Hartwich, p. 34.

² Stahl (*op. cit.* in n. 2, n. 8) believes that tobacco was smoked in Peru in pre-Columbian times and illustrates his comments on this subject with several ancient tube-pipes then recently discovered. He thought it probable that smoking had been supplanted by coca-chewing long before the conquest. He refers to Tschudi, "Kulturhistorische und sprachliche Beiträge zur Kenntnis des alten Peru" (in *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wis-*

senschaften, Vienna, 1891) for the statement that the Peruvian priests used tobacco (*sairi*) mixed with varieties of *Datura* (or coca) to induce trance, or *sairi* alone in sacrificial offerings. (Tschudi's authorities are Montesino, Balboa, and an anonymous Jesuit.) That the prehistoric pipes illustrated by Stahl were used to smoke tobacco has not, however, been proved by the available evidence.

³ Prof. Wiener (i, 186) remarks that *Sayri* "sounds very much like *sira*, the Negro word for 'snuff,'" but Prof. Dixon (pp. 36, 41, 43, 45, 47) shows that though *sairi* was the only instance of a word whose stem displayed a wide distribution among unrelated languages, there is no evidence to indi-

PRIMERA PARTE DE LOS
COMENTARIOS
REALES.

QUE TRATAN DEL ORIGEN DE LOS YNCAS, REYES QUE FUERON DEL PERU, DE SU IDOLATRIA, LEYES, Y GOBIERNO EN PAZ Y EN GUERRA: DE SUS VIDAS Y CONQUISTAS, Y DE TODO LO QUE FUE AQUEL IMPERIO Y SU REPUBLICA, ANTES QUE LOS ESPAÑÓLES PASARAN A EL.

Escritos por el Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega, natural del Cuzco, y Capitan de su Magestad.

DIRIGIDOS A LA SERENISSIMA PRINCESA Doña Catalina de Portugal, Duquesa de Barchana, &c.



Con licencia de la Santa Inquisicion, Ordinario, y Paço.

EN LISBOA:
En la officina de Pedro Crasbeeck.
Año de M. DCIX.

TITLE OF DE LA VEGA, 1609

cate that this term is of extra-American derivation. *Sairi* is recorded as early as 1586 in Holguin, *Vocabulario* (Lima), but it is clear from Vega's ac-

count that it was in use in Peru by 1550 or earlier. Prof. Dixon labels it a word of the Quechua-Aymara languages. Cf. the note to *Sayri* in the *Glossary*.

admirable use in many Diseases amongst [the natives], particularly being taken at the Nostrils in snuff, serves to purge the Head, and the other qualities and virtues of it are well known and esteemed in *Spain*, so that they give it the name of *Yerva sancta*, or the holy Herb.^[4] [*G*₂^b in Vega; *G*₄^a in Rycaut's translation.]

FIRST EDITION. Small folio (†⁶; ††⁴ [last, blank]; A–Z⁸ [*Q*₁ and *Q*₈ have been duplicated]; Aa–Kk⁸. Colophon and license on v^o of last, dated MDCVIII.).

This copy does not contain the engraved plate of arms of the author, often found in place of the blank, ††₄, and lacks the leaf of errata.

OLD SHEEP. Front cover stamped: "Do Conv^{to} Des. Fran^{co} De Leyria." Size of leaf: 10³/₁₆ x 6¹⁵/₁₆ inches. Title inscribed in an early hand: "Da Livraria do Conv^{to} de Leyria." (Accompanied by the *Historia General Del Peru*, by the same author, Cordova, 1617, being the second part of the *Commentarios Reales*.)

REFERENCES: Palau, vii, 126. Whitney, 388. *First Part of The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, trans. and ed. by C. K. Markham (Hakluyt Soc., 1869–1871). J., ii (i). M., ii, n. 549. Comes, 36.

Although he left his native land for Spain shortly after 1550, the author was by birth and training well equipped to write this excellent detailed history of the Inca civilization of Peru. He was the son of a conquistador by a native mother, an Inca princess, granddaughter of the last native monarch of Peru. In his *Commentarios Reales* he produced a valuable work, long accepted as a standard, which records the religion, institutions, customs, and history of his own people.

GARDINER, Edmund

THE TRIALL OF TABACCO. London, 1610.

THE intention of the author¹ of this treatise was to provide a text-book of correct nicotian therapeutics. By his defense of tobacco he became the first in England to challenge (by implication, at least) the contentions presented in the *Counterblaste* (n. 68).

Gardiner consulted most of the familiar works on tobacco, including those published abroad. Diplomatic expediency probably suggested the most conspicuous omission among his "authorities"—James' *Counterblaste*—for no reference is made to it. His many quotations from English writers make his work largely a compilation of their opinions, but it was Gerard (n. 50) to whom he was most indebted and whom he credited as the first of herbalists.²

¹This excerpt is from the translation, *The Royal Commentaries of Peru*, made by Sir Paul Rycaut, London, 1688. Rycaut has been criticized by Clements K. Markham (v. *infra*) for carelessness and ignorance, but a comparison of this passage with the original absolves him, at least in this instance.

Markham himself committed an error in relation to the next reference to tobacco, which Rycaut translated correctly as "As to that Plant which the Spaniards call *Tobacco*, and the Indians *Sayri*, we have already discoursed in an other place. Dr. *Monardes* writes many wonderful things of it." [*Dd*₅^a; *Tt*₃^a in Rycaut.]

Markham renders part of it, "we shall speak in the other part"—a mistake which has led some commentators (cf. *Wi*, i, p. 186) to assume that the original author was unable (or incompetent!) to say anything further about tobacco.

²The title indicates that the author was a doctor—"the least of physicians," he says of himself—and elsewhere it is implied that he was a Catholic and no longer young. He was one of those vague Jacobean gentlemen who wrote a book and about whom little else appears to be known.

³In an age of frequent plagiarism, Gardiner was

THE TRIAL OF TABACCO.

Wherein, his worth is most worthily expressed: as, in the name, nature, and qualitie of the sayd hearb; his speciall vse in all Physicke, with the true and right vse of taking it, as well for the Seasons, and times, as also the Complexions, Dispositions, and Constitutions, of such Bodies, & Persons, as are fittest: and to whom it is most profitable to take it.

By E. G. Gent. and Practitioner in
PHYSICKE.



Imprinted at London, by H. L. for Mathew Lownes, and are
to be solde at his shop in Paules Church-yard,
at the signe of the Bishops-head.
1610.

TITLE OF GARDINER, 1610

In common with most of his fraternity he was opposed to the use of tobacco taken merely for pleasure, but his firm and simple faith in its medicinal value expressed itself by the recipes he generously provided, in all of which tobacco was an important ingredient. It would appear, though, that only the hardiest of patients could have

not to be outdone. Although he listed his seventy-five ancient and modern "authorities," he most often neglected the polite use of the symbols by which quotations are acknowledged. Passages from

Hacket's translation (n. 11-A) of Thevet (n. 8), from Chute's *Tabaco*, 1595 (n. 46), and from Gerard, 1597 (n. 50), will here be found doing service as Gardiner's own.

survived his tobacco-juice drinks, his tobacco gargles and the other nicotian concoctions he prepared for serious illnesses.

The Curteous and friendly Readers [are advised] that no man in my iudgement hath sufficiently entreated of this Plant namelie Tabacco, which is so much in vse amongst all English men. For either they doe commend it too much about measure, attributing to it so many great and excellent vertues, as I thinke is scarce possible to finde in any one hearbe, or else on the contrarie they were so farre out of the way, as that they altogether contemned and discommended it: so that that which was to be well liked, they haue quite omitted, and that which is plaine, euident and manifest to all mens senses, they haue quite either denied or marred . . .

Now, although he be *Medicorum minimus*, seeing no other to undergo this task of explaining to the world faithfully about tobacco, he boldly adventures upon it, asserting that he has not been commanded or compelled to do it, as was the author of the answer to the book called *Worke for the chimney Sweeper* [sic].³ He calls upon Liébault, Monardes, De l'Escluse, Thevet, and Everard,⁴ among those who have highly commended tobacco as a thing most excellent and divine, but for his admirable knowledge of plants he awards the palm to his own countryman, John Gerard. To the censorious verses of Philaretus (n. 61) he opposes some favorable lines of his own. He disagrees with a number of contentions of that author; he thinks tobacco is not such a dryer, decayer, and witherer of natural moisture. But it is likely to breed apoplectic and cephalic passions in those who abuse its use. And though Philaretus be a man of excellent learning, yet he seems to urge too far when he charges that tobacco was invented by the devil. Gardiner refutes him and Monardes (from whom that opinion was derived) by saying that it is certain that the devil did not find it, but that Nature gave it, and Nature does nothing in vain. For unless God Himself were the author of it, how could it be endowed with such excellent properties. Nor does he believe the herb to be hot and dry "in the third degree . . . because it blistereth not, nor yet exceedingly heateth, and that delectary malignity which he adscribeth to it may be quintessentiall, although not elementarie."

Its introduction into France by Nicot is recorded, and a number of its more familiar names are repeated. We know indeed by practise that an infinite number of diseases from the crown of the head to the very feet are cured by tobacco.⁵ By way of analogy there are cited a number of passages on ancient wells whose waters were of an intoxicating quality, with frequent quotations from Pliny, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and others. The uses in ancient times of herbs which had narcotic and other powers are noted. The description of *Trinidad Tabaco*, or *Sana Sancta Indorum*, and its habitat, time for cultivation, and temperature (as Monardes affirms) follow. In order to understand fully what sicknesses tobacco will cure, it is necessary to explain what sickness is and how many sorts or kinds there be. The value of medicines is dependent upon the times and seasons of the year. Summer, for instance, is hot and dry; in this season no man will grant that tobacco be wholesome.

But not only must the seasons be considered, but the same precise order is to be observed for "complexions" (i.e., physical temperaments). All those who are of dry

³ If he means Marbecke here (n. 62), and it seems no one else is intended, he is in error, as that author expressly stated that he wrote only upon the urgent solicitation of his friends.

⁴ V. nos. 12, 15, 18, etc., 21, 32.

⁵ A passage from Hacket's version of Thevet (n. 11-A) describing *petum* is given here without credit.

complexion must banish tobacco far from them as a thing most pernicious. But the case standing thus, if tobacco be unwholesome for those of dry complexions, *ergo*, it is of necessity good for those of moist constitution. Here the author finds it necessary to explain the nature of complexions, and cites appropriate verse from Juvenal and Ovid.

Although the leaves of tobacco be chiefly in request, some, for want of them, use the seeds whole or powdered in medicine.⁶

There be some hold opinion, that certain Indians dwelling neere vnto *Torrída Zona*, were the first inuentors and finders out of this smokie medicine, that inwardly also they might turne blacke . . . Howfoeuer it be, this is certaine, that when their noses are filled their purfes many times are emptied, and the patrimonies of many noble young Gentlemen, haue been quite exhausted, and haue vanished cleane away with this smoaky vapour, and hath most shamefully and beastly flyen out at the masters nose. . . . They that choppe away their patrimonies for the vanishing smoake of Tabacco, are scarce so wise as *Glaucus* . . .⁷

Amongst the people of Locris it was death for any magistrate or one in high authority to drink wine, unless prescribed by his physician.

. . . so I could wish the like lawe to our huff-snuffe Tabacconists, that mispend the flowre of their youth in this smoaking vanitie. Thus you see that Tabacco is a fantasticall attracter, and glutton-feeder of the appetite, rather taken of many for wantonnesse, when they haue nothing else to do . . .

In this point, therefore, I would frame vnto our Tabacconists this hortatorie admonition, that they keepe a moderation in receiuing the fume thereof . . . left this Epitaph be inscribed on their graues:

Here lieth he had liued longer, if

He had not choakt himselfe with a Tabacco whif.

Indeed, he adds with heavy solemnity, "many abusers thereof haue died fodenly." Tobacco, by all men, is concluded to be a very wholesome medicine, if taken with discretion and in proper season. Although this "gentleman Tabacco" hath a noisome smell, there are other medicines of viler odor, and there is no reason why it should not be used, when needed, as a hot perfume. Remedies used, made from myrrh, turpentine, etc., are mentioned, as well as the several simples equal to tobacco in curing various ailments. Certain other herbs, too, are as dangerous or more so to man than tobacco: hemp-seed for instance hurts the eyes; balm hurts the brain. A suffumigation of tobacco is a good cure for tetanus,⁸ and sternutatories containing tobacco consume the slimy humours of the brain. The fume of tobacco taken in at the ears is "good against deafnesse."

From this point on the author provides many recipes for numerous ailments.⁹ As usual each prescription containing tobacco has several other ingredients of remedial value. Tobacco mixed with styrax, "calamita" (apparently calamint), and the powder of tussilago, or coltsfoot, has proved a great help in asthmatic and similar conditions. To his own testimony he adds that of Pena and De l'Obel (n. 13). Details

⁶ A passage is "lifted" here from Gerard.

⁷ Another passage from Gerard is fitted in here.

⁸ Gardiner was the first to recommend tobacco

for this dangerous malady. *V. the Introduction*, p. 34, and n. 1.

⁹ Cf. Fairholt, pp. 240-242.

of compounds containing tobacco are given for masticatories, sternutatories, gargarisms, an unguent for a cold stomach (to which one may add a little musk if he please), a stiff wax ointment useful against worms, a cataplasm for sciatica, a fomentation for adding strength to weakened parts, a suffumigation to be taken when the joints are much loosened, an unguent for a pestilent carbuncle and for dropsy, &c., &c. Apparently all the ills for which tobacco was prescribed by earlier herbalists and physicians are here again considered, but, lest he be thought too prodigal in his praises of this plant, the author advises his readers to be wary and circumspect in using it in masticatories. He gives a receipt from Gerard, a balsam to cure deep wounds, and an unguent from Joubert for the cure of scabs and scrofula, as well as the gout. He speaks as a "Romist" when telling of an experiment ordered by the Catholic king on a dog in order to prove the value of tobacco in curing wounds.¹⁰ No wonder that the people of the West Indies do hold this herb in such high estimation, for Liébault writes that its juice will even restore fingernails.¹¹ And there are found in those islands people who live on grasshoppers, pismires, lizards and loathsome poisonous spiders, and Albertus Magnus mentions a maid who accustomed her stomach to live only on spiders.

I should iudge that Tabacco were good for these kind of people.

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (¶²; A-P⁴; Q²). Printed by H. Lownes, with his device on the title.

MOROCCO, by De Coverley. Size of leaf: 7 x 5½ inches.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 11564. F., 49-50, 75. La., *Europe*, 32, 43. Waring, ii, 707-708.

For the unique third issue of this work, 1624, v. n. 155.

HEATH, John (fl. 1615)

TWO CENTVRIES OF EPIGRAMMES. London, 1610.

Tobacco.

We buy the driest wood that we can finde,
And willingly would leaue the smoke behinde.
But in Tobacco a thwart course we take,
Buying the hearb onely for the smokes sake. [F^{6a}]

FIRST EDITION. Small octavo (A-F⁸ [first and last, blank, lacking]).

CALF, by [C. Hering]. Size of leaf: 5¾ x 3⅞ inches. R. Farmer's signature on title. With notations by Heber and W. H. Miller on front end-papers.

From the collections of Richard Farmer [untraced in 1798 sale catalogue], Richard Heber (1834, IV, n. 1068, bought by Thorpe), W. H. Miller, and S. R. Christie-Miller (1922, n. 361).

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 13018 [records four copies, but not this]. L., 1030.

¹⁰ Cf. *supra*, p. 247.

¹¹ *V. supra*, p. 288.

TWO
CENTVRIES
OF
EPIGRAMMES.

Written by Iohn HEATH,
Bachelour of Arts, and fellow
of New Colledge in
OXFORD.

*Quicquid agunt homines, totum, et in a, voluptas,
Gaudia discors, fas, nostri farrago libelli est.*



LONDON,
Printed by Ioh. Windet. 1610

TITLE OF HEATH, 1610

The Scourge of Folly.
Consisting of satyricall Epigrammes and others in honor
of many noble and worthy Persons of our Land.

Together
With a pleasant (though discordant) Decant,
upon most English Prentices: and others.



At London printed by E. A. for Richard
Rogers sold at the Signe of the West Gate of London

TITLE OF DAVIES, 1611

DAVIES, John, of Hereford (1565?-1618)

THE SCOVGE OF FOLLY.¹ London, 1611.

THE author, by this collection of verses, intended to flay some contemporaries for the freedom with which they published poems he thought too coarse. Among the authors thus attacked are Churchyard, Sir John Harington (v. n. 113), Nash, Greene, and others. Among these epigrams of little literary merit are several relating to tobacco, the majority of which are now obscure or pointless because of their largely coeval significance.

Of Tobacco

A Question once arose touching *Tobacco*,
Whether the fume thereof were moist or dry,
Twixt *Witt* it selfe, and one that witt did lacko;
Witt faid it dride, and shew'd the reason why:
A *Dogge*, you know (quoth he) doth neuer sweate,
True faid the other; (where was witt the while?)
And that to him did feeme a wonder great.
So tis (quoth *Witt*) and at the foole did smile;
The reason is, if Phisicke do not faile,
He, sleeping, takes Tobacco at his Taile. [B₇^b-B₈^a]

Of Dolls taking Tobacco.

Doll dranke *Tobacco*, and away she flonge [flung];
But going, she let-goe, and dovvne she fell:
VWhich shevvd the *Powder* and the *Peece* vvere stonge:^[2]
Yet, for recoyling, breech't she should be vvell:
Least that her Breech another time should bee,
apt to let-goe, and after to let-flee. [C₁^b]

Of Tobacco.

Tobacco is a Weed of so great powre,
That it (like Earth) doth vvhath it feedes deuoure. [D₃^b]

Of a Tobacco-taking Horfe.

Agelastus that (during all his life)
Ne're laught but once; and that was when he favv
An Affe (where Thistles grew exceeding rife)
How simpringly he did a Thistle gnaw.
O! had he feene a Horfe *Tobacco* take,
(As once I saw, and, feeling, laught heart fore)
What mowes and antick mouthes the Iade did make,
He would haue laught, he could haue laught no more:
A gamesome wagg did that conclusion try;

¹ The cut on the title, according to some old authorities, represents Henry Parrot (or Perrot), the author of some profligate epigrams and satires, undergoing flagellation, although the *DNB.* describes it as Folly mounted on the back of Time, being scourged by Wit.

² Sharp; piercing.

Who, with *Tobaccos* fume, did fill his mouth;
 And in his *Horfes* Nostrills, by and by
 (From out his Nostrills) in abundance blowth.
 Who snuft it vp, as he the fame would smell:
 But, finding it (belike) his smell offend,
 He puft it out againe, (exceeding well!)
 While from his Eies the Teares did downe defcend;
And made a mouth as he thereat did mew,
Or els, as he were ready prest to fpue,
Who cannot laugh at this, bidd mirth adue. [E₃^a]

Of Fumofus the great Tobaccanift.
Fumofus cannot eate a Bit, but he
 Muft drinke *Tobacco*, fo to driue it dovvne:
 Without *Tobacco*, then he cannot be;
 Yet, drinks no ovvnce that cofts him not a Crovvne:
 But his Crovvne couers no impiring vvit,
 To blovv avvay his crovvnes at euey Bit:
Yet, when his Crownes do faile, he pawnes his Cloake,
Sith (like a Chimney) hee's kept found by Smoake. [F₄^b]

Of taking Tobacco.
Tobacco taken (if right *Trinidado*)
 Makes many drunke, being taken with a whiffe:
 But honyed *Robin*, mine olde *Camerado*,
 Sweares it hath bin, at Sea, his sole reliefe:
 So, animates fome other friend to take it:
 Which friend (betweene) he plyeth with the Pot,
 Vntill at laft hee's forced to perbreake [vomit] it;
 And place be-mutes [befouls] (perhaps) to pay the fhott:
 Then (*lipping*) *fwear*es, it tith righ Trinithatho,
 Ath ere wath tipth: *then laughs my Camerado.* [G₈^a]

A Simily betweene youth, and Tobacco-pipes.
 Like new *Tobacco-pipes* youth muft be, needs:
 For if, with what is good, they well bee fill'd;
 Then, That is good comes from their hearts, and heads;
 If badd, then badd they cannot choofe but yeeld:
Then when they smell of fmoke of fowle defires;
They muft be clenfed in Afflictions fires. [H₂^b]

The Author louing thefe homely meates fpecially,
viz: Creame, Pan-cakes, Butterd pippin-
Pyes (laugh good people) and Tobacco;
Writ to that worthy and vertuous gen-
tlewoman, whome he calls Miftriffe,
as followeth.

If there were (O!) an *Helefpont* of *Creame*
 Betweene vs (milk-white Miftris) I would fwim
 To you, to fhew to both my loue's extreame,
 (*Leander* like) yea, dyue from Brymm, to Brymm.
 But, mett I with a Butter'd *Pippin-Pie*
 Floating vpon't; that, would I make my Boate
 To whaft mee to you, without ieoberdy [jeopardy];
 Though *Sea-fick* I might bee while it did floate.
 Yet, if a Storme fhould rife, (by night or day)
 Of *Suger-fnowes*, and Haile of *Care-a-wayes* [caraways];
 Then, if I found a *Pan-cake* in my way,
 It (like a *Plancke*) fhould bring me to your *Kayes* [quays]:
Which hauing found, if they Tobacco kept,
The fmoke fhould dry me well before I fleep. [S₂^b-S₃^a]

FIRST EDITION. Small octavo (A-R⁸; S⁴ [the first blank, except for A]). Printed by E. Allde.

MOROCCO, by W. Pratt. Size of leaf: 5¹¹/₁₆ x 3¹/₂ inches. Leaves H₄ and H₅ inlaid.

From the collections of Thomas Gaisford (1890, n. 574), and William A. White.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 6341. *Co.*, v, 93-97. *G.* (L), n. 69. *SAB.*, i, 219.

HAGEN, Steven van der (1560-c. 1616) in Charles de l'ESCLUSE (1526-1609)

CVRÆ POSTERIORES. Leyden, 1611.

[*Translation of title*] . . . Later cures of Charles de l'Escluse of Artois, or new descriptions of many plants not before known or described and of some foreign animals; by which all his works, and other [works] translated by him are augmented or illustrated. Separately [from this] are added the [eulogy] of Everard Vorst, most distinguished professor of medicine, concerning the life and death of the same Charles de l'Escluse, and the [laments] of other [eulogists] concerning the same [subjects]. . . . [Leyden] From the Plantin printing-house of Raphelengien, 1611.

THE presence of uncultivated varieties of *N. Tabacum* and *N. rustica* in Africa has led some botanists, explorers, and others to assume that the tobacco plant was indigenous there.¹ This opinion is not confirmed by the evidence now available. It is very much more likely instead, that tobacco was introduced from Brazil or the West Indies during the early days of the negro slave-trade² and that the custom of smoking it was taught the Africans of the West Coast by the Portuguese by the middle of the XVIth century, if not earlier.³ The plant grown by European traders in African settlements for their own needs would have easily escaped from cultivation and, in that climate, have spread rapidly.⁴

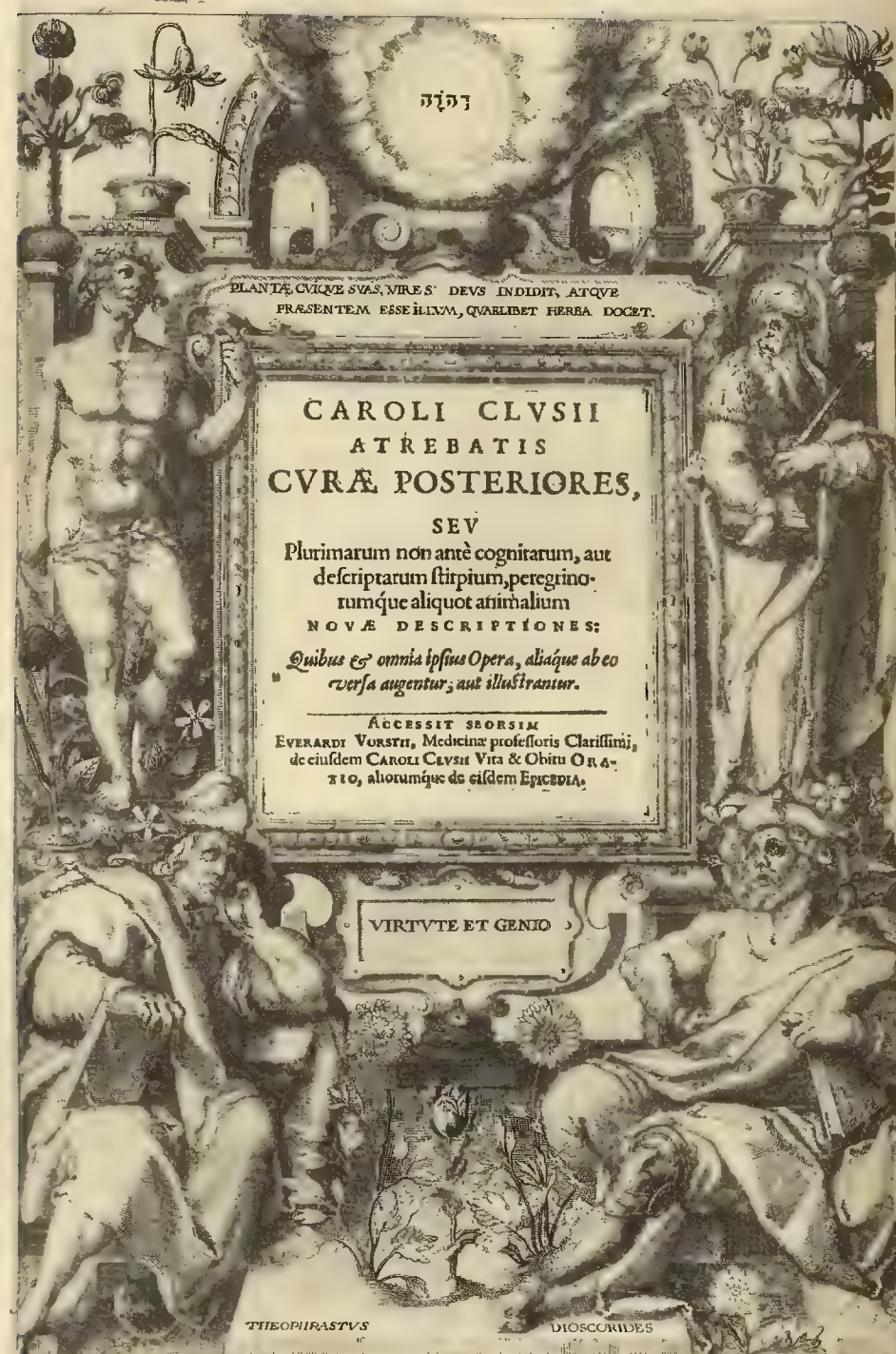
¹ Cf. those cited in *Amer. Anthropologist*, vol. 23, No. 1 (1921), p. 85, and La., *Africa*, pp. 3-4.

² Prof. Wiener has been at pains to prove the contrary, and cites an indefinite Arabic source of the middle XVth century, which refers to smoking in Africa, and a later reference (1599), published in 1889. But he offers no acceptable evidence of his contention that Africans smoked tobacco before the

advent of European explorers and traders. Cf. his *Africa*, i, p. 111, ii, pp. 126-127, 129, and the *Introduction*, p. 7 (and notes 8 and 9 there).

³ V. note to n. 158 "j," and Dunhill, p. 164.

⁴ As Comes points out (p. 138, etc.), the Africans, for the most part, lack experience in cultivating, curing and preparing tobacco, which alone suggests that the plant was not native to Africa.



Ex officina Plantiniana Raphelengij, 1611.

TITLE OF DE L'ESCLUSE, 1611

The earliest notice that the negroes had adopted, in their own land, the popular habit of smoking tobacco occurs in the account of Van der Hagen's expedition to Guinea in 1597-1598.⁵ Other Europeans had visited there by this time, and the Dutch explorers remarked that

The inhabitants of those regions, a short time ago, learned from the Batavians [Hollanders] to use and consume the smoke of Tobacco or *Nicotiana*⁶ of which they had before been completely ignorant, having been content to chew only betel leaves. [I.^a]

So popular did tobacco become with the ignorant blacks that they exchanged their most valuable possessions, their cattle and even their land, for the leaves of the plant (v. the *Introduction*, pp. 149-151).

FIRST EDITION. Folio (Engraved title, 1 leaf; *2; A-I⁴; Vorst's funeral oration, epitaphs, etc., a-c⁴).

ENGRAVED TITLE; woodcuts in text.

DUTCH MOROCCO, XVIIIth century. Size of leaf: 13 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 8 $\frac{9}{16}$ inches. (Bound with De l'Escluse's *Exoticorum*, 1605, and other works.) V. the description in n. 73 for further details of condition and provenance.

REFERENCES: BM. *Charles de l'Escluse*, F. W. T. Hunger (1927), 341, 381. Comes, 127 ff.

L'OBEL, Matthias de (1538-1616), translated [and edited?] by I. N. G. [John NASMITH, Gent.?] (d. 1619)

PERFUMING OF TABACCO. London, 1611.

THE apparent intention of the translator (and part author)¹ of this little work was to provide a practical remedial substitute for tobacco. In place of that "foreign drug (as dangerous as opium or henbane)" he would have his readers employ safer and long-known herbs, such as coltsfoot, or at least reduce the narcotic content by medical "sophistication."

Although his plan is a little obscure, it would seem, too, that the "true odoriferous Cane of Dioscorides," about which he writes in the second part of this work, was the apparatus whereby the smoke of recommended herbs, etc., was to be inhaled.

The *Perfumum of Tabacco* is a typical production of one closely associated with the royal "counterblaster,"² and some of the king's published or privately expressed opinions are echoed therein.³

The smoke of Tabacco (the which *Dodoneus*⁴ called rightly Henbane of Peru) drunke and drawn by a pipe, filleth the membranes (*meninges*) of the braine, and astonisheth, and filleth many persons with such ioy pleasure, and sweet losse of senses, that they can by no meanes be without it, nor abstaine from it a moment, and as it seemeth recreating them, and making them drunke as Henbane.

¹ This was first published in this posthumous work of De l'Escluse, a supplement to his *Opera Omnia*.

² For notices of the tobacco and pipes employed by West Africans, see nos. 152 and 158 "j."

³ *V. infra*, p. 490.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Cf. nos. 68 and 85.

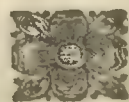
⁶ *I.e.*, Dodoens, n. 17-A.

PERFUMING
OF TABACCO, AND
THE GREAT ABUSE
COMMITTED
IN IT.

With many other auncient and
moderne Perfumings; And the exposition of
the Chapter of the true ODORIFE-
ROUS CANE of
Dioscorides.

Taken out of the new Historie or ILLU-
STRATION of Plants, written by MATTHEW
DE L'OBEL, Botanographer of the
King his most excellent
Majesty.

Translated out of Latin by I. N. G.
1610.



LONDON,
Printed by WILLIAM STANSBY. 1611.

TITLE OF DE L'OBEL, 1611

A long paragraph deals with henbane, and the opinion of Dioscorides concerning it. The use of opium is briefly considered. Moors and Indians, whose temperaments are hot and who live in another climate, are accustomed to opium and tobacco. *Petum*, like opium, is sharp to the taste. Avicenna's notice of the effect of henbane is given.

Our Brittaines triumph with *Tabacco*, the Italians and Zanes of Venice make iests of it, as they doe at the great caroufes of Germanie. A man cannot goe by many

Tauernes and yong Apothecaries shops in London, but he must be filled with the smoke, of the which if I be too much filled, it stuffeth my lights, and maketh my breath so short, that I am constrained to cough till blood doth follow, although I haue a large brest. It suffocateth those that are short winded, and is very dangerous if it bee taken too much, and at euery houre for wantonnesse, as many doe: It hath great subtilties of parts, and doth penetrate sodainly, and is also a vertue Narcotike, that is to say, causing the members and sense so to sleepe, that they loose their feeling and strength, as numd with cold. Without doubt it hath these two contrary faculties, hot, and astonishing. *Dodoneus* faith the same, and the effects doe shew it daylie. Some there are that become fottish, dumme, and deafe, alienated of sense.

The writer records as an unfortunate example, the history of a friend who was required to refuse his office in the Chancery, because of the asthmatic condition brought about by a continual use of tobacco. Tobacco cannot strengthen defluxions, nor prevent them; it draws away good humours and weakens the spirit and the brain. Those who use tobacco every moment are warned that they are depriving themselves of natural heat, and the loss of powers of reaction to hot medicines. This brings the subject back to the aforementioned friend, who was constrained to give over the use of tobacco, as it was causing palsies and apoplexies in him. Avicenna says the same thing of henbane.

I know in this Countrey many of my friends much giuen to *Tabacco*, but when I aske them what profit they receiue of it, they say none; Neuerthelesse they cannot leaue it for custome sake or wantonnesse.

Its evil effects are again cited, and further emphasis is given to the fact that tobacco has no nutritive value. Our natures are not like those of the Indians, Turks or Moors, but idle people can bear tobacco better than active ones. The alchemists, unlearned physicians and empiric adventurers are attacked for recommending henbane, opium and the like to sufferers from the gout. Their sinister means of curing ills cause endless miseries, but it is the misfortune of the time that the quack is listened to with more attention than the well-learned and expert physician. The Elders in the time of Dioscorides and the wise physicians of our own times, too, have recommended the use of sweet-smelling herbs and gums for women's illnesses, obstructions and windy griefs of the matrix and other ailments. These same physicians sought to prevent the use of dangerous medicaments, such as opium, henbane, hellebore (tobacco is, of course, implied), but the quack boldly makes use of these drugs. It is suggested that the prudent user of tobacco will add to that herb oil of cloves and other aromatic spices. Dioscorides as well as modern physicians have used coltsfoot in remedies for coughs. [A₂^a-B₂^a]

The second part deals with the "true odoriferous Cane of Dioscorides," or *calamus odoratus*,⁵ which grows in India, and through which smoke is inhaled for curing diseases of the lungs, etc. [B₃^a-C₂^b] The text from which this portion has been translated occurs on Rr₅^b-Rr₆^b of the 1605 edition of Pena and De l'Obel, n. 74.

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A-B⁴; C²).

MOROCCO. Size of leaf: 7¼ x 5⅝ inches.

REFERENCES: Br., n. 16. Haz., I, 124. L., 2689.

⁵ Cf. the *Introduction*, p. 5, at n. 5.

Apparently the only other copy (now untraced) was that owned by J. P. Collier, which occurred in Bragge's sale, 1882, n. 200.

The translator was, we believe, John Nasmith (or Naysmith), surgeon to James I of England, and known to have been particularly interested in botany. He was on the friendliest terms with De l'Obel, and in the *Adversaria*⁶ (n. 74) that author acknowledges several important communications from Nasmith and refers to him in terms of highest praise.

The first part of this work does not seem to have been published by De l'Obel. But the presence of such phrases as "as we have shown in our *Adversaria*," "our Antidotarie," etc., etc., relating to the 1605 edition, indicates that De l'Obel himself provided the material here for Nasmith's translation. Whether the original was a manuscript or a series of letters cannot now be said, but it is apparent that a good portion of this tract is the translator's own.

WILKINS, George (fl. 1607)

THE MISERIES OF INFORST MARIAGE. London, 1611.

In this domestic drama is introduced another tavern scene during which Scarborrow in discussion with his friends announces:

Oathes are neccessarie for nothing; they paffe out of a mans mouth, like smoake through a chimney, that files all the way it goes.

Went[loe]. Why then I thinke Tobacco be a kind of fwearing, for it fures our Noses pookily [encrusts in a mass].

When one of them departs, Wentloe announces that the rest will stay and "drinke Tobacco the while." [D₄^{a-b}; *ibid.*, first edition, 1607.]

SECOND EDITION. Small quarto (A-K⁴ [last, blank]).

MOROCCO, by Riviere. Size of leaf: 7⁵/₁₆ x 5⁹/₁₆ inches.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 25636 [records four copies, but not this]. Ch., iii, 513. Sc., i, 334-335.

The first edition of this play was published in London, 1607. It appears to have been on the stage in 1605. It was adapted by the prolific Aphra Behn and published as *The Town Fop*, in 1677.

DEKKER, Thomas (1570?-1641?)

IF IT BE NOT GOOD, THE DIVEL IS IN IT. London, 1612.

DEKKER'S "recasting of an old devil story in terms of modern society"¹ provided him with further opportunities² for deriding the social use of tobacco. In an ironic passage [E₄^a] he links the mushroom tobacco shops with the most common elements of a debased community. Despite the Italian setting, he undoubtedly had his familiar London in mind, and that he had some actual basis for the picture he invoked is borne out by the pained protests of Barnaby Rich two years later³ over the widespread tobacco trade in London.

⁶ On Sf₄^b, s^b, and c^a.

¹ Sc., i, 355.

² Cf. n. 90.

³ V. n. 117.

THE MISERIES OF Inforst Mariage.

Playd by his Maiesties
Seruantes.

Qui Alios, (seipsum) docet.

By George Wilkins.



LONDON
Printed for George Vincent, and are to be sold
at his Shoppe in Woodstreete.
1611.

TITLE OF WILKINS, 1611

Pluto, having instructed some new missionaries to gather fuel for Hades, announces that they may call upon that willing fiend, "Tobacco spawling," for help, should they require him.

Later, an old mariner being ridiculed in the Neapolitan court through the influence of Ruffman, one of Pluto's disciples, remarks, "I thinke the Diuell is fucking Tabaccho, heeres such a Mift." [E₁^b]

IF
IT BE NOT GOOD,
The Diuel is in it.

A
Nevv Play,
AS IT HATH BIN
lately Acted, vvith great

applause, by the Queenes Maiesties
Seruants : At the Red Bull.

Written by THOMAS DEKKER.
Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta mouebo.



LONDON,
Printed for E.T. And are to be sold by Edward Merchant,
at his shop against the Cross in Pauls
Church-yard 1612.

TITLE OF DEKKER, 1612

To a villainous merchant, Bartervile, comes a bravo with some money, who makes a petition in the name of the town prostitutes:

Bra. I should haue brought a petition from 'em, but that tis put off fir, till clensing-weeke, that they may all be able to set to their hands, or else a whores marke.

Bar. Well, well, whats their request?

Bra. Mary fir, that all the fhee-tobacco-shops, that creepe vp daily in euery hole

about the Citie, may bee put to scilence.

Bar. Why pray thee honest fellow?

Bra. I thanke your good worship, I had not fuch a sweete bit giuen me this 7 yeeres, honest fellow: marry fir Ile open to you your suppliant's cafes: they that had wont to spend a crowne about a smocke, haue now their delight dog-cheape, but for spending one quarter of that mony in smoake: besides fir, they are not contented to robbe vs of our customes only, but when their pipes are fowle with spitting and driueling in those forefaide shops, they haue no place to burne 'em in, but our houfes.

Bar. Draw their petition, and wee see all cur'de. [E₄^a]

The devil's missionaries meet at the appointed place, a tree "blasted with Goblins," to report to Lucifer. Among those gathered there is Scumbroth, once a cook, now a beggar, and here an unwilling witness, who, after Ruffman's report of his evil-doing at the court of Naples, queries:

Are there gentlemen diuels too? this is one of those, who studies the black Art, thats to say, drinke Tobacco. [I₁^b]

The devils depart in a blaze of fireworks, and Scumbroth soliloquizes:

But two finnes haue vndone me, prodigalitie, and couetousnesse: and three Pees haue pepperd me, the Punck, the Pot, and Pipe of smoake, out of my pocket my gold did foake. [I₂^b]

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A-M⁴ [first, prob. blank, lacking]). Printed by Thomas Creede (with his device on the title) for John Trundell.

The running-title is, *If this be not a good Play, the Diuell is in it.*

MOROCCO, by Sangorski & Sutcliffe. Size of leaf: 7¹/₁₆ x 5³/₁₆ inches.

On the last leaf is written, in a contemporary hand: "John Moore his booke."

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 6507. *Sc.*, i, 355 ff. *Ch.*, iii, 297. *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* [ed. R. H. Shepherd] (1873), iii. *Thomas Dekker*, by Mary L. Hunt (1911), 147-156.

This play, composed about 1610, was probably first acted in 1610-1611.

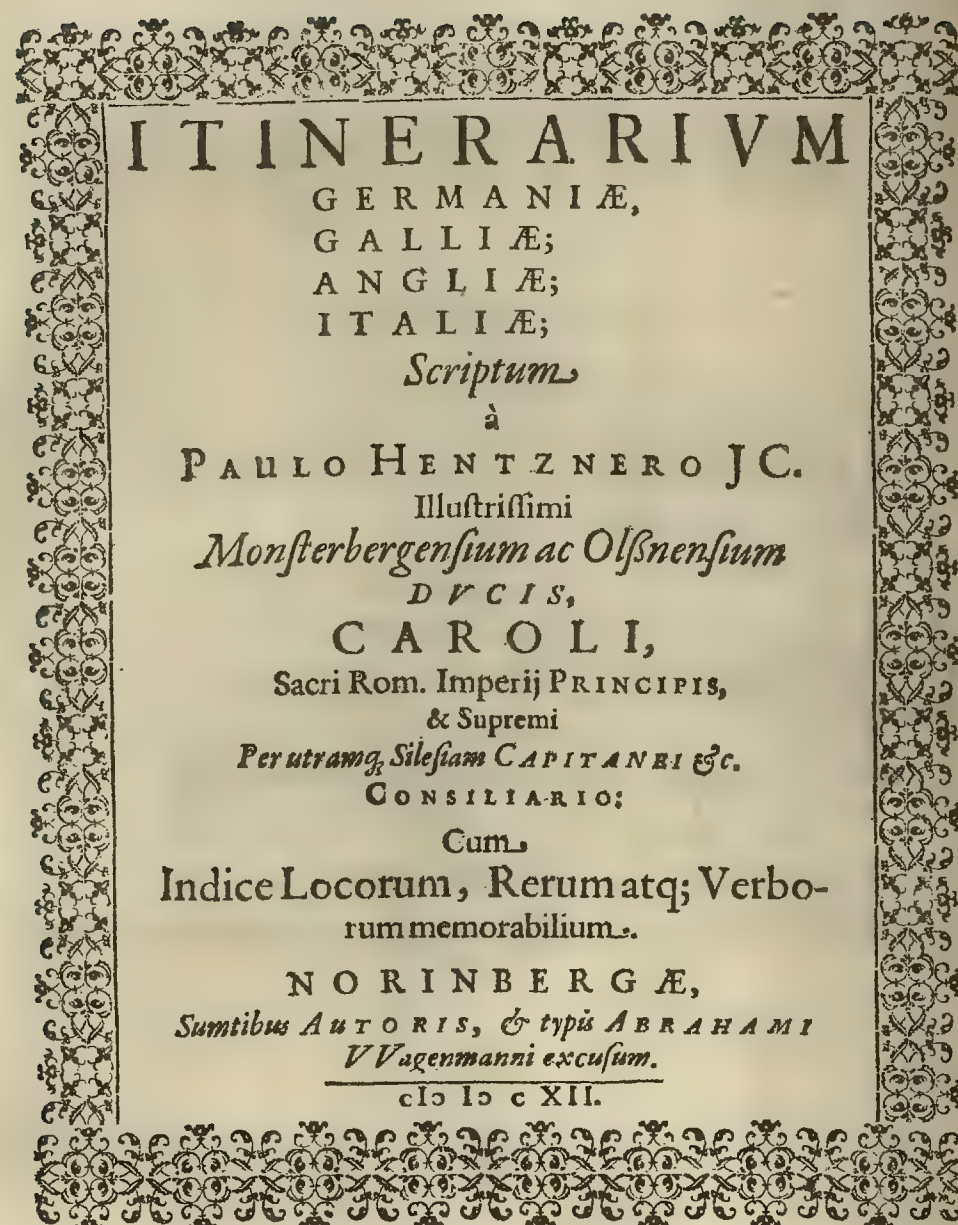
HENTZNER, Paul (1558-1623)

ITINERARIUM. Nuremberg, 1612.

[*Translation of title*] Itinerary of Germany, France, England, and Italy, written by Paul Hentzner, jurisconsult, counselor to the most illustrious Duke, Carl, of Münsterberg and Oels, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire and supreme overlord in both Silesias. With an index of memorable places, things and words. Nuremberg. Published for the author, and printed with the types of Abraham Wagenman. 1612.

THE author, in the capacity of tutor, accompanied a young German nobleman through various European countries. In August, 1598, they were in London, where they spent fourteen days.¹ They were interested in the theatres, and observed a place which served for the baiting of bulls and bears.

¹ They were less than a month in England.



TITLE OF HENTZNER, 1612

At these spectacles, and everywhere else, the English are constantly smoking the Nicotian weed, which in America is called *Tobaca*^[2]—others call it *Petum*—and

² *Sic*; Tabacam, in the original.

generally in this manner: they have pipes on purpose made of clay, into the farther end of which they put the herb, so dry that it may be rubbed into powder, and lighting it, they draw the smoke into their mouths, which they puff out again through their nostrils like funnels, along with it plenty of phlegm and defluxion from the head. [*R₂^b–R₃^a* in Hentzner; p. 216 in Rye's translation—*v. infra*.]

The smoking of tobacco was, therefore, still enough of a novelty to Germans at this date to require explanation and special comment.

FIRST EDITION. Quarto ():(⁴;):(⁴; A–Z⁴; Aa–Zz⁴; Aaa–Iii⁴; Kkk⁶ [last, blank]. Colophon, and printer's device on v^o of Kkk⁵). Inserted is a laudatory anagram to Henricus Wenceslaus, Duke of Münsterberg, in Silesia, single leaf, printed at Strassburg, 1612. Wenceslaus was one of the dedicatees of the *Itinerarium*.

CONTEMPORARY VELLUM, partially uncut. Size of leaf: 7¾ x 6⅞ inches. A contemporaneous owner, "Geor. Remus," has inscribed his name and the date, "1612," with further manuscript notes on an end-paper. Occasional marginal annotations and corrections to text in an early hand. (Bound with another work.)

REFERENCES: BM. Bru., iii, 103. *England as seen by Foreigners in the days of Elizabeth* [etc.], by W. B. Rye (1865), 101–112, and 216 (for translation *supra*). 3N², IV, 428–429.

The journey described by Hentzner, a German lawyer and native of Brandenburg, was undertaken in 1596 and concluded in 1600. The *Itinerarium* is often cited in relation to the theatres and manners of Elizabethan England. Walpole, in his edition of Bentley's translation of this work (n. 804), alludes in his preface to the scarcity of the original.

PANCIROLI, Guido (1523–1599), *translated and edited by* Flavio GUALTIERI

RACCOLTA BREVE D'ALCVNE COSE. Venice, 1612.

[*Translation of title*] Short collection of some exceptional things which the ancients had, and of some others discovered by the moderns. A work of the excellent Dr. Guido Panciroli of Reggio. With the addition of some curious and useful considerations by Flavio Gualtieri of Tolentino, Doctor of Theology. Dedicated to the Most Serene Don Carlo Emanuele, Duke of Savoy, &c. With the privilege. [Printer's device] At Venice, 1612. The press of Bernardo Giunti, Gio. Battista Ciotti, and associates.

AMONG the remarkable things which were unknown to the ancients was tobacco. A notice of it, which repeats some historical inaccuracies, is given here, on Z₃^b–Z₄^a. It is, however, merely a repetition of the account already provided by Monardes (n. 15), to whom credit is given.

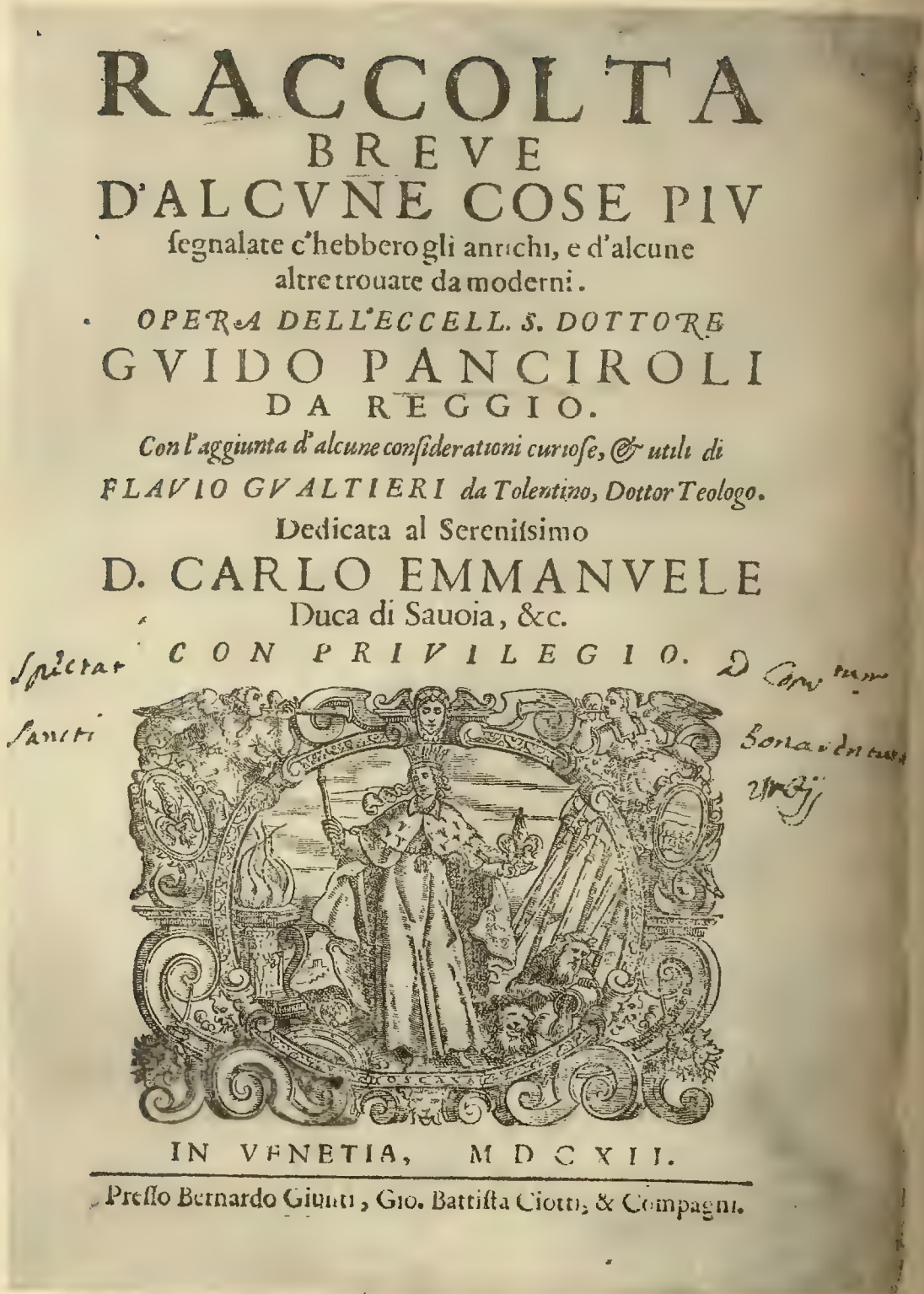
FIRST ITALIAN EDITION. Small quarto (*⁴; †⁴; ††⁴; A–Z⁸; Aa–Ee⁸).

THREE-QUARTER MOROCCO. Size of leaf: 8½ x 6¾ inches.

An inscription on the title in an early hand indicates that this volume was formerly in the possession of the Convent of St. Bonaventura at Rome.

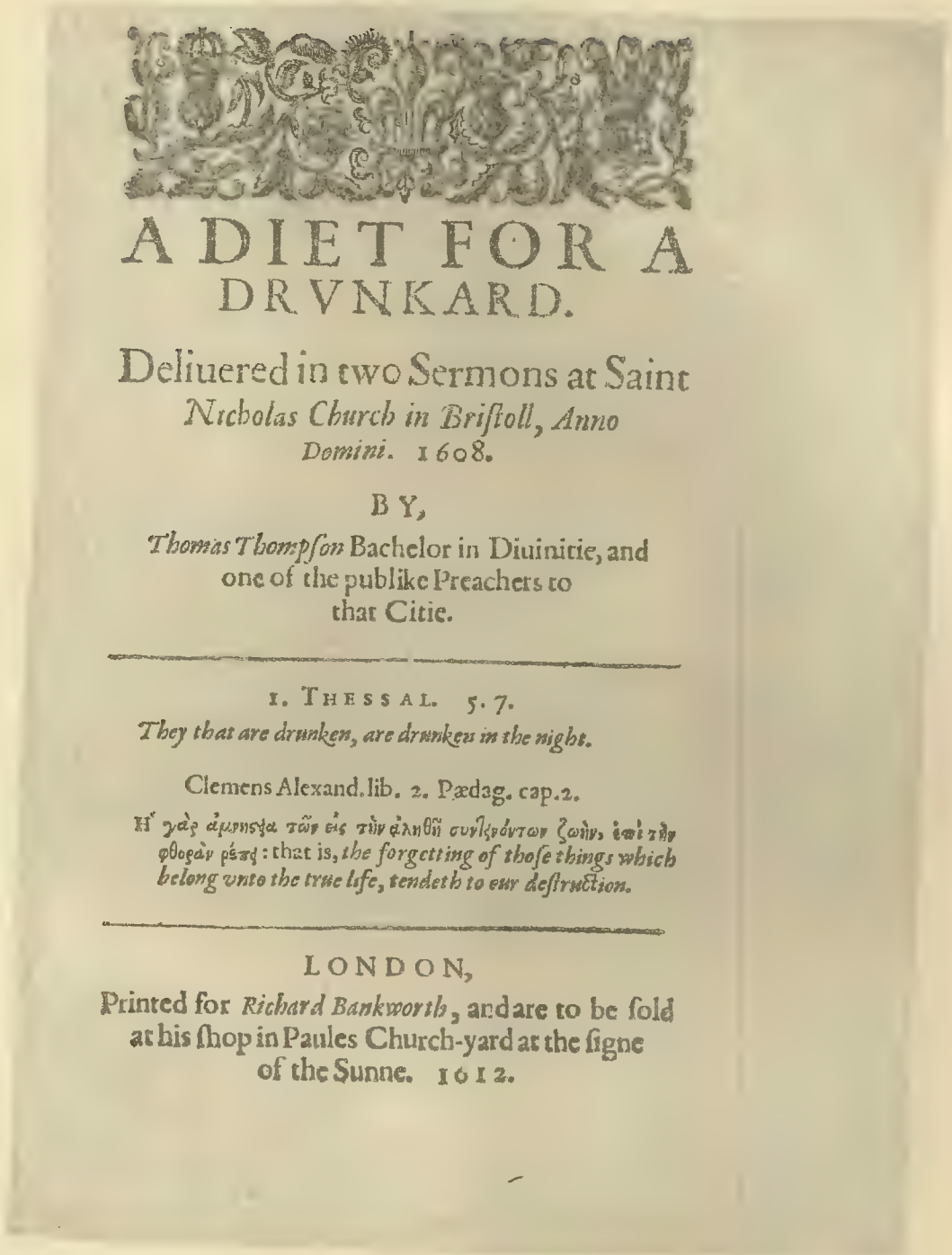
REFERENCES: BM. J., ii (i). Michaud, XXXII, 62. Graesse, v, 117–118.

Panciroli's *Rerum Memorabilium* was composed in Italian for the Duke of Savoy. The author made several MS. copies, one of which fell into the hands of Henri Salmuth who translated it into Latin, with ample commentaries, 1599. The second part, *Nova Reperta Sive Rerum Memorabilium* of Panciroli, with Salmuth's commentaries, appeared in 1602. Gualtieri, in his



TITLE OF PANCIROLI, 1612

dedication and preface, protests against the poor translation made by Salmuth, and his heretical commentaries. But as the original MSS. had been lost by this time, at the request of Panciroli's nephews Gualtieri rendered the work into Italian from Salmuth's text of the second part.



TITLE OF THOMPSON, 1612

AS PUBLIC smoking in England was commonly associated with tavern carousers, during the Jacobean period, it became one of the chief abominations of temperance reformers. "Tobacco-drinking" was proclaimed a kind of drunkenness—an

1612 analogy made by James I and others. In comparison with the invective usually employed by the English clergy in their attacks upon smoking, the passage in Thompson's tract is extremely restrained.

Having discoursed of the more debased appetites submitted to by the ancients, the author remarks:

These I say were not so notorious abuses of the blessings of God for maintenance of riot, as English men are now a daies in the indiscreete vsing of the Indian *Picielt* called by the Spaniards of an *Iland Tabacco*; a weede of little worth to the inhabitants of our continent, who liued in better health before, then since they haue had it, brought ouer into *Europe* from *Florida* and *Hispaniola* by idle merchants, not about fiftie yeares agoe, and into England not aboute thirtie.

His information is derived from Monardes (n. 15), Hakluyt (n. 57-A) and Peter Martyr (n. 2). He refers to the heating quality of tobacco, the error of using this "physic" for pleasure, the simpler therapeutic forms in which the Indians were said to have employed it and to the priests' indulgence in this herb to induce visions, and concludes the passage:

many amongst vs in a lewde excesse of riot, draw *Tabacco* and drinke wine: drinke wine and draw *Tabacco*, as if their bodies were chimneies set on fire, into which to stay the burning men cast water: and let out the smoake. But my purpose is not vtterly to forbid it vnto any man, who hath true neede thereof: only those by this speech are most iustly taxed, who make *Tabacco* odious by their most vile abuse . . . [I, v]

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A⁴; *²; B-L⁴; M²).

BOARDS. Size of leaf: 7¼ x 5½ inches.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 24027 [records four copies, but not this]. *Haz.*, *H.*, 607. *Cat. of the Library of S. Christie-Miller, Esq.*, *Divinity*, London (1873), p. 252.

Except for the fact that the author was a minister at Montgomery and sometime public preacher at Bristol, no other information relating to him has been uncovered.

1613 DRAYTON, Michael (1563-1631)

POLY-OLBION. London, 1613.

THROUGH the *Poly-Olbion* one may ramble at one's ease throughout old England, with a guide competent to indicate all the points of chief or slight antiquarian interest. No other English writer appears before to have conceived a tour on so grand a scale—few could have achieved it so admirably.

The poet's peripatetic muse having wandered about Great Britain reaches the Thames and greets London with delight. But he is saddened to see the abundance of idle gallants who are the cause that

Our gold goes out so fast, for foolish foraine things,
Which vpstart Gentry still into our Country brings;

No. 104

[498]

DRAYTON

1613

POLY-OLBION.

OR

A Chorographicall Description of Traits, Rivers,
Mountaines, Forests, and other Parts of this renowned Isle
of Great Britaine,

With intermixture of the most Remarquable Stories, Antiquities, Wonders,
Rarities, Pleasures, and Commodities of
the same:

Digested in a Poem

By

MICHAEL DRAYTON,

Esq.

With a Table added, for direction to those occurrences of Story and Antiquitie,
whereunto the Course of the Volume casily leades not.



LONDON.

Printed by H. L. for Mathew Lownes: J. Browne: J. Kichme,
and J. Bushie. 1613.

TITLE OF DRAYTON, 1613

Who their insatiate pride seek chiefly to maintaine
By that, which only serues to vses vile and vaine:
Which our plaine Fathers earst would haue accounted finne,

No. 104

[499]

DRAYTON



ENGRAVED TITLE OF DRAYTON, 1613

Tobacco

Before the costly Coach, and filken stock came in;
 Before that *Indian* weed so strongly was imbrac't;
 Wherin, such mighty fumes we prodigally waste . . . [Z,^a]

No. 104

[500]

DRAYTON

Gerard (n. 50), Daniel (n. 76), Wither (n. 108), and others, too, charged that tobacco was fashionable only because it was a foreign product.

1613

FIRST EDITION, SECOND ISSUE (with printed title-page and table). Small folio (five leaves, unsigned, including engraved title and portrait of Prince Henry; A⁴; B-Z⁶; Aa-Cc⁶; Dd²; 28⁴). Printed by H. Lownes, with his device on the title.

The first issue of the first edition [1612] contained no letter-press title, nor table, and the portrait of Prince Henry was without the words "HENRICVS PRINCEPS."

ENGRAVED TITLE, by W. Hole, full-length portrait of Prince Henry, by Hole, and eighteen double-page emblematic maps, one for each song.

OLD MOROCCO. Size of leaf: 10¹³/₁₆ x 7¹/₁₆ inches. The names of early owners, William Aldham and Thomas Love, are inscribed on a preliminary leaf; "John Selden" has been written by one of them on A⁴, probably because of the fact that he compiled the notes for the eighteen songs which compose the first part of this work. (Bound with *The Second Part, or a Continuance of Poly-Olbion*, London, 1622.)

From the collection of Marsden J. Perry.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 7227. *G.(L)*, n. 83. *Co.*, vi, 292 ff. *Shakespeareana*, n. 249.

The two parts together constitute the first complete edition of the *Poly-Olbion*. *The Second Part* bound in this copy is the second issue (without the author's name on the title).

HARCOURT, Robert (1574?-1631)

A RELATION OF A VOYAGE TO GVIANA. London, 1613.

THE author of this tract had an almost prophetic vision of the commercial value of tobacco. He adventured to Guiana in 1609 and arranged for the colonization of that rich land.¹ In the account he wrote of his experiences he makes frequent references to the plant and remarks upon the ease with which it could be cultivated. Harcourt's enthusiastic prediction about the wealth tobacco could bring was not advanced as a defiance of James I's sour opinions of the plant. While this especial aversion of the king was by now well known (although his *Counterblaste* was still unacknowledged) it had been observed that he was not averse to accepting his "just tribute" from the noxious weed he scorned. Harcourt himself remarks casually upon the "Kings rent" derived from tobacco, but merely as a justification of his own proposal.

There is yet another profitable commodity to be reaped in *Guiana*, and that is by Tobacco, which albeit some dislike, yet the generality of men in this kingdome doth with great affection entertain it. It is not only in request in this our Country of *England*, but also in *Ireland*, the *Netherlands*, in all the Easterly Countries, and *Germany*; and most of all amongst the Turks, and in *Barbary*. The price it holdeth is great, the benefit our Merchants gaine thereby is infinite, and the Kings rent for the custome thereof is not a little. The Tobacco that was brought into this kingdome in the yeare of our Lord 1610. was at the least worth 60. thousand pounds:^[2] And since that time the store that yearly hath come in, was little lesse.

¹ This enterprise was later incorporated with Roger North's establishment of an English settlement in

Guiana. Cf. *Acts*, i, nos. 68, 69, 72, 73, 76.

² V. the *Introduction*, p. 90, n. 12, for the assumed

No. 105

[501]

HARCOURT

A RELATION OF A VOYAGE TO GUIANA.

DESCRIBING THE CLIMAT,
Scituation, fertilitie, prouisions and commodities
of that Country, containing seven Prouinces, and
other Signiorities within that Territory: Together,
with the manners, customes, behaviors, and
dispositions of the people.

Performed by ROBERT HARCOURT, of
Stanton Harcourt Esquire.

The Patent for the Plantation of which Country,
his Maiestie hath granted to the said ROBERT
HARCOURT vnder the Great Seale.

NOTE IV. 2, 3.

The Land which we walked thither to search it, is a very good Land.
If the Lord love vs, he will bring vs into this Land, and wil give it vs.



AT LONDON

Printed by IOHN BEALE, for W. WELBY, and
are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Churchyard at the
signe of the Swan. 1613.

TITLE OF HARCOURT, 1613

It is planted, gathered, seasoned, and made vp fit for the Merchant in short time, and with easie labour. But when we first arriued in those parts [*i.e.*, Guiana], wee altogether wanted the true skill and knowledge how to order it, which now of late wee happily haue learned of the Spaniards themselues,³ whereby I dare perfume to say, and hope to proue, within few moneths, (as others also of found iudgement,

value of this trade in 1615-1620.

³ In the abstract of a letter from Sir Thomas Roe (who was then on an exploration of the South

American coast from the Amazon to the Orinoco) occurs: "... the King of Spain intends to plant Orinoco ... [and invade Guiana]. Thinks all will

and great experience doe hold opinion) that onely this commodity Tobacco (so much fought after, and desired) will bring as great a benefit and profit to the vndertakers, as euer the Spaniards gained by the best and richest Siluer myne in all their Indies, considering the charge of both. [G₂^b-G₃^a]

After having taken possession of "the whole continent of *Guiana*, lying betwixt the riuers of *Amazones* and *Orenoque* [*"Desfequebe,"* in the Patent—*v. infra*]," with the ceremony of "turfe and twig," Harcourt delivered a mountain called *Gomeribo*, where the soil was most excellent for tobacco, etc., to an Indian, christened Anthony Canabre, who had lived in England fourteen years. He was to have and hold it for the king and his heirs, and one of the stipulations provided that a tenth part of all tobacco, etc., raised was to be yielded to the king. [H₃^b]

We staid at *Porte de Hispania* vntill the seuenth day, in hope to get some good Tobacco amongst the Spaniards, who daily fed vs with delaies and faire words, but in truth they had none good at that present for vs, which we perceiuing, departed thence vpon the 7. day . . . [I₃^b]

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A-L⁴, with Harcourt's "Patent" at end). With the printer's device on the title.

MOROCCO, by Riviere. Size of leaf: 6 15/16 x 5 5/16 inches.

From the collections of E. D. Church, Henry E. Huntington (1919, X, n. 99), and George D. Smith (1921, VII, n. 79), with the bookplate of the first.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 12754. C., n. 361. S., viii, n. 30296. Ed. by Sir C. Alexander Harris (Hakluyt Soc., 1928).

KING, Humphrey (*fl.* 1594-1613)

AN HALFE-PENNY-WORTH OF WIT. London, 1613.

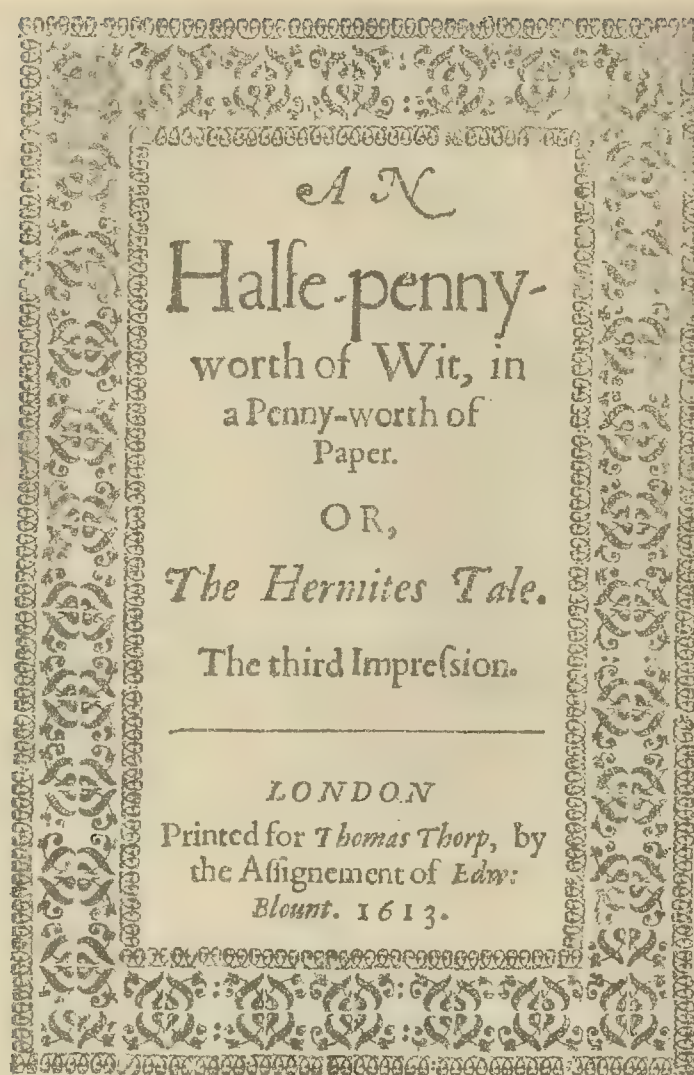
A MINOR character in the annals of tobacco, the enigmatic Humphrey King, having been advertised by Chute and by Nash as a nicotian specialist, here appears in his own right as a contributor to English literature. The phrases by which he had been introduced to contemporaneous notice, however, are sufficiently vague to make him, at this late day, a tantalizingly ambiguous figure.

He seems to have written no direct word in praise of the "holy herb" (*v. infra*), but despite that, he has a divine right to appear in the company of nicotian litterateurs. The first English work on tobacco (n. 46) was dedicated to him, and Nash (n. 57) crowned him "King of the Tobacconists *hic & vbique*." His position thus being unassailable, one may attempt to discover who and what he was.

His volume of poetry serves to confirm his existence. Without it, he had but the airy substance composed of the gossip of friends—a kind of dim and semi-mythical figure lurking in an Elizabethan background. Nothing positive is known about him. His book reveals little except to show that he was a minor poet with moral predi-

be turned to smoke. The Government is lazy and has more skill in planting and selling tobacco than in erecting Colonies or marching armies . . ."

(*C.S.P., Col., 1574-1660*, p. 11, cited by Brown, *The Genesis of the United States*, *l.*, 1890, i, pp. 454-455.) Cf. Bennett, in n. 158 "q."



TITLE OF KING, 1613

lections. He was of obscure family, and not a learned man, as he himself suggests in the coarse but homely dedication to the Duchess of Sussex, in his poem.

Dr. Robert J. Kane¹ is inclined to believe that he held some exalted position in a "burlesque society of smokers."² He seems to have had some authority in this "smoakie Societie," for Chute's *Tabaco*, 1595, was only "to passe for authorifed"

¹ *V. supra*, p. 337.

² It is highly probable that this society had a quite serious, practical purpose: to obtain unadulter-

ated tobacco at reasonable prices (*cf.* the introductory note to n. 46) and to smoke it in congenial surroundings. *V. infra*, n. 7.

upon King's "allowance." Chute's reference to "his Excelfitude"³ and Nash's mention, "your diminutive excelfitude,"⁴ suggest that it was by this title he was known to his fellow members. He was probably an amiable small man,⁵ hailed "little Numps" by the nobility,⁶ etc.

While it is true that most of the appellations associated with King are affectionate enough, they are also a little patronizing. They suggest that he may have been an innkeeper⁷ as well as a dealer in tobacco who was a genial propagandist of the social pipe. At his house one might find the "right stuff" from the Indies, not the adulterated brand offered by the scheming apothecaries and not that bitter home-grown yellow *Henbane*, or *Englisb Tabaco*, as Gerard (n. 50) named the English variety of *N. rustica*. There the amateur "Knights of Tabacco" might gather to practise the new art of whiffing and gulping, under the tuition of his "Excelfitude," while others, more practised, smoked a sober pipe or two. Thus engaged, they might encourage the literary aspirations of their host by listening to a verse or two of his own composition—not too high a price to exact for a pipe of prime tobacco.

One passage in this work of King's is not to be neglected, for it seems to contain an oblique reference to tobacco. (It would be strange, indeed, had the nicotian sovereign refrained from expressing some allusion to the herb which had given him his chief fame.) He says in his preface "To the Reader" that he has forsworn wine-pots till Michaelmas . . . but not "*the new wine of Peru, that is made of no grape, but a strange fruite in the West-indies, and is more comfortable to the braine and stomache, then any restoratiue or cordiall whatfoeuer.*"⁸ [A₄^a]

THIRD EDITION [the earliest known]. Small quarto (A-F⁴).

HALF GREEN MOROCCO—De Ricci says, ". . . about 1800, apparently one of the bindings made for Samuel Ireland junior (not in his 1801 sale)." Size of leaf: 6 13/16 x 5 1/4 inches. With the autograph of an early owner, William Thomas, on the title, and the end-paper inscribed in an early hand.

From the collections of Thomas Caldecott (1833, n. 680), George Daniel (1864, n. 976, bought by Huth), Henry Huth (1914, IV, n. 4171), and John L. Clawson (1926, n. 447). With the ex libris of the last two.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 14973 [records three other copies]. De Ricci, n. 447. Col., ii, 205-208; iii, 15. Co., viii, 334-339.

Although Nash, in his *Lenten Stufte*, 1599, writes of this poem as about to appear, this edition of 1613 is the earliest, and the only, impression known. If it be true that there were two prior editions, their disappearance is one of the mysteries of Elizabethan literary history.

Collier (who provides a long account of this work) did not particularly like *The Hermites Tale*; he calls it a "rambling sort of dialogue between a young man and an anchorite on the follies and vices of the world, without any particulars." Corser had a better opinion of it and quoted some examples to show that it was not without poetic merit. To Collier's comment may be added the notice of it in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which says, ". . . Complaint is made of the growth of luxury and decay of hospitality, and the puritans are vigorously assailed."

³ N. 46, n. 7.

⁴ *V.* n. 57, n. 2.

⁵ But if the reference in E. Guilpin's *Skialetheia*, 1598, is to King, he was probably unfortunate in his diminutiveness. For in the "Preludium" to his *Satyra Prima* in that work, Guilpin has the phrase ". . . like the dwarfe King's scurril grace . . ."

⁶ *V.* the dedication in n. 57.

⁷ Nash refers to King's "quarters" (where the "Societie" met) as a place where one could expect the best ale.

⁸ *Cf.* n. 50, where Gerard writes of tobacco as a product of the West Indies and labels a cut of *N. Tabacum* "Tabaco or Henbane of Peru." (*V. ibid.*, n. 8.)

More Knaues yet?
The Knaues of Spades
and Diamonds.



LONDON
Printed for John T. p. d. velling at Saint Magnus

TITLE OF ROWLANDS, 1613
From the copy in the Bodleian Library¹

ROWLANDS, Samuel (1570?-1630?)

MORE KNAVES YET? London, 1613.

THE "Poet Laureate of tobacco" (v. nos. 71, 83, 89, 94) recurred to a favorite theme in this volume of his *Knaves* series. He was still satirizing the excessive use of the weed and, in the second poem following, produced, in his homely and rollicking fashion, an ironic mythological version of tobacco's origin.²

¹ That in the Arents collection is the Utterson reprint. ² Cf. n. 224, the German version of this poem.

Tobacco carted to Tyburne

A Fleming late that kild one with a knife,
Carried by cart to end his wretched life,
Toward *Tiburne* riding did *Tobacco* take,
(To purge his head against his heeles did shake)
But I durst lay ten pounds to twenty shilling,
To take his purge no wise-man will be willing:
Though Englishmen are apt for imitation,
Yet Maisters, let the Dutchman keepe his fashion:
For howfoe're it with his liking stood,
The smoaking did his choaking little good. [C₄^b-D₁^a]

To smokey Noses, and stinking Nostrils.

Great Iupiter being at a folemne feast
With all the Gods, *Vulcan* that footie beast,
A Pipe of his Tabacco fell to drinke:
Venus displeas'd, said fye sweet loue you stinke.
And I am sure that *Iuno* you offend:
Neither will *Pallas* hold you for her friend,
Ceres will say the fume will blast her corne,
And *Floraes* flowers such loathsome smell doe scorne;
Put vp your pipe, fmoke here no more you must:
The very steeme makes *Mars* his armor rust,
And cloudes *Apolloe's* glorious fun-bright face,
Saturne you see spits at it in disgrace,
What rhume's in *Bacchus* eyes, how red they looke!
How long ist loue since you Tobacco tooke?
Marry (quoth he) late sitting on my trough,
(With that he whift till all the Gods cry'd fough)
Came a young deuill of th'infernall nation,
And brought me that with *Plutoes* commendation:
And said, to drinke with me he had desire,
Because I traded like to him with fire.
Now they drinke neither wine, nor ale, nor beare,
But fire, and stinke, and fmoke, as this is here,
When *Ioue* heard this, well *Vulcan* (quoth he) well,
For shame let vs distinguish Heauen from Hell,
Cast hence your rowle, and your Tobacco ball,
Or else with thunder ile destroy it all;
My lightning shall consume it from your Nose.
With that from Heauen Mercury it throwes,
And downe amongst the Blackamores it lights:
Whome *Ioues* wing'd Herald did suppose were sprites.
So by that error they Tobacco got,
And fell to fmoke it very burning hot,
As common and frequent with euery Moore,

As with th'infernall furies t'was before.
 Not long fire drinking was at their dispose,
 But that the smell came to the Spaniards Nose
 And he would teach his braine some fmother too;
 French, Dutch, Italian, they the like would doe:
 But th'Englilh to disgrace them all did striue,
 His Nose should fmoke with any Nose aliue.
 Thus like an ill weed that growes fast, 'tis come,
 To stinke in Nostrils throughout Christendome,
 So that of most it may be truely spoke,
 Their tongues yeeld idle breath, their Noses fmoke. [D₁^a-D₂^a]

FIRST EDITION OF THIS REPRINT. Small octavo (A⁴ [first, prob. blank, lacking]; B⁵ (a leaf, marked B₂* inserted between B₂ and B₃); C-F⁴; one leaf, unmarked, with the editor's note on r₂, and on the v₂ a vignette cut, etc., and colophon: [Ryde, Isle of Wight] Reprinted at the Bel-dornie Press, by G. E. Palmer, for Edwd. V. Utterson, in the year MDCCCXLI.).

BOARDS, UNCUT. Size of leaf: 6¾ x 5⅞ inches. Inscription in Utterson's hand presenting the book to W. B. D. D. Turnbull, Nov. 1841.

From the collections of W. B. D. D. Turnbull (1851, n. 851), and John Kershaw (1877, n. 116), with the armorial bookplate of the latter.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 21392. *The Four Knaves*, ed. by E. F. Rimbault (Percy Society, 1844). *Complete Works* (Hunterian Club, 1880), ii.

Only two examples are known of the original edition, according to the entry in *STC.*, 21392, of which the Huntington copy has an imperfect title-page. Utterson's reprint was limited to but sixteen copies.

WITHER, George (1588-1667)

ABVSES STRIPT, AND WHIPT. London, 1613.

JACOBEOAN society, it seems, was so heavily impregnated with vice that when the youthful poet, George Wither, came to review it he uncovered enough material for twenty satires. These, which comprise his *Abuses Stript and Whipt*, treat of the evils inherent in such abstractions as Ambition, Lust, Revenge and Weakness.

In the second book, "Of the *Vanitie, Inconstancie*, weaknes, and Presumption of *Men . . .*," one of the abuses whipt is the haughty custom of preferring foreign commodities to those of home. Among these exotic products was tobacco, and the intemperance displayed in its use was highly disturbing to the young moralist.¹

¹ He succeeded in overcoming his aversion to tobacco some time later, and his indulgence in smoking served him as an anodyne when he was imprisoned (for the third time), 1660-1663. In his *An Improvement of Imprisonment*, 1661, occurs a philosophic poem, "A Meditation whilst he was taking a Pipe of Tobacco," which contains the lines:

Here, all alone, I by my self have took,
 An Emblem of my Self, a Pipe of Smoke:
 For, I am but a little piece of Clay

Fill'd with a *Smoke* that quickly fumes away.
 This *Vanity*, our *Clymat* never knew
 Till near the time, in which, first breath I drew;
 And otherwhile, it is of wholsome use
 (Though, for the most part subject to abuse:)
 Since first I smookt it, after (it came hither)
 I laid it by, nigh thirty years together,
 And for my healths sake, then, did reassume
 That *Bauble* wherewith we *Tobacco* fume . . .
 (*Miscellaneous Works*, Wither, Spencer Soc. ed., 1874, pp. 98-100.)

Our own herbs, fruits and plants we despise, but such as we can get abroad we praise.
 But know we not that if such things were planted abroad they were for the help of diseases there? Is not our climate different, and will not our "complexions" be poisoned by such plants?

Trust me I thinke, this ouermuch respecting
 Of *Forraine Compounds* and the still neglecting
 Of our owne *Symples* is the cause that wee
 So little better for our *Phisicke* be,
 Some in their writings praise *Tobacco* much,
 Perhaps the vertue of it may be such
 As they haue said where first the symple grew,
 But if it be replanted heere anew,
 From it[s] owne foile where natures hand did place it,
 I dare not with those properties to grace it
 Which there it had; nor can the *Vertue* bide
 When tis transported to our region dri'd.
 Yet almost 'tis a wonder to behold,
 How generally now both yong and old
 Sucke on that forraine *weed*: for so they vse it,
 Or rather (to speake right) so they abuse it,
 In too oft taking, that a man would thinke
 It were more needfull then their *meate* or *drinke*:
 But what's their reason? do not aske them why,
 For neither can they tell you that, nor I.
 Vnlesse 't be this: So they haue seene some do
 Forfooth, and therefore they must vse it too.
 Nay, wonder not; The *Sunne* lights not a *Nation*
 That more addicteth *apish imitation*
 Then do we *Englilh . . .*

Should a stranger come garbed in a fashion outlandish and weird, our courtiers would hasten to ape him.

Nay, we cannot name
 That thing so full of *Barbarisme* and *fbame*
 That they'le not imitate: witnesse this *fmoake*,
 VVhich though at first it was enough to *choake*
 Or stifle vp the fenfe; though 'twere vnpleasing
 In tast and fauour, oftentimes diseasing
 The takers bodies; yet like men halfe mad,
 Not knowing neither what effect it had.
 Onely because a *rude* and *sauage Nation*,
 Tok't for some vnknown need; thei'le make 't a fashion.
 Alas what profit *England* at thy need,
 Haft thou attained to by this *Indian weed*,
 What hath it lengthend life or maintaind health?
 Or hath it brought thee more encrease of wealth?

It dries superfluous moistures; doth't? indeed
Tane [taken] with discretion it may stand instead,
And surely it deserues to be excus'd,
Being with honnest moderation vs'd.
But I do greatly wonder what they ment,
That first did takt in way of *complement*.
For now it is as common at each meeting,
As *how d'yee, or God saue yee* for a greeting,
Hees no good fellow thats without the *Pox*,
Burnd pipes Tobacco, and his *Tinder-boxe*
And therefore their be some who scarce abide it,
Yet alwaies wil for company prouide it.
VVith whom (though they alone the fame eschew)
Thei'le take it til they spit and *cough* and *spue*.
Methinkes they may as wel since this theile doe,
At all their meetings take *Purgations* too.
Theres not a *Tinker, Cobler, shepheard* now,
Or *Rascall Ragamuffin* that knowes how
In a blind *Alehouse* for to drinke a pot,
Or fwagger kindly if he haue it not,
You shall haue some among them wil not sticke,
To sweare that they are for *Tobaco* ficke.
When by their ragged outfides you would gather,
It were for want of bread and victualls rather,
And so I takt, But now if you deny,
Th'affecting *forraine drugges a Vanity*.
Yet you I hope will grant, because 'tis plaine
The vsing of *Tobacco* thus is vaine.
I meane in those that daily *fit and smoake*,
Ale house and *Tauerne* till the windowes roke.
And you must yeeld if euer; *Quod nunc sumus*,
E'ne as the old *verse* saies, *flos, fœnum, fumus*. [L₆^b–L₈^a]

In the same poem, in an account of "one humorous tricke . . . Which lately I obseru'd," by which two lazy gallants were persuaded to overstay at a tavern, it is recorded that a good part of their time was passed with the aid of their tobacco pipes. [M₅^b–M₇^a]

FIRST EDITION. Small octavo (A⁸ [first, blank, lacking]; a⁴; B–V⁸ [last two, blank, and lacking]). The publisher's name, Francis Burton, comprises the monogram on the title.

ORIGINAL CALF, partly uncut on lower margin. Size of leaf: 5¾ x 3⅞ inches. T₈ defective owing to an original fault in printing.

This piece (n. 3622 in an unknown early XIXth century English sale) is from the collections of W. H. Miller and S. R. Christie-Miller (4 April 1924, n. 833).

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 25891. *L.*, 2963. *G.(W)*, n. 1015.

It is not unlikely that the first edition of this work was called in—a possible explanation of its rarity.

ABVSSES STRIP, AND WHIPT.

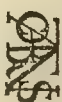
OR

SATIRICAL ESSAYES.

By GEORGE WITHER.

Divided into two Bookes.

Desire not this what ere I seeme in shewe.
A feole to purpose speaks somtyme you knowe.



AT LONDON,
Printed by G. ELD, for FRANCIS
BURTON, and are to be sold at his shop
in Pauls Church-yard, at the signe of
the Green-Dragon. 1613.

TITLE OF WITHER, 1613

NEPENTHES; OR THE VERTVES OF TABACCO BY

William Barclay M.^r of Art, and
Doctor of Physicke.



Printed by ANDREW HART, and are to be sold at
his shop on the North side of the high street, at the
beneath the Croffe. Anno Dom. 1614.

TITLE OF BARCLAY, 1614

From the copy in the Bodleian Library

The number of editions which appeared in the initial year, 1613, has been placed by some authorities at seven (*v.* catalogues of the Huth and the Rowfant libraries). Hazlitt had recorded four, and Frank Sidgwick, the editor of *The Poetry of George Wither* (1902), noticed five. He attempted, too, to establish the existence of an edition before the first of 1613, but the book was not registered at Stationers' Hall until 16 Jan. 1613 [1612].² The *STC.* recognizes only four editions of 1613.

For reasons no longer clear the authorities took offence at Wither's flagellation—perhaps some petty courtier or nobleman recognized a personal thrust in some veiled allusion. At any rate he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea for several months—an experience he was to undergo again later.

Wither's poetry was not accepted with complete favor. Long after the production of the *Abuses* he became involved in the contest between the king and parliament. Having been captured by Charles' troops, he was saved from a "traitor's" death only by the satiric intervention of Sir John Denham, the royalist poet. He entreated that the king spare Wither, saying that so long as the latter lived, he himself could not be accounted England's worst poet!

BARCLAY, William (*c.* 1570—*c.* 1630)

NEPENTHES, OR THE VERTVES OF TABACCO. Edinburgh, 1614.

IN *Nepenthes*, the author, with rare good humor, defended the therapeutic value of tobacco against the skepticism of James I and the calumnies repeated by his disciples. (The work has been called the earliest contradiction of the *Counterblaste*, but Gardiner, n. 96, must receive the honor of first challenging, by implication at least, the king's pronunciamiento.)

While in this thesis, too, the extravagant "tobacconist" is reproved, it was not the ethical problems presented by those who smoked for pleasure which invited Barclay's pen. He appears to have had but a plain desire to stir his readers' admiration for a new herb which he generously and enthusiastically prescribed.

The Scottish author's bland disregard of James I's dicta on tobacco suggests that he thought a countryman entitled to complete freedom of speech. He had some notable advantages over his royal opponent. He was educated abroad—this made him liberal; he enjoyed his pipe—that made him genial. He seems to have been worthy (in a modern sense) of the title of "Professor of Humanity," a chair he had once held in the University of Paris.

His *Nepenthes*, however, displays in its main portion a naive and complete faith in the "new drug from the Indies." It made no new contribution to medical knowledge; on the contrary it confirmed the uncritical opinions of those to whom tobacco was a panacea. Barclay, despite his obvious intelligence, showed none of that spirit of scientific questioning evinced by some contemporary colleagues, such, say, as Wilhelm van der Meer.³

² To the edition of 1615 a portrait of Wither by Hole is generally prefixed, dated 1611. The date probably accounts for the hypothetical edition of

1611-1612 which some students assume existed.

³ *V.* n. 148 [Dd.²].

A most worthy lady, the "very IVNO of our Ile," having commanded the author to destroy some monstrous diseases, he arms himself with a box and a pipe—the box to conserve his tobacco, and the pipe with which to use it. With these two, God willing, he can overcome many maladies. But, he asks,

First why doe I treat of a matter so often handled by so many, so odious to Princes, so pernicious to fundrie, and so costly to all?

Secondly, why doe I as another CLODIVS reueale *mysteria bonæ Deæ*, and prophane the secrets of Phycicke?

Why 'tis simple enough. A good matter is not made worse when maintained by many, etc., and as for the hatred of princes, 'tis known that one man's meat is another's poison. And if it be costly, why then use less of it. As for unfolding the mysteries of physic,

. . . I answere, I meane but to reforme the harme which proceedeth of the abuse, and to shew to my countrey men that I am more willing to pleasure them then to profite my selfe. . . . It resteth now to vnfold what moued me to entitule this treatise *Nepenthes*, becaufe it hath certaine mellifluous delicacie, which deliteth the senses, & spirits of man with a mindful obliuion, infomuch that it . . . induceth . . . the forgetting of all sorowes & miseries. And there is such hostilitie betwene it & melancholie, that it is the only medicament in the world ordained by nature to entertaine good companie: infomuch that it worketh neuer so well, as when a it is giuen from man to man, as a pledge of friendship and amitie.

Its more popular names are recorded, but the author will have it that it is worthy of the dignity of so lofty a name as *Nepenthes*. Although the plant is grown in many gardens in England and on the Continent, only that fostered in the West Indies, South America, etc., and brought home by mariners is to be used, as shall be shown. Avarice and greed have impelled some merchants to apparel some European plants with "Indian coats, and to enstall them in shops as righteous and legitime *Tabacco*."

Some others haue *Tabacco* from *Florida* indeede, but becaufe either it is exhausted of spiritualitie, or the radical humor is spent, and wafted, or it hath gotten moysure by the way, or it hath bene dried for expedition in the Sunne, or carried too negligently, they sophisticate and farde⁴ the fame in fundrie fortes with blacke spice, *Galanga* [galangal], *aqua vitæ*, Spanish wine, Anise feedes, oyle of Spicke [apparently lavender] and such like.⁵

So that the most fine, best, and purest is that which is brought to *Europe* in leaues, and not rolled in puddings, as the English Navigators first brought home.

The finest *Tabacco*⁶ is that which pearceth quickly the odorat with a sharpe aromaticke smell, and tickleth the tongue with acrimonie, not vnpleasant to the taste, from whence that which draweth most water is most vertuous, whether the substance of it be chewed in the mouth, or the smoake of it receiued.

. . . In a Goofe there is nothing which doth not serue either for meat or medicine,

⁴ *I.e.*, paint to remove its defects.

⁵ The *N. rustica* of Florida in its natural state was unappealing to English palates. It was treated to give it the appearance and taste of the variety

in demand, *N. Tabacum*. Cf. n. 120, second excerpt.

⁶ The author was here recommending familiar varieties of *N. Tabacum*, from the West Indies and South America.

no not so much as the dounge: But in *Tabacco* there is nothing which is not medicin, the root, the stalke, the leaues, the feeds, the smoake, the ashes, & to be more particular, *Tabacco* may serue for the vse of man either greene or dry, of greene *Tabacco* may be made Syrups, waters, oyles, vnguents, plaisters, or the leafe of it selfe, may bee vfed mortified at the fire to cure the asthma, or shortnesse of breath, diffolue obstructions, heale the olde cough, burning vlcers, wounds, migraim [migraine], Colicke, suffocation of the mother: and many other diseases, yea almost all diseases.¹⁵¹

Although he will treat of the manner to prepare remedies from green tobacco, etc., the author refrains from advising about the "infusion and decoction" of tobacco smoke: 'tis too dangerous for the unpractised and must be left for application to some prudent physician.

As for *Tabacco* in substance holdē in the mouth, as an apophlegmatisme, or medicin to draw fleame out of the head by the mouth, I avow it to be one of the best & surest remedies in the world against Paralysie, epilepsie or apoplexie, that is, the falling ill, and *Vertigo Idiopathica*, the passion of dizzines in the head by wind, that euer was found out.

These, four of the most incurable diseases that besiege the brain of man, have been treated, since the days of Hippocrates, by various purgings, to which has been added a sixth method, namely spitting. This, tobacco brings about better than any other medicine. Mercury and tobacco are compared. It is stated that

... *Tabacco* is hote, because it hath acrimonie, it is cold because it is narcoticke and stupefactiue, it maketh drunken, and refresheth, it maketh hungrie and filleth, it maketh thirftie, and quencheth thirst ...

But tobacco has the advantage of mercury as it works its cures by slaver only, when chewed or smoked.

... to the cure and preferuation of an armie of maladies, *Tabacco* must be vfed after this maner. Take of leafe *Tabacco* as much as being folded together, may make a round ball of such bignesse that it may fill the patients mouth, and inclyne his face downward towards the ground, keeping the mouth open, not mouing any whit with his tongue, except now and then to waken the medicament, there shall flow such a flood of water from his brain and his stomacke, and from all parts of his body that it shall be a wonder. This he must do fasting in the morning, and if it be for preferuation, and the bodie very cacocheme, or full of euil humours, he must take it once a weeke, otherwise once a month: But if it bee to cure the Epilepsie or Hydropisie once euery day.

Thus hath he employed tobacco himself, with success.

As concerning the smoake, it may be taken more frequently, & for the said effects, but alwayes fasting, & with emptie stomack, not as the English abusers do, which make a smoke-boxe of their skull ... there is one *William Anslop*¹⁶¹ an honest man

¹⁵ The author, it is evident, was familiar with the tobacco gospels of Liébault and of Monardes (nos. 12 and 15).

¹⁶ This high recommendation from such a source,

it is hoped, proved profitable to the said Anslop, who has the honor of being the first living tobacco seller mentioned by name in English literature, unless Humphrey King (n. 106) was of that profession.

dwelling in Bishops-gate street, hard within the gate that felleth the best *Tabacco* in *England*, and vseth it most discretely.

The matter of smoke being still in controversy the author proceeds to analyze it, showing that since the time of the ancients suffumigations have been a received antidote for certain ailments. Most modern physicians recommend tussilago (coltsfoot); the advice of others is repeated. But tobacco is far and above superior to all these remedies; a number of its uses are cited, including its value "if the rage of toothache excarnificate the goomes . . ." or "if there be founding in the eares . . ." Even among the many thousands who for pleasure's sake daily overindulge in tobacco there be few of whom it can be said that they died of smoke. Because of man's structure most diseases lodge in the brain, and as tobacco smoke goes immediately to the brain, it refreshes the animal spirits and dries the sources of innumerable diseases.

Only those whose brains are hot and dry, which is a temperament unnatural to the brain, should refrain from the use of tobacco in smoke. It were a task indeed to set down all the diseases which tobacco will cure; the author, however, mentions a few of the more dangerous and provides a number of recipes and the *modus operandi*.

But the reader is earnestly cautioned that this new plant is not perfect for all persons, because of differences of temperament, etc. It must be employed only at the discretion of a prudent physician. He relates an instance of one who sought to be his own physician, having observed the remedies applied to him by his doctor shortly before, but failed because he "lacked a principal point . . . [he] received not the potion from the hand of a Phyician."

Barclay's loyalty to his colleagues is such that he wishes it were law that none dare practise physic under penalty of death, without a certificate of his right to do so.¹⁷

Although he be "a valley Poete . . . neuer hauing sleept in *Parnassus*," Barclay thought it meet to fill some pages with verses in tobacco's praise. Of the six poems one admonishes the abusers of tobacco to give over their evil ways, another is addressed

To my Lord the Bishop of *Murray*.

The statelie rich late conquered Indian plaines,
Foster a plant, the princes of all plants,
Which *Portugall*, after perill and paines,
To *Europe* broght, as it most iustlie vants [vaunts]:
This plant at home the people and Priests assure,
Of his goodwill, whom they as God adore,
Both here and there it worketh wondrous cure,
And hath such heauenlie vertue hid in store.
A stranger plant shipwrecked in our coast,
Is come to help this cold phlegmatick foyle,
Yet can not liue for calumnie and boast,
In danger daylie of some greater broyle:

My Lord this sacred herb which neuer offendit
Is forcde to craue your fauour to defend it.

¹⁷ The implications were, of course, that as tobacco had been awarded a place in the *materia medica* by physicians, its therapeutic uses should

be restricted to competent members of the medical fraternity. This attitude was common to most of the physicians who wrote about tobacco.

To the most accompli-
shed, and true *Philoclea* of this
Yle, L. E. L. L. F.

Some do this plant with odious crymes disgrace,
And call the poore *Tabacco* homicid,
They say that it, O what a monstrous cace!
Foretals the life, and kils man in the seed,
It smoaketh, blacketh, burneth all the braine,
It dryes the moisture treasure of the life,
It cureth not, but stupifies the pain,
It cuts our dayes before *Atropus* knife.
Good Ladie looke not to these rauing speiches,
You know by proof that all these blames are lies,
Forged by scuruie leud vnlearned Leiches,
As time hath taught, and practife that all tryes.
Tabacco neither altereth health nor hew,
Ten thousand thousands know that it is true.

FIRST EDITION. Small octavo (A-B⁸). With the printer's device on the title.

PHOTOSTAT OF THE COPY IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 1406 [records four copies]. Arb., 115 ff. La., *Europe*, 32-33. F., 86-87.
Reprint, in *The Miscellany of the Spalding Club* (†, 1841).

RAVENS-CROFT, Thomas (1592?-1635?)

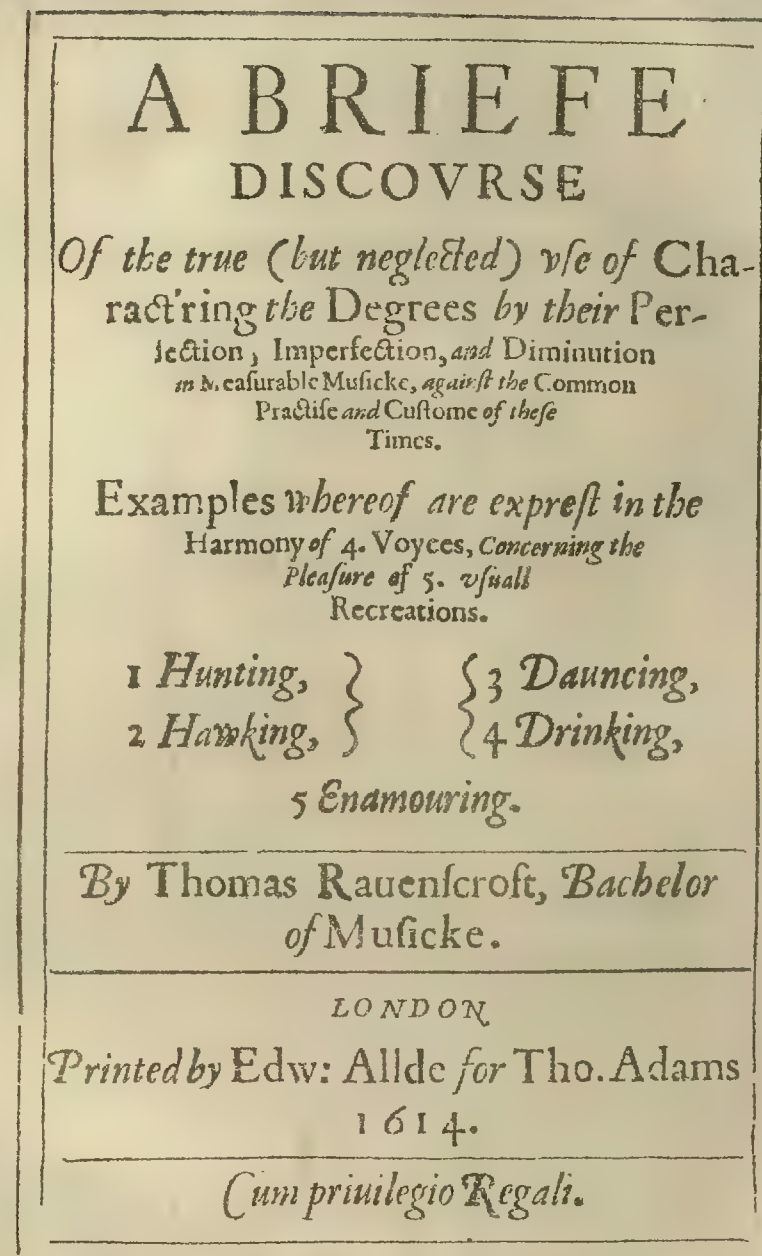
A BRIEF E DISCOVERSE. London, 1614.

IN THIS scientific study of musical systems the author, a musician of note in his day, presented a song, popular, perhaps, with the more genteel "tobacconists" of the reign of James I. This is set to music in quartet arrangement. It is slightly rearranged here:

Tobacco fumes away all nastie rheumes,
But health away it neuer lightly frets,
And nappy Ale makes mirth (as Aprill raine doth Earth)
Spring like the pleasant spring, where ere it foaking wets.

Chorus

But in that spring of mirth,
Such madnes hye doth growe,
As fills a foole by birth
With crotchets, with Ale and Tobacco.



TITLE OF RAVENS-CROFT, 1614

One cleares the braine, the other glads the hart,
Which they retaine, by nature and by art:
The first by nature cleares, by Arte makes giddy will,
The last by nature cheares, by Art makes heady fill.

Chorus

So we, whose Braynes els lowe,
Swells hye with crotchet rules,
Feed on these two, as fat,
As heddy giddy fooles. [D₄^b-E₂^a]

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (¶¶; ¶¶¶; ¶¶¶¶; A-D⁴; Second part, the music, with half-title, A-G⁴.)

LEVANT MOROCCO, by F. Bedford. Probably on Large Paper. Size of leaf: 8¾ x 6⅝ inches.

From the collection of S. R. Christie-Miller (Dec. 15, 1919, n. 132).

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 20756 [records four complete copies, but not this]. *L.*, 2053. Jaggard, 257.

Tobias Hume's *The First Part of Ayres*, 1605 [C₂^a], and Thomas Weelkes' *Ayres or Phantastickes*, 1608 [B₃^b], both contain tobacco songs popular in their day. The first is reprinted in Partington (†, 1924), p. 24; the second may be found in Fairholt, pp. 74-75.

TAYLOR, John (1580-1653)

THE NIPPING OR SNIPPING OF ABVSES. London, 1614.

THE discovery of tobacco and its use by Christians provided further reasons for the righteous to assail the devil. Among the misdeeds with which he was now charged was the invention of the nicotian plant. It was seriously proclaimed by some of the faithful that as Satan had been unsuccessful in his assaults upon the Christian faith, he had subtly enslaved its followers with a new vice through the medium of the Indians.

Tobacco, and the chief form in which it was employed socially, contained elements which would readily suggest to the superstitious the conceit of its devilish origin: a "heathenish drug," enjoyed through a combination of fire and smoke, and accompanied by an odor often compared to a "brimstone stench." Then, too, the very obvious pleasure derived from smoking by its devotees would have made it an object of suspicion to reformers, while the extravagances committed in its use by noisy gallants and base fellows confirmed the new and solemn belief held by the purifiers of society.

Quite early in nicotian annals the devil had been suspect, and the suggestions made by Benzoni (n. 10), Monardes (n. 15), and others, were openly expressed by Philaretos (n. 61).¹ But no one advertised the devil so fully in this respect as did Taylor, that voluble pamphleteer and "King's water-man," in this work.²

¹ Nash, in 1592, had already made an interesting allusion to Lucifer's association with tobacco (*v. n.* 70, n. 1), and Middleton (n. 70) had composed a last will for Satan in which the "Arch Tabacco-

taker of England" was remembered.

² The relation of the prince of darkness with tobacco was an idea long to do service. It probably is with us still—*cf.* the *Introduction*, p. 8, n. 2.

THE
NIPPING
OR
SNIPPING OF
ABVSES:

OR

The woolgathering of Witte.

With

The Muses Taylor, brought from Parnassus
by land, with a paire of Oares

Wherein

Are aboue a hundred feuerall Garments of diuers
fashions, made by Nature, without the helpe of Art,

and

*A Proclamation from Hell in the Devils name, concern-
ing the propogation, and excessiue vse
of Tobacco.*

By

JOHN TAYLOR.

*Iudge not, before thou all doest ouer-looke,
And then if Nothing please thee, burne the Booke.*

1614

LONDON.

Printed by Ed: Griffin for Nathaniel Butter, and are to be sold at the
General-Store, in Pall-mall.

TITLE OF TAYLOR, 1614

Plutoes Proclamation concerning his Infernall pleasure for the Propagation of Tobacco

True Newes and strange my *Muse* intends to write,
From horrid concaues of eternall night:
Whereas a damned Parliment of Devils,
Enacted lawes to fill the world with euils,
Blacke *Pluto* fundry proclamations sends
Through *Barathrum*, and fummons all the fiends,
To know how they on earth had spent their times,
And how they had beclog'd the world with crimes.

Whereupon, in seven stanzas, seven demons report their misdeeds.

Then *Pluto* said, these ills, you haue done well,
 In propagation of our kingdome, Hell:
 But yet ther's one thing which I will effect,
 Which too long hath been buried with neglect;
 And this it is, in Rich *America*,
 In *India*, and blacke *Barbaria*.
 Whereas the peoples supersti[tion] show
 Thei're mine, because no other God they know,
 In those misguided lands I cauf'de to breed
 A foule contagious, stinking *Manbane* weede:
 Which they (poore fooles) with diligence doe gather
 To sacrifice to me that am their Father:
 Where euery one a Furies shape assumes,
 Befog'd and clouded with my hel-hatch'd fumes.
 But these blacke Nations that adore my name,
 Ile leaue in pleasure: and my mischiefs frame
 Gainst those who by the name of Christians goe,
 Whose Author was my finall ouerthrowe.
 And therefore straight diuulge our great commands,
 That presently throughout all Christian lands,
Tobacco be disperst, that they may be
 As *Moores* and Pagans are, all like to me.
 That from the Palace to the paltry nooke,
 Like hell in Imitation all may looke.
 In vice let Christians, passe both Iewes and Turks,
 And let them outpasse Christians in good works.
 Let euery Cobbler with his durty fift,
 Take pride to be a blacke Tobaconist:
 Let Idiot Coxcombes, swea[r]e tis ex'lent geare [stuff],
 And with a whiffe their reputations reare.
 Let euery Idle adle-pated gull
 With stinking sweet *Tobacco* stuffe his skull.
 Let Don fantasticke smoake his vastie gorge.
 Let rich and poore, let honest men and knaues,
 Be smoak'd and stunke vnto their timelesse graues.
 Thus is our last irreuocable will,
 Which though it dam not man, I know twill kill.
 And therefore strait, to euery Christian Nation
 Diuulge, and publish, this our Proclamation.

A Proclamation or approbation, *from the King of execration*,
to euery Nation, for Tobaccoes
 propagation.

Whereas wee haue beene credibly Informed (by our true and neuer failing Intelli-
 gencers, as the foules of Vfurers, Broakers, Knights of the Post, Panders, Baudes,

& such like, our welbeloued fons and daughters, by gracelesse adoption) that the
 Hearbe, (*alias* weede) ycleaped *Tobaco*, (*alias*) *Trinidado*, *alias*, *Petun*, *alias*,
Necocianũ, (a long time hath beene in continuall vse and motion, amongst the
 Sunburnt, tan-skint *Indians*, *Barbarians* and the rest of our black guard inhabiting
 in *America*, which hath beene greatly to our contentment to see our execrable
 seruants on the earth, to come so neere our infernall *Tartarian* fulphorous conta-
 gious stinke, with their tereftriall imitations: wee therefore with the full consent
 of our three Estates, namely our Lords spiritual of our owne synagogue, as twelue
 Turkish Muftyes 66. Popes & fundry other Cardinals &c. Prelates our foure trustie
 friends. Besides our Temporall Lords, as *Heliogabalus*, *Nero*, *Sardanapalus*, with
 many more, and our Comminalty or vassals, whereof the chiefe, wee hold to be
Guido Faux, *Francis Rauillac*, and all such as were Naturalized into the line of
Iudas or *Achitophell*. Wee with these estates afore said doe (by the Authority of
 this present Parliament) straightly charge and command that all deuils, demy-
 deuills, feinds, furies, haggies, witches, ghosts, goblins, spirits, elues, fayries, or any
 other subiect or subiects, to our infernall monarchy, by what name or title soeuer
 they bee called, that they and euery of them doe forthwith vpon the sight hereof,
 dispearfe themselues amongst the Christians (the vtter enemies of our mightie
 Monarchy) and there by inspirations of witchcrafts, spels, exorcismes, coniurations,
 incantations, or any other of our Magicall deuises, doe their best endeauors to
 possesse them with the loue of *Tobacco*, make old men doate ouer it, and yong men
 admire it, make the rich smoake away their wealth in it, make the laborer in one
 houre in the Eauening puffe away his whole daies worke, let the decaied banquerupt
 bee alwaies my trustie factor to divulge it, be they neuer so base let them bee
 accounted Noble that vse it, and be they neuer so noble, let them be thought base
 that refuse it: let Play-houfes, Drinking-schooles, Tauerns, Alehoufes, Bawdy-
 houfes, be continuallie haunted with the contaminous vapours of it, nay (if it be
 possible) bring into their Churches, and there choake vp their Preachers, (my only
 and my hatefull enemies.)

And whereas the *Indians*, and other farre remoted barbarous Nations were the
 first that vsed it, wee do streightly further charge and command, that you and
 euery of you, doe disswade them from the excessiue vse of it, and let those Nations
 that are our continuall opposites in manners and Religion bee fullie possesse with an
 immoderate desire of it like Horsleehes, the more they drinke the more let them
 thirst, let it bee a trade to practise the whiffe, the snuffe, the gulpe, the euaporating
 or retention.³ Doe this withall expedition as you expect the fruition, of our
 fatherly execrable Malleuolent malediction.

Giuen at our Palace at Gehenna &c.

This Proclamation was no sooner doon,
 But thousand furies to and fro did runne,
 T'accomplish what their Master *Pluto* spoke
 And fully fill the world with stinke and smoake:
 And now the man thats e'ne of feeling reft,

³ Cf. n. 59 [A₁₁^{b-iii}; I₁₁^{a-b}; L₁₁^{b-iii}].

By reason of his age whose teeth hath left
 The vasty *Cauerne* of his mumping cud,
 Must haue Tobacco to reuiue his blood:
 The glistring Gallant, or the gallant Gull,
 The ieering pander, and the hackney Trull,
 The Royfting Rascall, and the fwearing Slaue,
 The Hofler, Tapfter, all in generall craue
 To be a foggy, misty, fmoaky iury
 Vpon this vpftart newfound *Indian* fury.
 Great Captaine *Gracelefse*, stormes, protests, and fweares,
 Heele haue the rascall Poet by the eares,
 And beat him, as a man would beate a dogge,
 That dares once speake againft this precious fogge.
 It is the iewel that he most respects
 It is the gemme of ioy his heart affects:
 It is the thing his foule doth most adore,
 To liue and loue Tobacco, and a whore:
 Hee'le cram his braines with fumes of *Indian* grafse,
 And grow as fat with't as an Englifh Affe.
 Some fay Tobacco will mens dayes prolong,
 To whom I answer, they are in the wrong.
 And fure my confcience giues me not the lie
 I thinke twill make men rotten ere they die.
 Old *Adam* liu'd nine hundred thirty yeere,
 Yet nere dranke none, as I could read or heare:
 And fome men now liues ninety yeeres and pafte,
 Who neuer dranke Tobacco, firft nor laft.
 Then fince at firft it came, from faithlefse Moores
 (And fince tis now more common far then whores)
 I fee no reason any Christian Nation
 Should follow them, in deuilifh imitation:
 So farewell pipe, and pudding, fnuiffe and fmoake
 My Mufe thinks fit to leaue, before fhe choake . . .

*Certaine verses written in the Barbarian tongue, dropt out of a Negroes pocket,
 which I thought good to insert, because they tend to the honour of Tobacco.*

Vaprofh fogh flinkquafh flauorumques fie fominofhte
 Spitterfpawlimon, loatherfō hem halkifh fpewribofhte
 Miftrum fog fmoakrafh, choakerumques olifa trifh trafh
 Dam durticum belchum, contagiofhte vomitrofhe:
 Whifferum, puffe gulpum, allifnuff huff fleaminon odifh
 Rewmito contaminofh diabollifh dungifh odorifh . . . [C₄^b-D₃^a]

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (¶⁴; A-L⁴).

CALF, by Ramage. Size of leaf: 6 11/16 x 5 3/16 inches. Imprint of title partly cut away.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 23779. *L.*, 2588. *Haz.*, *H.*, 595.

A T R V E
DISCOVERSE OF THE
PRESENT ESTATE OF VIR-
GINIA, and the fucceffe of the affaires
there till the 18 of Iune. 1614.

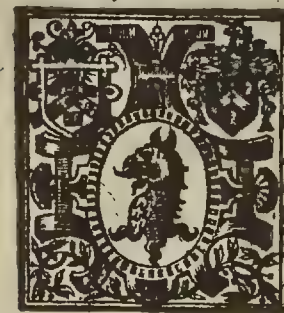
TOGETHER.

WITH A RELATION OF THE
 feuerall Englifh Townes and forts, the affu-
 red hopes of that cuntry and the peace
 concluded with the Indians.

The Chriftening of *Powhatans* daughter
 and her marriage with an Englifh-man.

Written by RAPHÉ HAMOR the yon-
 ger, late Secretarie in that Colony.

Alget, qui non ardet.



Printed at London by IOHN BEALE for WIL-
 LIAM WELBY dwelling at the signe of the
 Swaine in Pauls Church-yard, 1615.

TITLE OF HAMOR, 1615

From the copy in the John Carter Brown Library

HAMOR, Ralph (fl. 1609-1628)

A TRVE DISCOVERSE OF . . . VIRGINIA. London, 1615.

AMONG the British colonies in North America, none identified itself more rapidly
 and none so permanently with the commerce of tobacco as did fertile Virginia.
 The cultivation of the plant, to which the settlers were soon invited (both by nature

and by their own private necessity),¹ developed into an immense trade in consequence of the importation of *N. Tabacum* there (v. Strachey's account, *infra*), and when the harsh and unprofitable *N. rustica* (indigenous to Virginia) had been abandoned as a commercial commodity² tobacco-growing became the general vocation in the colony.

It was in this first American possession of the English crown that the plant unmistakably displayed its economic value, for despite the opposition received from home and the competition from abroad, tobacco triumphantly demonstrated that it, alone, could successfully maintain a colony.³

The first colonist regularly to cultivate the plant in Virginia as an article of commerce is, fortunately, known—John Rolfe.⁴ Hamor, then secretary of the struggling settlement, was the earliest to credit Rolfe with instituting this great industry. In a passage relating to the natural resources of the settlement by which the English in Virginia could easily subsist, he wrote:

I holde him a worfe husband . . . that shall at any time after be worfe cloathed then he went ouer: the valuable commoditie of Tobacco of such esteeme in England (if there were nothing else) which euery man may plant, and with the least part of his labour, tend and care will returne him both cloathes and other necessaries. For the goodnesse whereof, answerable to *west-Indie Trinidad* or *Cracus* [Caracas⁵] (admit there hath no such bin returned) let no man doubt. Into the discourse wherof, since I am obuiouly entred, I may not forget the gentleman, worthie of much commendations, which first tooke the pains to make triall thereof, his name M^r Iohn Rolfe, *Anno Domini*, 1612, partly for the loue he hath a long time borne vnto it, and partly to raise commodity to the aduenturers, in whose behalfe I witnesse and vouchsafe to holde my testimony in beleefe, that during the time of his abode there, which draweth neere vpon fixe yeeres, no man hath laboured to his power, by good example there and worthy incouragement into England by his letters, then he hath done, witnes his mariage with *Powhatans* daughter, one of rude education, manners barbarous and curfed generation, meerely for the good and honour of the Plantation . . . [D₄^b]

The author's enthusiasm for the new crop of tobacco produced through Rolfe's experiment led him to a prophecy as confident as that expressed by Harcourt (n. 105) in relation to the tobacco of Guiana, and one which future events proved equally valid.

Former treatises on Virginia having discoursed of the "country commodities" the author has purposely omitted consideration of them here, nor is he as conversant with those especial subjects as those who had discovered and written of them.

¹ *V. the Introduction*, p. 86, n. 2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 86.

³ The subject of Virginia's association with tobacco is treated in the *Introduction*—v. especially pp. 86–105; 126–143. In the main text of the catalogue will be found other works which further relate Virginia's history in this regard—v. especially nos. 158 "q," 164, 456, 713 and 784.

⁴ "In casting a brief retrospective glance over the period of time to which this inquiry has been con-

finied, it is seen that by far the most momentous fact in the history of Virginia in the seventeenth century was the discovery, through Rolfe's experiment in 1612, that the soil of the Colony was adapted to the production of a quality of tobacco which was destined to prove valuable in the European markets." (Bruce, ii, p. 566.)

⁵ This is a reference to the importations of tobacco seeds from Trinidad and Venezuela (v. *infra*, n. 12) the first of which was recorded by Strachey (v. *infra*).

But he does know well about such

marchantable commodities of tobacco, filke grasse, and filke wormes: I dare thus much affirme, and first of Tobacco, whose goodnesse mine own experience and triall induces me to be such, that no country vnder the Sunne, may, or doth affoord more pleafant, sweet, and strong Tobacco, then I haue tasted there, euen of mine owne planting, which, howfoeuer being then the first yeer of our triall thereof, wee had not the knowledge to cure, and make vp, yet are ther some now resident there, out of the last yeers well obserued experience, which both know, and I doubt not, will make, and returne such Tobacco this yeere, that euen England shall acknowledge the goodnesse thereof. [F₁^b–F₂^a]

Rolfe, himself, in his "Relation of the State of Virginia in 1616" (probably written in 1617), remarked upon the new industry:

Thus briefly have I sett downe every man's particular imployment and manner of living; albeit, lest the people—who generallie are bent to covett after gaine, especially having tasted of the sweete of their labors—should spend too much of their tyme and labor in planting tobacco, knowne to them to be verie vendible in England, and so neglect their tillage of corne, and fall into want thereof, it is provided for—by the providence and care of Sir Thomas Dale⁶—that no farmor or other—who must maintayne themselves—shall plant any tobacco, unless he shall yearely manure, set and maintayne for himself and every man servant two acres of ground with corne, which doing they may plant as much tobacco as they will, els all their tobacco shalbe forfeite to the colony—by which meanes the magazin shall yearely be sure to receave their rent of corne; to maintayne those who are fedd thereout, being but a few, and manie others, if need be; they themselves will be well stored to keepe their families with overplus, and reape tobacco enough to buy clothes and such other necessities as are needeful for themselves and household. For an easie laborer will keepe and tend two acres of corne, and cure a good store of tobacco—being yet the principall commoditie the colony for the present yieldeth. . . . (Neill, p. 108.)

Previously Rolfe had remarked that "tobacco . . . thriveth so well, that no doubt but after a little more triall and expense in the curing thereof, it will compare with the best in the West Indies."⁷

A valuable pendant to Rolfe's account is to be found in the relation (1612) of William Strachey, the first recorder and secretary of Virginia, 1610–1611. This clearly portrays the species of tobacco then growing there and confirms in part the notice of the plant given by Hariot, in 1588 (v. n. 36). It has, too, in an obscure passage, a matter of the greatest historical importance—Strachey's passing comment "there hath been brought . . . tobacco-seed from Trinidad"⁸ (p. 31, *op. cit. infra*). This importation, rendered necessary by the demand in England for the West Indian *N. Tabacum*,⁹ resulted in the economic salvation of the colony. Strachey wrote of tobacco:

⁶ Then governor of Virginia.

⁷ The MS. "Relation" (BM., Royal MSS. 18. A. XI) was first published in the *Southern Literary Messenger*, 1839, V, p. 401. It had been quoted from by Purchas, 1617, and by Smith, 1627 (n.

164). Cf. Neill, p. 106, and Brown, *Genesis of the U. S.* (†, 1890), ii, p. 790.

⁸ The island (now British) of the West Indies, near the delta of the Orinoco.

⁹ *V. the Introduction*, pp. 84 and 86, and n. 120.

There is here great store of tobacco, which the salvages call apooke;^[10] howbeit yt is not of the best kynd, yt is but poore and weake, and of a byting tast, yt growes not fully a yard above ground, bearing a little yellowe flower, like to hennebane, the leaves are short and thick, somewhat round at the upper end; whereas the best tobacco of Trynidado and the Oronoque is large, sharpe, and growing two or three yardes from the ground, bearing a flower of the bredth of our bell-flowers in England: the salvages here dry the leaves of this apooke over the fier, and sometymes in the sun, and crumble yt into poulder, stalks, leaves and all, taking the same in pipes of earth, which very ingeniously they can make. We observe that those Indians which have one, twoo, or more women, take much,^[11]—but such as yet have no appropriate woman take little or none at all. (Pp. 121–122 of *The Historie of Travaile Into Virginia Britannia*, ed. R. H. Major, Hakluyt Society, 1849.)¹²

When Hamor visited Powhatan, having been sent on an embassy by Sir Thomas Dale, he was received into that potentate's house, where

The first thing hee offered vs was a pipe of Tobacco, which they call *Piffimore*,^[13] whereof himselfe first dranke, and then gaue it me, and when I had drank what I pleased, I returned his pipe, which with his owne hands he vouchsafed to take from me . . . [F₄^{a-b}]

FIRST EDITION, FIRST ISSUE. Small quarto (A–K⁴ [last, blank]). With the printer's device on the title.

There are 13 lines in the conclusion of this issue, on I₂^b, censuring the English clergy, which, in the second, were replaced by 12 lines of inoffensive comment.

PHOTOSTAT OF THE COPY IN THE JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 12736. C., n. 365. Col., i, 359. Comes, 47 ff.

¹⁰ In the "Dictionarie of the Indian Language," appended to Strachey's work, tobacco is given as *uhpoooc*, as well as *apooke*, tobacco pipe as *uhpooocan*, as well as *apokan*, together with other words relating to tobacco, pipes, pouches, etc., all dependent upon the same stem. Prof. Dixon (pp. 24–26) found in the word for tobacco, *apooke*, the stem from which the Virginian tribes and their relatives derived their terms for pipe (*uhpooocan*, *pawpekon*), and which also occurred in all the Central Algonkian languages for the same object. *V. uppōwoc*, in the *Glossary*.

¹¹ While several botanists (v. nos. 17, 28) attempted to relate tobacco to satyrium, a plant which supposedly excited lust, Strachey appears to have been the first to imply that the Indians themselves required the plant as an aphrodisiac. Lescarbot (n. 92 [Cc₂^b]), however, credited the chastity of the Canadian Indians partly to their use of tobacco, while Philaretus (n. 61), Vaughan (n. 161), and others assured their readers that smoking induced sterility.

¹² Succeeding this importation (c. 1610–1611) the seeds of other varieties of *N. Tabacum* were brought into Virginia—those of the tobacco growing about

the Orinoco River, Venezuela. They were introduced, upon the recommendation, it is said, of Raleigh (cf. n. 49). (Comes—*Razze*, p. 122—says this occurred after 1616, but Hamor's reference to apparently successful crops of "Cracus" tobacco in Virginia indicates an introduction prior to 1615.) This kind became known as "Oronoque," "Oronoko," etc., after it had acquired the characteristics induced by its new habitat, etc., and rapidly became commercially valuable. (*V. Comes, Razze*, p. 122, for an account of this cross-bred "Virginia" variety.) Through the introduction of seeds of other kinds of *N. Tab.* (Comes thinks var. *havanensis*), the colonists soon produced the famous "Sweet-scented" tobacco. Other varieties were eventually developed by selection and cross-breeding, but it was these two kinds ("Oronoko" and "Sweet-scented") which opened up the markets of the world for the Virginian and the Maryland colonists. *V. the Introduction*, p. 107, n. 2, et passim.

¹³ There seems to be no authority for this other than Hamor. In relation to its old English significance, the term suggests that Hamor himself found the odor of a pipe objectionable.

EP IGRAMS

Both
PLEASANT AND
SERIOVS,

Written by that All-Worthy Knight,
Sir IOHN HARRINGTON:

And neuer before Printed.

Pro captu Lectoris habent sua fata libelli.



LONDON
Imprinted for Iohn Budge, and are to be sold at his
shoppe at the South dore of Pauls, and
at Britaines Burse.
1615.

TITLE OF HARINGTON, 1615

A STRATAGEM of a Tobacco pipe," Epigram 41, relates how a revengeful lady made use of a smoking tobacco pipe to destroy the wares of a churlish peddler to whom she had granted her favors. [C₂^{a-b}] See n. 188 for another epigram relating to tobacco, not included in this edition of Harington.

34. When *Marcus* hath carrowft March beere & facke,
And that his brains grow dizzy therwithal,
Then of Tobacco he a pipe doth lacke,
Of Trinidade in cane, in leafe or ball,
Which tane [taken] a little, he doth spit and smacke,
Then layes him on his bed for feare to fall,
And poore Tobacco beares the name of all.
But that fame pipe [cask] which *Marcus* braine did lade,
Was of *Medera* [Madeira], not of Trinidade. [C.^a]

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (A-F⁴).

MOROCCO, by F. Bedford. Size of leaf: 6¹⁵/₁₆ x 5⁵/₁₆ inches.

From the library of W. A. White.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 12775. Ed. by N. E. McClure (1926). G. (L), n. 134. *Shakespeareana*, n. 391 (1618 ed.). C^o., vii, 171 ff.

De Ricci (p. 346) describes two issues of this work, apparently differing only in the set-up of the title and dedication. The Arents copy conforms with the one he records first.

A few of Harington's epigrams, which had been circulated in manuscript, were appended to a poem, *Alcilia*, by I. [or J.] C., 1613. The edition of 1615 contains one hundred and sixteen epigrams, the majority of which formed the fourth book of the complete collection of 1618 in which appeared three hundred and forty-six of these pithy verses. Their popularity was such that they were reprinted in 1625 and 1633, and adjoined to Harington's translation of *Orlando Furioso*, for the first time, in 1634 (v. n. 188).

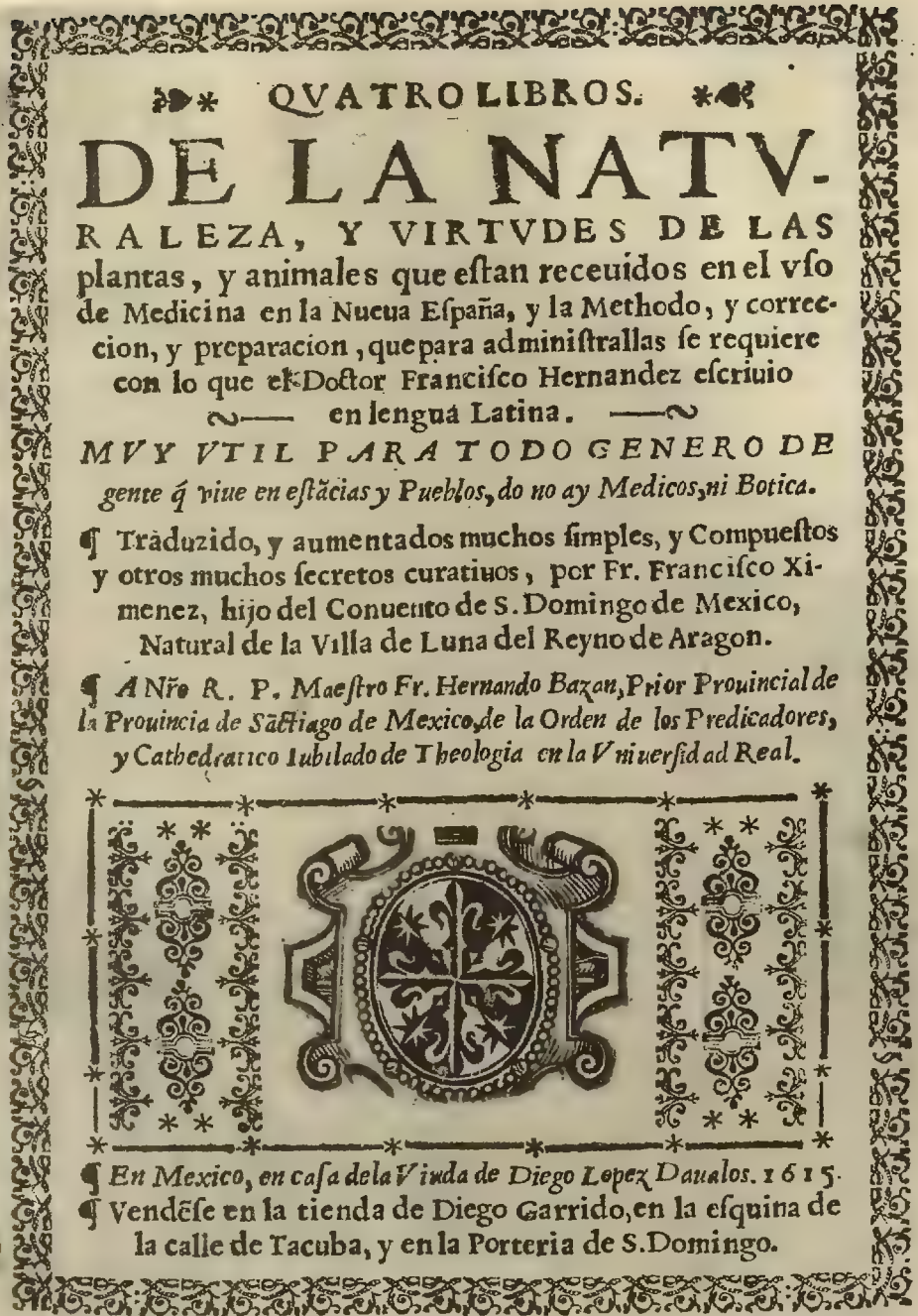
HERNÁNDEZ, Francisco (1514-1578) *abridged by* Nardo-Antonio RECCHI,
translated by Francisco XIMENEZ (d., c. 1620)

QVATRO LIBROS. Mexico, 1615.¹

[*Translation of title*] Four books on the nature and virtues of the plants and animals that are accepted in the practise of medicine in New Spain [Mexico], and the method, correction and preparation which is required to administer them, according to what Doctor Francisco Hernández wrote in the Latin tongue. Very useful for all kinds of people who live on farms and in towns where there are no physicians or pharmacies. Translated and augmented with many simples, compounds and other curative discoveries, by Friar Francisco Ximenez, of the Convent of St. Domingo of Mexico, native of the city of Luna of the kingdom of Aragon. To our Reverend Father, Master Friar Hernando Bazan, Provincial Prior of the province of Santiago of Mexico. . . . In Mexico, from the house of the widow of Diego Lopez Davalos, 1615. Sold at the shop of Diego Garrido . . .

HERNÁNDEZ, physician to Philip II of Spain, received from that ruler a roving commission to collect the flora of Mexico and to study its natural history. Upon his return to Spain, 1558-1559, he brought back with him numerous specimens of plants. Among these were examples of *N. Tabacum* and *N. rustica*,

¹ The *Quatro Libros* appears to be the first work printed in America to contain an account of tobacco.



TITLE OF HERNÁNDEZ, 1615

which he described. These are referred to by some contemporary and later writers as the earliest known examples of the plant in its natural state brought into Europe.²

² But other authorities consider this importation to have consisted of seeds alone (Magnenus, n. 234, on B²; Nitsche, *Geschichte des Tabaks*, †, 1845, p. 5,

citing the same). See, also, n. 5-A, and the notice of *H. luteus* there which suggests that *N. rustica* was growing in Belgium by 1554.

The first chapter dealing with tobacco, as summarized below, is largely the work of Recchi, who extended the original account of Hernández by adding to it botanical and medical information, etc., derived chiefly from Monardes and De l'Escluse.³ More than half of the chapter in this 1615 edition does not appear in the complete text of Hernández, published in 1790 from copies of his own MSS., under the title *Opera cum edita, tum inedita*. In the 1648 edition⁴ of Recchi's abridgement of Hernández occurs a cut of *Pyciell*, probably from a plate executed for Hernández.

Of the herb which they call *picietl*,⁵ and those of the island of S. Domingo *Tauaco*.⁶

The plant which the Mexicans call *picietl*, the natives of S. Domingo call *Tauaco*.

Its other names in Europe are recorded, and the botanical variations of the three "species" then known in Spain described.

There are two species in Mexico—*picietl* and *quauh iyetl*. The former usually grows about two palms high, with flowers like the yellow hyoscyamus. The latter grows to the height of the lemon tree, and its leaves differ according to the climate and soil so that it is found sometimes with sessile leaves of an arm's length,⁷ sometimes with petiolated leaves of a smaller size.⁸ They produce flowers like the campanula, white, with reddish centers.

These are compared with other plants so that the reader may better understand their physical characteristics. In the account of their qualities earlier authorities are drawn upon. The wonderful virtues inherent in tobacco are noticed and the method of smoking for the cure of asthma, etc., explained.

Tobacco has, however, very definite ill effects when its use is abused. The Indians employed it in healing wounds from poisoned arrows.

A list is provided for the uses of the plant in various forms, for the treatment of gout, etc. Tobacco also prevents hunger; in explanation of this phenomenon a long and detailed description is given of its effect on the stomach and other organs.⁹ [Aa,³—Bb,⁴]

³ Nos. 15, 18, 27, etc.

⁴ *V. infra* for an account of this edition.

⁵ Prof. Dixon (pp. 32–33) regards the Nahuatl *pic* as a stem connoting the general idea of diminutiveness. In the same language the word for tobacco is *ye-ll*; *picietl*, therefore, was "small or dwarf [tobacco]." See Dixon for a discussion of the word *picietl*, and Wi., i, pp. 146, 149–150, ii, p. 139. Comes (*Monographie*, p. 21) classifies *picietl* as a variety of *N. rustica (texana)*.

In his *Vocabulario*, Mexico, 1571, Molina defined *picietl* as "an herb like henbane, which is medicinal." The word *yell* is translated as "perfume, incense" by A. de Olmos, *Grammaire de la Langue Nahuatl ou Mexicaine*, Paris, 1875. This definition of tobacco may have been adopted because of the aromatic substances mixed with the dried herb (*v. in text infra*), unless it was based on the early assumption that the purpose of smoking was to perfume oneself. Cf. the *Introduction*, p. 4, n. 3.

⁶ Hernández' own heading, as recorded in the *Opera*, 1790, is simply (trans.) "Of *picietl* or the herb *yell*." *V. infra*, n. 9.

⁷ Comes (p. 20, n. 10) tentatively identified this variety as *N. Tabacum* var. *macrophylla*.

⁸ *N. Tabacum* var. *fruticosa* (*ibid.*, n. 11).

⁹ Hernández' original text, in the *Opera*, 1790, differs in some important details from Recchi's version. Hernández writes that *Picietl* (or *yell*) appears to be like *Hyoscyamus*. The Haitians call the plant *tabacum* because they use it in smoking-instruments called *tabacos*. Some call it the sacred herb, or *nicotiana*. There is another species called *Quauhyell* with a white flower and a large leaf. They are in error who think these plants are species of *Hyoscyamus*. The plant induces sleep. If the leaves are dried and made into a pipe-shaped form . . . and one end lighted while the other is placed in the mouth the smoke from this will drive out humors from the chest and help asthma. It also relieves fainting, etc., of pregnant women, is of remedial value for sores, toothaches, and similar ailments.

In the account of its therapeutic uses Hernández states that the juice of tobacco leaves eradicates cancerous wounds; the dust (pulverized dry to-

Of the *tauacos*, which they use in Hispaniola, which the Mexicans call *picietl*.¹⁰

In Hispaniola they call *tauacos* certain hollow pieces of cane, one and a half palms in length, which are outside smeared over with coal dust, and inside are full of *tauaco*, liquid amber (or *xochi ocoztotl*), and also of some other hot and fragrant materials, which, being lighted on the side where the filling is, emit the smoke through the other end, and which, swallowed through the mouth, gently sooth the senses and all labor and fatigue, and, besides, this remedy removes all pains, especially of the head, and the phlegm from the chest, which causes asthma, is rejected, and it comforts the stomach, but its abundant use should be avoided, because it greatly disturbs the liver, charging it with too much heat, which is the cause of cachexy, an ill habit of the body, and other incurable diseases.¹¹ [Vv,¹]

FIRST EDITION. Small quarto (99⁴; A–Z⁴; Aa–Zz⁴; Aaa–Ddd⁴; Eee²).

FULL-PAGE WOODCUT of a religious subject.

OLD STAMPED SHEEP. Size of leaf: 7¹/₁₆ x 5¹¹/₁₆ inches.

Early owner's inscription on v^e of title; six pages relating to American plants, written in an early hand, bound in at end.

REFERENCES: B., i, n. 175. C., n. 367. *La Imprenta en Mexico*, Medina (1907), ii, n. 297. Wi., i, 150. Comes, 20 ff., 84–85.

In a copy of this work now in the Huntington Library, Henry Harrisse has written an inter-

bacco) cures punctures caused by poisoned arrows, etc.; that a *picietl* medicament was for sale in the shops, etc.; and that tobacco snuff alleviates suffering and fatigue, etc., etc. (Vol. I, pp. 159–164.)

These references would seem to contradict the assertion made several times in the history (*v. the Introduction*, p. 29, etc.) that none of the early visitors to the Americas had observed the uses of tobacco in surgical applications, etc., prior to 1580 or thereabouts. But Hernández does not state that he witnessed the medicinal uses of tobacco and a careful comparison of his text with that of Monardes (n. 15) leads one to the conclusion that he derived a part of his information from the latter's work. This popular handbook of American plants, etc., was circulating widely at the time that Hernández was composing his own work. Prof. Wiener suggests that Estienne and Liébault's (*i.e.*, Liébault's) chapter on tobacco was the source of Hernández' information (ii, p. 150). (Monardes' work was unquestionably the source of Recchi's opinions on the therapeutic uses of tobacco as given in the passage from the 1615 edition above.)

Several passages corroborate the opinion that Hernández depended occasionally upon Monardes' text. In one he speaks of "the Indians living near to Haiti" whose use of tobacco to cure poison-arrow wounds "is confirmed by the inhabitants of the island of St. John." (*Op. cit.*, I, p. 162.) Monardes gives a fuller report of the incident to which this refers, saying that it occurred on the island of "Saint Ihon Depuerto Rico" (*v. supra*, p. 248). In the chapter under consideration Hernández seems merely to have repeated statements then widely prev-

alent in Spain and elsewhere that the tobacco plant was a vulnerary, etc.

¹⁰ There is a confusion of terms here—*cf.* the heading of the chapter given in the first excerpt, *supra*. The caption conforms with that in Hernández' *Opera* (Vol. III, chap. 71), although a more literal translation of the latter is "Of the *tabacos* of the Haitians, which the Mexicans call *pocoyell*." The thing described was a reed-cigarette (*cf.* in Oviedo, n. 4, De l'Escluse, n. 73, and Diaz, n. 177), then common in Mexico. Recchi states that these were filled with *tauaco*, etc.; Hernández, with *yell*. *V. the introduction to the Glossary*.

¹¹ This translation is from Prof. Wiener's *Africa*, ii, 149–150.

Prof. Wiener, citing N. León's edition of the *Cuatro Libros* (1888) as his source, writes that Hernández originally wrote his work in Latin, but had it translated into Nahuatl by an Indian, who also was to make a Spanish translation of it (ii, p. 148). "Unfortunately Hernández has come down to us only in Ximenez' annotated edition of 1615 and the still later Latin edition of Recchi, but Ximenez' text is, in all probability, not far distant from that of Hernández, and, besides, the forty years intervening cannot have made much of a change in the medical concepts of the City of Mexico."

He then provides the translation of the passage relating to the *tauacos* given above. "This passage shows that only the curative properties of the tobacco, which corresponded to those of henbane, etc., were recognized, and smoking as a pleasure was still considered to be injurious."

esting account relating to it (*cf.* C., n. 367). He points out that Hernández composed the *Quatro Libros* after his return to Spain and that he had many plates representing plants and animals engraved. He died, however, before his work was committed to the press.

Nardo-Antonio Recchi, of Monte Corvo (Kingdom of Naples), afterwards physician to Philip II, reexamined Hernández' material with the intention of preparing an abridgement of it relating to medicine and pharmacy. Returning to Italy, he, too, died before any of his condensed version was printed. Fray Ximenez translated Recchi's abridgement into Spanish, preserving the original Mexican names.

Recchi's text, extended by the notes and descriptions of noted Italian botanists, was printed under the title of *Nova Plantarum*.¹² The original manuscripts of Hernández were believed to have been destroyed with the library of the Escorial in 1671 but copies in the author's own handwriting were discovered in the library of the Jesuits' College at Madrid and published in 1790 under the title of *Opera cum edita, tum inedita*.

The edition of 1615 is more valuable than the others, as its preservation of original Mexican names gives it considerable philological importance. Harrisie regarded it as very rare and was able then (1871) to locate but two other copies: Royal Library, Munich, and that now in the John Carter Brown Library. The British Museum and New York Public libraries now each contain a copy, and there are two in private American collections.

Hoby, Sir Edward (1560-1617)

A CVRRY-COMBE FOR A COXE-COMBE. London, 1615.

IN THIS ponderous and obscure anti-Catholic work occur conversations between the "Mayor" and "Minister of Queenborough," and Nick Groome¹ and Doctor Jabal Rachil, Libeller.²

The latter affirms that the profaners of the Holy Catholic Church tremble when they see the miracles of proof God has performed. This inner torment

may be melancholy fits, that Lipsius³ his storie caused in the Knights breast, which to driue away, hee read his Booke roasting Crabs by the fire side, with a pipe of Tobacco in his hand, still calling for more wine . . .

The Mayor makes an appropriate observation and admits that the miracles done in the true Church serve for the terror of the profane. But he questions whether such miracles "beare the same impresse with thofe" performed by Jesus.

Nick. . . . What will he not wonder at who makes so strange, that a man holds a Tobacco pipe in his hand? If hee had held it in his foote, that had beene more woorthy the noting. And yet if Iohn Clement had beene prescribed that Phisicke his feete being turned (by a monstrous composition) towards the forepart of his breast, hee had beene as like to haue vsed his toes as his fingers in that seruice. Had it beene but for Lipsius fake, he might haue swallowed the smoak of his tobacco iest. Tis well knowne that he vsed many a pipe, in the penning of his holy booke.⁴

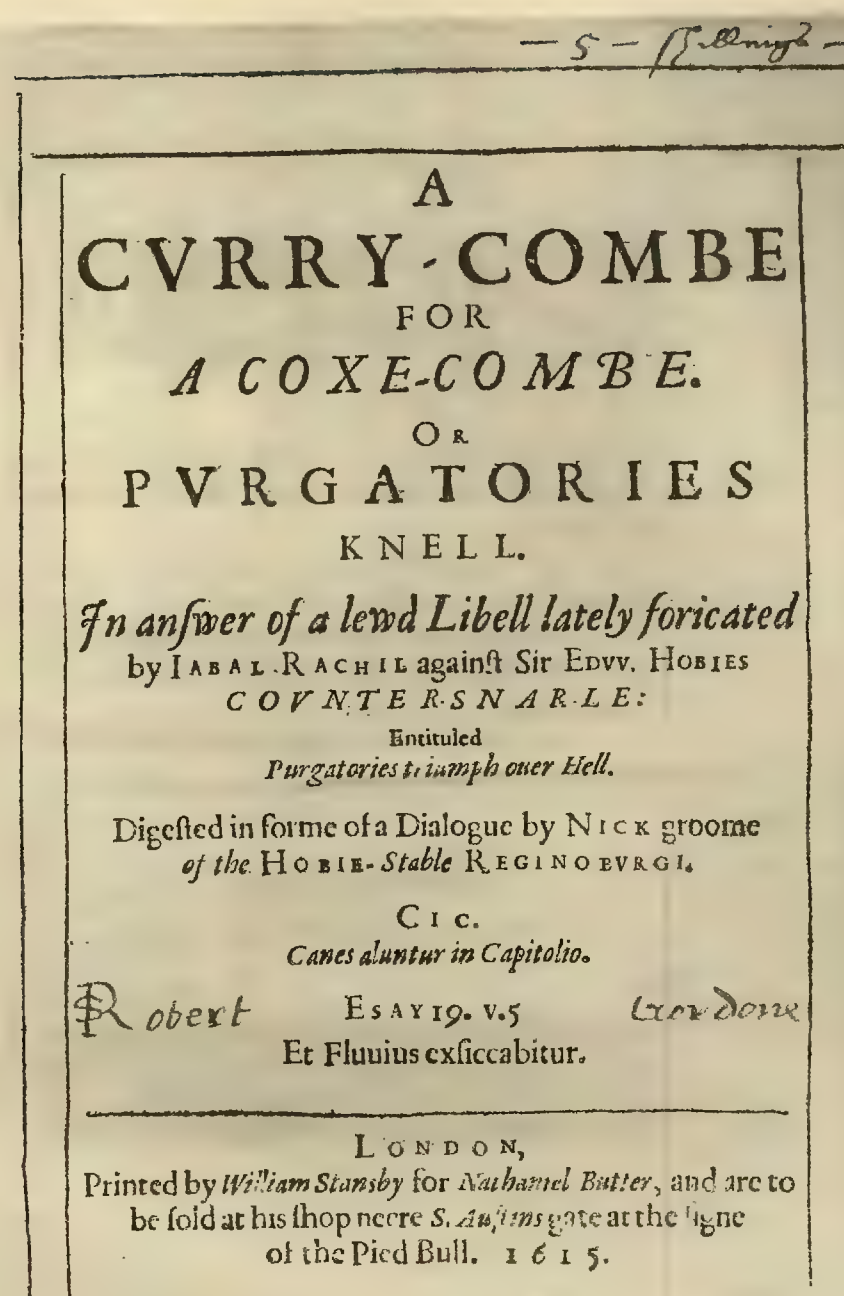
¹² *Nova plantarum, Animalium et Mineralium Mexicanorum Historia* . . . Rome, 1651. The work was first entitled *Rerum Medicarum Novae Hispaniae thesaurus* . . . Rome, 1648. See the BM. catalogue.

¹ *I.e.*, the author, Hoby.

² John Floyd, the Jesuit—*v. infra*.

³ *I.e.*, Joest Lips.

⁴ Probably his *Politicorum*, 1589.



TITLE OF HOBY, 1615

Iabal is of their humour, who will rather loofe their friend then their iest; but if hee could as thoroughly leaue his fiction, as my Master hath that *Indian fumigation*, his booke would haue had fewer leaues, and his leaues leffe lines. [Ff₂^b-Ff₃^a, "Purgatories Knell"]

FIRST EDITION, SECOND ISSUE. Small quarto (9⁴ [first, blank]; A-Z⁴ [A₁ and ₃ marked B]; Aa-Oo⁴ [Ii₄, a cancel; "Typographus Lectoribus Benevolis" on Mm₂^{a-b}; Appendix, Mm₃^a-Oo₃^b; Errata on last; Oo₄, prob. blank, lacking]). (In all recorded copies leaf Ii₄ is a cancel—for reason now unknown.)

The signatures of the copies recorded correspond, except that the copy in the Huntington Library runs only to Mm₁, after which the leaf of errata is inserted. As the note of the printer to the reader [Mm₂^{a-b}; *v. supra*] speaks of replacing the concluding leaves with additional matter, copies with the Appendix are of a subsequent issue.

ORIGINAL VELLUM, partially uncut. Size of leaf: 7¹/₁₆ x 5⁵/₈ inches.

"Robert Gordone" and the cost "-5-shillings-" are written on the title.

From the collections of Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun (1816, n. 1123), W. H. Miller, and S. R. Christie-Miller (7 April 1924, n. 267).

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 13540. *L.*, 1079. 7N2, II, 22 (on "Shakespearian Parallels" in this work).

In 1613 Hoby wrote a reply, *A Counter-snarle for Ishmael Rabshacheh*,⁵ to some work of the Jesuit, John Floyd, probably *The Overthrow of the Protestants pulpit bables*, 1612. Upon the publication of Floyd's rejoinder, *Purgatories Triumph over Hell* . . . 1613, Hoby responded with his *Curry-Combe for a Coxie-Combe*.

JOHNSON, Jacobus

SCHEDIASMATA POETICA. London, 1615.

[*Translation of title*] Poetic trifles, or a little book of epigrams. Jacob Johnson, Master of Arts, Cambridge, author. [Beale's device] London, from the printing-house of John Beale, 1615.

AMONG these exercises in the poetic form of the epigram are two comparing tobacco and wine, followed by a further pair which consider the uses and advantages of one over the other.

The first epigram, on the theme that tobacco is better than wine, says some kind things about the physical benefits of tobacco. But, with genial impartiality, in the next piece, the author provides an antithesis in verses which seek to show that wine is better than tobacco. [B₆^b-B₇^a]

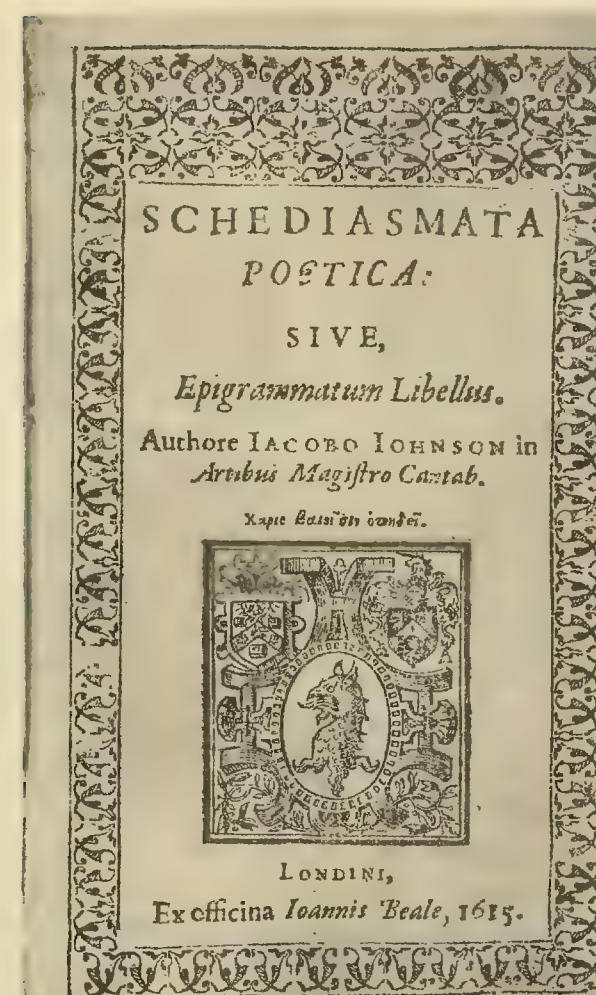
(A cunning trick with words and frequent puns, in the familiar form of Latin epigrammatists, makes it difficult to convert the sense of the foregoing into simple English. In the succeeding verses a less mannered style permits of free translation.)

The smoke of tobacco should be preferred to wine.

This smoke purges the brain made heavy with wines and heals various diseases. No medicine drives away rheumatism more quickly than does tobacco. It disperses putrid matters, draws forth undigested food from the stomach, and when the smoke is inhaled it provides an anodyne for sad spirits, &c., &c. Therefore tobacco is to be preferred to Bacchus, nor does its shameful abuse destroy its good uses. [B₇^a]

⁵There is a reference in this work to the author's use of tobacco, in which he says: ". . . I confesse in my time I have not beene an enemy to that

Indian weede, and perhaps have spent some-what that way, which had bin better given to the poore." (Pp. 39-40.)



TITLE OF JOHNSON, 1615

But even if the author meant it, Martial's muse must be served:

Wine should be preferred to the smoke of tobacco.

Tobacco smoke surrounds the brain with a dense cloud of vapors and is too drying. It takes away the most longing appetite. Pure Massic wines digest tough foods, drive forth harmful matter from the stomach and bring pleasantness to the palate, &c., &c. The fiery smoke makes the throat blacker than an oven. It affects the veins with too much heat and dyes the blood a black color. Therefore let Bacchus be preferred to tobacco, for it enlivens the oppressed mind, &c. [B₇^b]

FIRST EDITION, FIRST ISSUE. Small octavo (A⁶; B-D⁸; E²).

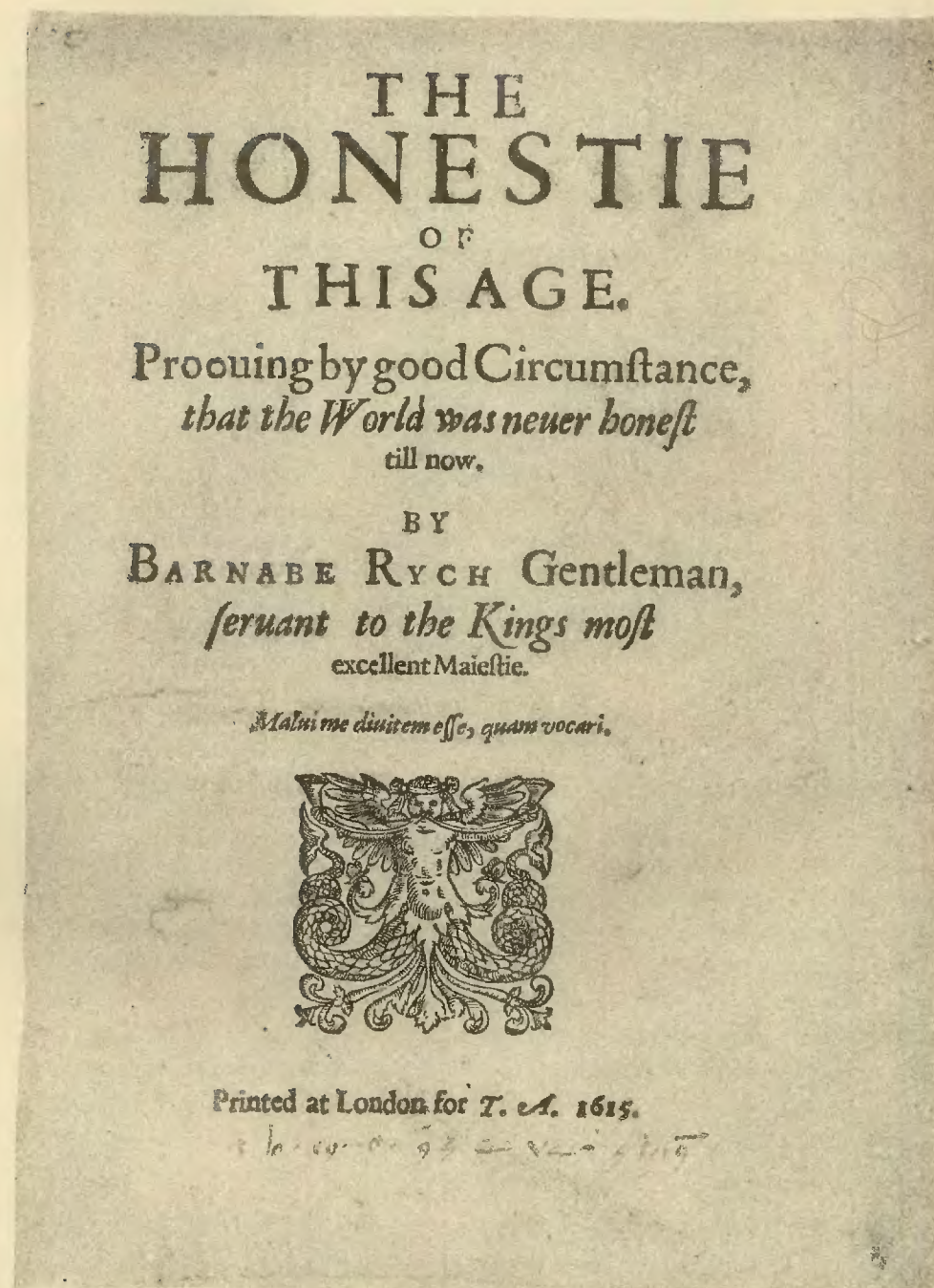
OLD MOROCCO. Size of leaf: 5³/₁₆ x 3⁷/₁₆ inches.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 14665 [records one copy, but not this]. *L.*, 1215.

This appears to be the only edition of this book. The copy in the British Museum—there is another in Lincoln Cathedral Library—has a cancel title, *Epigrammatum Libellus: Siue, Schediasmata Poetica*, and with imprint reading *Excudebat Ioannis Beale; impensis Richardi*

Redmer, 1115 [1615], but there are no textual differences between this second issue and the first. The book was entered in the Stationers' Register to Beale on 29 Nov. 1614 under the title of *Schediasmata Poetica*.

Nothing seems to be known about the author for the biographers have passed him by. He says on the title that he was an M.A. and there seems to be no reason to question so modest a claim. From the evidence provided by his only book one might say that he was an amiable person, with a dignified sense of humor, a particular affection for Martial, and a mild epicureanism which permitted the luxury of both wine and tobacco.



TITLE OF RICH, 1615

RICH, Barnaby (1540?–1620?)

THE HONESTIE OF THIS AGE. London, 1615.

THAT passionate reformer of moral abuses, Barnaby Rich, had become more serious about tobacco when he came to compose this work.¹ No longer was that heathenish weed to be treated lightly and in vein ironic; the time for jesting was past. Now must all good men come to the aid of the "counterblasters."

In this tract (which in his Epilogue Rich calls his twenty-fourth publication) he gives an interesting if exaggerated account of the extent of the tobacco trade in and about London. He emphasizes the fact that the sale of tobacco was not confined to the shops of specialists in that commodity, but had attracted numerous petty dealers, inn-keepers and others.

... amongst (certaine newe inuented professions), this trade of *Tobacco* doth excede: and the money that is spent in smoake is vnknowne and (I thinke) vnthought on, and of such a smoake as is more vaine, then the smoake of faire words, for that (they say) will serue to feede *Fooles*, but this smoake maketh *Fooles* of *Wisemen*. Me thinkes experience were enough to teach the most simple witted, that before *Tobacco* was euer knowne in *England*, wee liued in as perfect health, and as free from sicknesse as we haue done sithens [since]: and looke vpon those (whereof there are a number at this present houre) that did neuer take *Tobacco* in their liues, and if they doe not liue as healthsome in body, and as free from all manner of diseases, as those that doe take it fastest: they say it is good for a *Cold*, for a *Pose* [catarrh], for *Rewmes*, for *Aches*, for *Dropsies*, and for all manner of diseases proceeding of moist humors: but I cannot see but that those that doe take it fastest, are asmuch (or more) subiect to all these infirmities, (yea and to the poxe it felse) as those that haue nothing at all to doe with it: then what a wonderfull expence might very well be spared, that is spent and consumed in this needlesse vanity?

There is not so base a groome, that comes into an *Alehouse* to cal for his pot, but he must haue his *pipe* of *Tobacco*, for it is a commodity that is now as vendible in euery *Tauerne*, *Inne*, and *Alehouse*, as either Wine, Ale, or Beare; and for *Apothecaries Shops*, *Grocers Shops*, *Chandlers Shops*, they are (almost) neuer without company, that from morning till night are still taking of Tobacco: what a number are there besides, that doe keepe houses, set open shops, that haue no other trade to liue by, but by felling of Tobacco.

I haue heard it told that now very lately, there hath bin a *Catalogue* taken of all those new erected houses that haue set vp that trade of felling Tobacco, in London and neere about London: and if a man may beleue what is confidently reported, there are found to be vpward of 7000, houses, that doth liue by that trade.²

¹ Cf. n. 78.

² The authorities were taking official cognizance of the sudden development of the tobacco trade. In a speech in the Star Chamber, 13 February 1617, Bacon, the Lord Chancellor, speaking of the "intolerable number of ale-houses," and the king's plan to have them registered, remarked, "A branch of [them] is your dry tobacco houses, and those that sell hot waters, the one of them brought from the

wild Irish, and the other from the wild Indies." (*The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding, 1872, vi, p. 306.) Cf. nos. 178, 183, and n. 190, which indicate, moreover, that the retail tobacco trade in and about London still required "reformation" as late as 1633–1634. In *C.S.P., Dom.* (1633–1634, p. 479) is a reference to the fact that brothel-keepers indicated their houses by displaying a tobacco pipe. (Beer, p. 80, and *ib.*, n. 1.)

The author knows not whether the shops of apothecaries, grocers and chandlers were reckoned in this computation, but even if they were thrust in to increase the number, let us, nevertheless, attempt to determine how much money is consumed by this smoky vapor.

If it be true that there be 7000 shops, in and about London, that doth vent Tobacco, as it is credibly reported that there be ouer and aboue that number: it may well be supposed to be but an ill customed shop that taketh not fve shillings a day, one day with another, throughtout the whole yeare, or if one doth take lesse, two other may take more: but let vs make our account, but after 2 shillings fix pence a day, for he that taketh lesse then that, would be ill able to pay his rent, or to keepe open his shop windowes, neither would *Tobacco* houfes make such a muster as they doe, and that almost in euery Lane, and in euery by-corner round about London.

Let vs then reckon thus, 7000. halfe Crownes a day, amounteth iust to 3. hundred nineteene thoufand 3. hundred feenty fve pounds a yeare, *Summa totalis*, All spent in smoake.

The author reckoneth not what is wasted in taverns, inns, alehouses, or in the homes of the gentry—could the total which is dissipated in this idle vanity be known, God-fearers would lament that such a mass of treasure is so basely consumed.

He goes on to relate a short dialogue between a begging scholar, who was a master in the seven liberal sciences, and a thrifty shoemaker. The advice of the latter is that the scholar should abandon the sciences which have proved so illiberal to him and go into a profitable trade, such as keeping an alehouse, a tobacco house, or a brothel. Having thus battered the weed, the author hastens to assure the reader that

For *Tobacco houfes* and *Brothell houfes* (I thanke God for it) I doe not vse to frequent them, but actiue minds must haue exercife, and I thinke to auoid the inconuenience of a *Brothell house*, it were better of the twaine to fit in a *Tobacco House*. [*D₄^a–E₂^a; ibid.* in the first edition, 1614.]

There is an echo of this tirade on *F₁^a*.

SECOND EDITION. Small quarto (A–G⁴). Printed by John Legate (with his ornament on the title), for Thomas Adams.

MOROCCO, by C. Smith [c. 1840], recased. Size of leaf: 7 x 5⁵/₁₆ inches.

Shorthand notation at foot of title; at end, a monogram “TR,” etc., with date 1647. Manuscript notes relating to the provenance, etc., of this volume, in Heber’s hand, on a fly-leaf.

From the collections of Thos. Lloyd (1819, n. 1059, bought by Perry), James Perry (1822, III, n. 835, acquired by Thorpe for Heber), R. Heber (1835, VI, n. 3035, bought by Thorpe for Miller), W. H. Miller, and S. R. Christie-Miller (16 March 1923, n. 569).

Perry had it bound with a copy of B. Rich, *The Irish Hubbub*, 1619, which he had also acquired at Lloyd’s sale. It contained both pieces when sold by Sotheby’s, 1923.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 20987 [records four copies, but not this]. *L.*, 2083. *Haz.*, *H.*, 505. *Arb.*, 117 (1614 ed.). Reprint, introduction by P. Cunningham (Percy Society, 1844).

Lowndes inaccurately assigns the first edition to 1611, the cataloguer of the Huth Library (Sotheby sale), to 1615, and in the catalogue of the Wrenn Library, it appears under 1616. The first edition, with the same title, was published at London, 1614.

A RELATION OF A IOVRNEY. London, 1615.



TITLE OF SANDYS, 1615

THE uncertainty which characterizes the original introduction of tobacco into most European countries applies equally to the Levant and to Turkey. The commercial conditions then prevailing make it reasonable to assume now that Venetian and Genoese traders first made the habit of smoking known in these Eastern ports by 1580–1585,¹ and that they were soon succeeded by the English in the dissemination of this custom. It is usually stated that tobacco was unknown in Turkey before 1605,² during the reign of Sultan Ahmed I (1603–1617), but there is historical evidence which indicates an earlier period. The "Diary of Thomas Dallam,"³ the organ builder, recorded that when his ship met the Turkish navy in the Dardanelles the captain of a galley boarded it and "desired to have som tobacco and tobacco-pipes" (July, 1599). The apparently insignificant episode indicates that the Turks had had the experience of finding tobacco on English vessels before,⁴ and that the plant was not available in their own land.

Sandys, who made an elaborate tour of a number of Mediterranean states on his way to Palestine, was in Turkey about 1611. He appears to have been the first to record in print the use of tobacco in Turkey and gives a brief but suggestive account of smoking in Constantinople.⁵ The new habit prevailed even when good tobacco was unobtainable and even though prohibitions against it were already in force.

The *Turkes* are also incredible takers of *Opium* . . . which they say expelleth all feare, and makes them couragious; but I rather thinke giddy headed, and turbulent dreamers . . . And perhaps for the selfe fame cause they also delight in Tobacco; they take it through reeds that haue ioyned vnto them great heads of wood to containe it: I doubt not but lately taught them, as brought them by the English: and were it not sometimes lookt into (for *Morat Baffa* [Bashaw⁶] not long since commanded a pipe to be thrust through the nose of a *Turke*, and so to be led in derision through the Citie,⁷) no question but it would proue a principall commodity. Neuerthelesse they will take it in corners, and are so ignorant therein that that which in England is not faleable, doth passe here amongst them for most excellent. [G₃^b]

In view of Dallam's testimony (*supra*) and allied circumstances, there was apparent justification for Sandys' suggestion that his countrymen had taught the Turks to smoke. He records the use of tobacco only in pipes and at that period the English

¹ It has been remarked that Murad III (reigned 1574–1595) included some dried leaves of tobacco in a gift to Stephen Báthory, King of Poland, in the fifteen-eighties, thus first introducing the plant in any form into that country. Later (1590) the Polish ambassador at Constantinople sent tobacco seeds, as an American rarity, to his queen, an amateur of botany, who cultivated them in the royal gardens. Cf. Corti, p. 102.

² Cf. the authors cited by Comes, pp. 117 ff.

³ In *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant* (ed. J. T. Bent, Hakluyt Soc., 1893), quoted by La., *Europe*, p. 61.

⁴ Commercial relations were opened with England during the reign of Murad III, and about 1583 the first English ambassador, William Harebone, arrived at the Turkish court.

⁵ The Venetian ambassador there wrote (13 June

1610) to the Doge and Senate, "The Pasha caused to be burned before his tent a keg of tobacco, a certain herb which comes as a medicine from England, and which has formerly been used here but is now prohibited. He also caused to be broken up with picks—by way of insult—certain silver pipes which are used for drinking the vapour of that herb." (*C.S.P., Venetian, 1607–1610*, p. 505.)

⁶ Perhaps Murad III.

⁷ This incident is sometimes associated with Murad IV, but he only commenced to reign in 1623. He suffered, among other excessive antipathies, from tobaccophobia, and exercised such savage severity against those who smoked as to confirm his people in the opinion that he was a vicious tyrant. His own fondness for opium, despite his public proclamations against the use of all narcotics and tobacco, terminated his career at the age of twenty-nine, in 1640.

were more devoted to that instrument for smoking tobacco than any other nation in Europe. The pipe would have had a very ready appeal to a people probably already habituated to the use of similar appliances for various narcotics. (Cf. the illustration of the Persian water-pipe in the *Introduction*, p. 12.)

The devotees of the habit of smoking, until past the middle of the XVIIth century, were to be driven to secret devices to evade the rigorous interdictions of several Sultans. In addition to the punishment described by Sandys (*supra*) it was later ordered that tobacco merchants were to lose both hands and feet and have their shops destroyed, while Murad IV,⁸ the "Turkish Nero," was, in 1633, to order the death penalty for those found smoking.⁹

A number of reasons inspired the severity of these Moslem rulers. Probably first of these was the belief that the use of tobacco induced sterility. Such an opinion had been expressed earlier by Christian writers¹⁰ who pointed to the "drying qualities" of tobacco as a proof of their argument, and the conceit had spread far. Obviously, any true Mohammedan in authority would be concerned over the use of a "drug of unbelievers" likely to diminish the population by reducing the potency of his subjects! Then, too, there was no authority for the use of tobacco in the Koran, and later, Mohammed himself was to be brought into a nicotian controversy among the Moslems by the discovery of a "prophecy," made by him, assailing tobacco.¹¹

The danger of fire from lit pipes, too, represented a practical excuse for the decrees against smoking. It has also been suggested that there existed, as well, an official desire to prevent the success of the tobacco-and-coffee houses (then becoming popular) where subjects gathered and discussed the government in too liberal a fashion.

FIRST EDITION. Small folio ([A]²; B–Z⁶; Aa–Dd⁶ [last, blank, lacking]). Printed by Richard Field.

ENGRAVED TITLE-PAGE, [A]₁, by Francis Delaram; double-page map of part of Africa, and numerous engravings in text. The 5 in the date on the title seems to have been altered on the plate.

THREE-QUARTER CALF. Size of leaf: 10⁵/₈ x 7³/₈ inches. "Abram 1723/4 Taylor," written on title.

The oblong folding engraving, "Prospect of the Grand Signeurs Serraglio from Galata," is not present in this copy.

REFERENCES: *STC.*, 21726. *Arb.*, 115. *La., Europe*, 61–62. *Haz.*, 2, 533. *Comes*, 117 ff.

Lowndes liked the *Relation*; he says of it, "These travels written in a pleasant style, are distinguished by erudition, sagacity, and a love of truth." (P. 2189.)

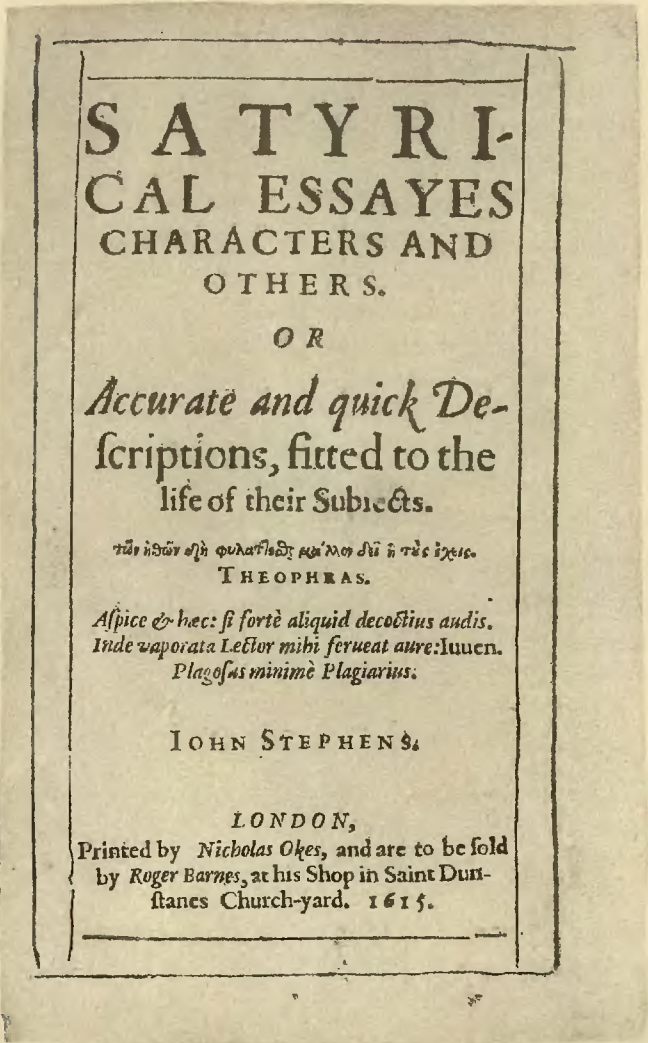
A contributor to *NQ* (7.Ser., IV, p. 493) observed that the Oriental poets often included tobacco, with coffee, opium and wine, as one of "the four elements of the world of enjoyment," as one of "the four cushions of the couch of pleasure," etc. Legal writers, on the contrary, condemned it as one of "the four columns of the tent of lechery," or as one of "the ministers of the Devil." "Allamé, chief of the émirs (died in 1607), in order to please Murad IV [III?], wrote a treatise in which he recommended a decoction of bean-pods as a substitute for coffee, and condemned the habit of smoking. The Sheik Ibrahim Likani, one of the greatest lawyers of Egypt (died in 1630), also wrote a treatise on tobacco. Cf. 'Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman' (Paris, 1837), vol. viii, pp. 90, 91, 374, 375." (The original edition of the work here cited is De Hammer-Purgstall's *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Pest, 1827–1835. The phrases of the Oriental poets praising tobacco occur in vol. iv, p. 380. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 606, 607.)

⁸ *V. ante*, n. 7.

⁹ *V.* n. 397 and Corti, pp. 135 ff.

¹⁰ *V.* n. 61.

¹¹ *V.* n. 704.



TITLE OF STEPHENS, 1615

An Humorist

Tobacco is a good whetstone for his property; hee doth feldome therefore forget to prouoke his constitution this way: & (by being infatiate) he knowes well his humor may escape the searck of reason, by vertue of the mist. [M₃^b]

A Nouice

Being a little boulstred vp with sweete heresies of subtile language, and Muscicall Tauernes, he suddenly beginnes (except some charitable hand reclaimes him) to mistake Tobacco for a precious hearbe; and oftentimes I thinke it cures his raw humour, by operation of the price, without the Physicke. [O₄^a]

A Pandar

Is the scab of a Commonwealth . . . Time and Tobacco brings him to a dry scale. [He] welcomes customers with fire-workes: a pipe of Tobacco, and a hot Queane. *Bowling-allies, Dicing-houses, and Tobacco shoppes,* be the Temples, which Hee, and his Fraternity of Rorers [tavern-bullies], haue erected to *Mercury and Fortune*: In the two first he doth acknowledge their Deity; in the last hee offers smoking incense to them both; in recompence of booty gotten by *Chance* and *cheating*. [X₆^a–X₇^b]

Tobacco is remarked upon in the diet of *A Drunkard* on P₇^b; “good fellowes take Tobacco” occurs on R₄^a; and another animadversion or two suggest that the author cordially detested the weed Spenser thought “divine.”

FIRST EDITION. Small octavo (A–X⁸ [first, blank]).

OLD CALF. Size of leaf: 5½ x 3¾ inches.

Inscriptions in an early XIXth century hand relating to various sales of other copies of this book. A notation on the end-paper refers to the bookseller, William Ford, of Manchester. This book is listed in his catalogue of 1807, n. 2247.

REFERENCES: STC., 23249. L., 2508. G. (W), n. 819. 4N₂, III, 550 (on “Contemporary Allusions to Shakespeare”).

This work was reissued the same year with the title: *Essayes and Characters, Ironickall and Instructive*.



THE SMOKING PRODIGAL
From a ballad, “The young Heir newly come to his Estate,” London, 1620, in the British Museum